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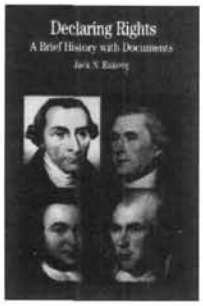


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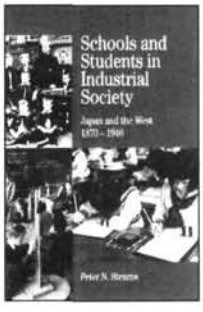
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The American Historical Review appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Journal Services, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.
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In This Issue

This issue contains two articles, an *AHR Forum*, and a review essay. The articles examine individualism in Renaissance Europe and masculinity in U.S. colonialism, respectively. The Forum addresses issues of history and memory, while the review essay analyzes studies of language and political culture, using examples from recent work on early modern France. This issue also contains a full complement of book and film reviews.

Articles

John Martin offers a new reading of the history of individualism in the Renaissance. He contends that the contributions of the New Historicists, particularly literary historian Stephen Greenblatt, have made it impossible to approach the history of individualism in traditional humanistic terms. Accordingly, scholars now view the "individual" as a cultural construct rather than as an underlying human "essence" or "protagonist" in narratives of modernization or progress. Nevertheless, Martin argues, many New Historicist practices are inadequate because they tend to ignore long-term historical shifts in the West European vocabulary of selfhood and to envision constructions of the self as shaped by a narrowly defined cultural context. Instead, he advocates approaching the history of individualism in the Renaissance as a discursive field in which there was a new understanding of "prudence" as a strategy for concealing one's views and sentiments and a newly invented notion of "sincerity" that called for the expression of personal convictions and feelings. As a result of the tension between these two ideals, the Renaissance self came to be defined in increasingly expressive and individualistic terms. And because these ideals had a European-wide currency and developed over several generations, he argues, the origins of individualism cannot be traced in any exclusive manner to specific national contexts or particular moments in time. Rather than a return to traditional assumptions about the self, Martin explains, this approach encourages discussions of individualism and identity to take into account two critical issues: the need to remain open to complex intellectual and cultural forces that transcend particular times and places, and the need to recognize that the Renaissance sense of interiority was often immune to precisely the sort of ideological manipulation that New Historicists have seen as decisive in the construction of identities. Even though it focuses on Renaissance Europe, Martin's essay has significant implications for the study of the self in other cultures and times.

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Warwick Anderson explores the complex and changing ways in which the mental instability of white males in the U.S. colonial service was diagnosed and explained away in the early twentieth century. Among other cases, he focuses on an extraordinary series of letters and memoranda written by a distinguished historian of medicine, Lieutenant Colonel Fielding H. Garrison, who "broke down" while stationed in the Philippines in the 1920s. Garrison presented his mental woes in conventional materialist terms to his frequent correspondent, H. L. Mencken, but applied a novel psychodynamic framework to his disorder in his private memoranda books. In assessing these texts, Anderson contends that materialist and psychodynamic theories of this illness, "neurasthenia," shared an assumption that the true terrain of civilization was the mind of the bourgeois white male. Consequently, the medical problem posed by colonial service like Garrison's was how best to reeducate or discipline this civilized mind when it succumbed to external or internal enemies. Colonial psychiatrists sought to remake their patients in a form that was generically manly, white, and civilized. Anderson emphasizes the framing of disease, not the illness experience itself, as the most telling and accessible medical symptom of colonialism. His essay demonstrates how the cultural history of colonial psychiatry challenges the political valorizing of heterogeneity found in many recent studies of colonial discourse.

AHR Forum

Susan A. Crane begins our Forum on **History and Memory** by addressing the problem of where historical consciousness should be located. She suggests two opposing places: historical consciousness could be located in the many texts, sites, and discourses that represent an accumulated knowledge about "the past"; it could also be found in the individual who feels or perceives significant and personally relevant meanings in the knowledge of historical information or in the presence of a historical object. These contrasting sources of historical consciousness lead Crane to wonder whether as a teacher it is enough to impart historical information and forms of critical thinking to students. She argues that the theoretical frameworks of "collective memory" offer a means to examine this and other issues by presenting opportunities to understand historical consciousness beyond the limits of historical scholarship. Although she acknowledges that historians are properly concerned that collective memory might operate as a restrictive, falsifying discourse on the past, to Crane the problem represents a misunderstanding of the relationship between historical information and historical users. Instead, she contends that collective-memory theory can offer an alternative understanding of the relationship between history and memory, as well as between the past as such and the ways in which it is known and meaningful to individuals in the present. She asserts that historians cannot hope simply to educate the public, they must take into account their own relationship to the past and to the public communities in which they were raised and continue to live.

Alon Confino continues the Forum by arguing that, despite its richness, memory studies has become a field with neither a center nor connections among its topics. Indeed, he asserts, the term "memory" suffers from overuse, as fashionableness

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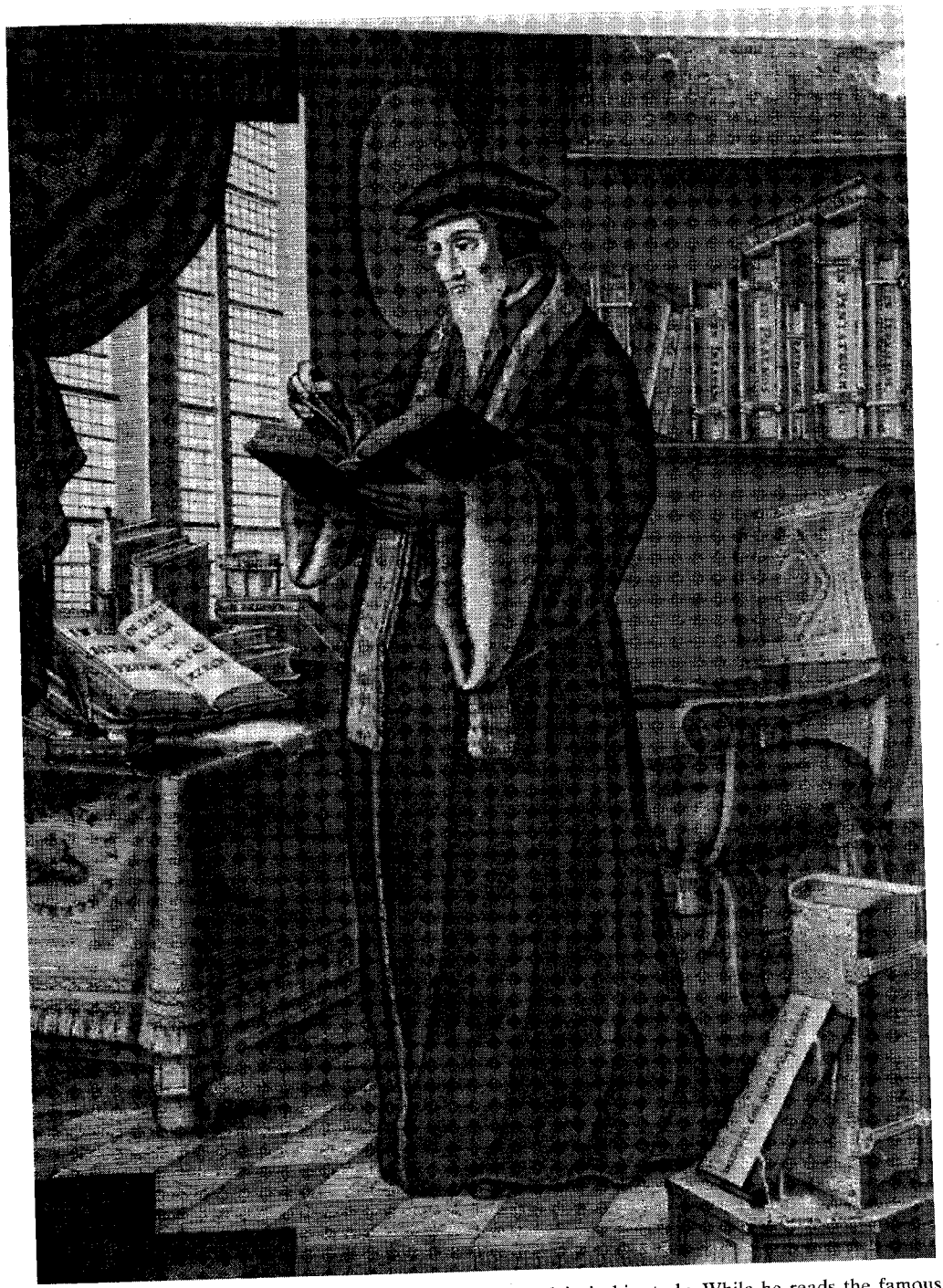
obscures its usefulness. Confino questions the methods of memory studies in order to refine its approaches and propose new connections. He suggests that the central problem is how the term "memory" can be useful in articulating the connections between the cultural, the social, and the political, as well as between representation and social experience. Confino proposes two solutions: the history of memory must be made more theoretically rigorous; at the same time, the field must be more creative and comprehensive in using the term memory as an explanatory device. He pursues these points in a critical assessment of recent work in memory studies that focuses on cultural history. Confino contends that memory studies can sometimes reduce culture to politics and ideology, when they should broaden the subject to an everyday history of memory. He also believes that works in the field tend to reduce culture to a vague notion of memory and thus separate memory from its context. Confino accepts that a given memory exists, that it can have a symbolic representation and a political significance, but he concludes that such assertions mean little in themselves if memories are not placed within a global network of social transmission and symbolic representations.

Daniel James concludes the Forum with commentary. A Latin Americanist and oral historian, James reverses the usual roles of author and commentator by using examples from his own work on an Argentine meatpacking community to probe some of the theoretical issues raised in the essays by Crane and Confino. He is particularly interested in examining Crane's assertion that a new form for historical consciousness must be imagined. Through a series of revealing examples, James identifies the difficulties of devising new forms of understanding and transmitting collective memory, as well as new conceptions of the roles of professional historians. He problematizes the issue of the transmission of collective memory in the contemporary world, suggesting that, while we live in societies obsessed by memory, the historian of subaltern memories is also operating within a "culture of amnesia."

Review Essay

Jay M. Smith critiques recent work on the language of political culture. Using studies of early modern France as his example, he expresses sympathy with one of the main purposes of this work: demonstrating that human agents inevitably use language to construe and construct social reality. However, he argues that the motivations that lie behind such political and linguistic agency have not received the explicit and extended theoretical attention they deserve. Specifically, the tendency to describe and interpret language as a strategic instrument, a tendency exemplified by the use of the "language game" theory analogy, has had the effect of shielding from historians the essential role of beliefs and values in the production of political language. In the second part of the essay, Smith illustrates the need to place values in the foreground of linguistic analysis by examining the changing meaning of the French word *crédit* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By making "belief" the chief object of cultural and linguistic analysis, Smith concludes, historians of political culture will be better able to show individuals and groups actively mediating between "material" and "linguistic" structures, and, more important, will also be in a better position to explain how and why people initiate and propel that process of mediation.

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This seventeenth-century Dutch engraving shows John Calvin in his study. While he reads the famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, he stands surrounded by many of his other works. Woven into the tablecloth in front of him is his reformer's emblem, a heart held in his hand, with the words that describe his expressive ideal: *Promte et Cincere* ("openly and sincerely"). Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva.

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Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe

JOHN MARTIN

> In the Middle Ages both sides of human consciousness—that which was turned within as that which was turned without—lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues. Man was conscious of himself only as member of a race, people, party, family, or corporation—only through some general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; an *objective* treatment and consideration of the state and of all things of this world became possible. The *subjective* side at the same time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis; man became a spiritual *individual*, and recognized himself as such. In the same way the Greek had once distinguished himself from the barbarian, and the Arab had felt himself an individual at a time when other Asiatics knew themselves only as members of a race. It will not be difficult to show that this result was due above all to the political circumstances of Italy.
>
> Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860).

MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS after its publication, Burckhardt's masterpiece *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* continues to stimulate much of the most creative scholarship in late medieval and early modern European history. This book, to be sure, has never generated a scholarly consensus on the nature of the Renaissance. It has, however, accomplished something far more valuable. Ever since its publication, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* has consistently invited corrections, modifications, and refutations; it has become a classic, compelling each new generation of readers to come to terms with its arguments.[1] Period subspecialists define themselves and examine their presuppo-

Earlier versions of this essay were presented at History Department Colloquia at Syracuse University in October 1996 and at Princeton University in March 1997. I am grateful to all members of these colloquia for their questions and their suggestions, but I should especially like to thank Dennis Romano, Gary Radke, Joseph Levine, and Megan Hickerson of Syracuse and Anthony Grafton, Elizabeth Lunbeck, Theodore K. Rabb, François Rigolot, and Daniel Woolf at Princeton for their critiques and advice. In addition, it is a pleasure to acknowledge not only the assistance of Charly Coleman, Kenneth Gouwens, Gary Kates, Michael Kearl, Edward Muir, Mary Ellen Ross, and Willis Salomon in my preparation of this article but also the constructive and useful criticisms of the reviewers for this journal. Finally, I am appreciative to the Guggenheim Foundation, whose generosity made the writing of this essay possible.

[1] Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Versuch* (Basel, 1860), English transl., *The Civilisation of the [Period of the] Renaissance in Italy*, S. G. C. Middlemore, trans. (London, 1878)—both frequently reprinted. In this essay, I cite the Middlemore translation in a new edition (London, 1990), epigraph p. 98. The German text I have used is *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien:*

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sitions in relation to this text. Intellectual and cultural historians who focus on the Middle Ages, for instance, have mustered considerable evidence that many of the humanistic and even individualistic ideals Burckhardt viewed as originating in Italy in the Renaissance had in fact emerged much earlier in the period that the great Harvard historian Charles Homer Haskins, in explicit disagreement with Burckhardt, called "the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century."[2] Intellectual and cultural historians of the Renaissance are equally indebted to Burckhardt. When I was in graduate school in the late 1970s, for example, one of the four areas I prepared for my general examinations was called "Renaissance and Reformation," a field in which Burckhardt's influence was still strongly felt. The works of such scholars as Hans Baron, Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Erwin Panofsky, and Charles Trinkaus were central to our discussions.[3] In these very same years, it was clear that Burckhardt also continued to play a significant role in literary studies. In fact, in just this period, the central problem that Burckhardt raised about the discovery of the individual was beginning to animate some of the best studies of Renaissance literature, especially those concerned with the problem of the emergence of the individual in Western societies. As William Kerrigan and Gordon Braden, both literary scholars, have noted in their recent book *The Idea of the Renaissance*, Burckhardt's "story, the history of early modern individualism," is a "story that matters today."[4]

Not everyone was so receptive to Burckhardt. From the perspective of another of the fields I prepared—European social history—it was clear that the Renaissance had ceased to function as an organizing principle or useful intellectual construct and was on its way to becoming little more than a kind of academic shorthand for late medieval and early modern history.[5] Structuralist interpretations of the past, whether Marxist or *Annaliste*, with their emphases on the *longue durée*, had pushed concern with high culture to the margins.[6] To be sure, there were some social historians, myself included, who wished to take seriously the questions Burckhardt

Ein Versuch, Horst Günther, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1989). On Burckhardt's influence in Renaissance studies, see Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948), 179–252; Hans Baron, "The Limits of the Notion 'Renaissance Individualism': Burckhardt after a Century," in Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 2: 155–81; and Felix Gilbert, *History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt* (Princeton, 1990), 46–92.

[2] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927). On the continuing vitality of this work, see Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), papers from a conference held on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Haskins' volume; and Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (London, 1972).

[3] For an overview of the field as traditionally presented at Harvard, see Donald J. Wilcox, *In Search of God and Self: Renaissance and Reformation Thought* (Boston, 1975). Wilcox studied under Gilmore in the 1960s. See also Gilmore, *The World of Humanism, 1453–1517* (New York, 1952).

[4] William Kerrigan and Gordon Braden, *The Idea of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, Md., 1989), xi.

[5] As Edward Muir has recently observed, "The Renaissance lingers on in the historiography but often signifies little more than a chronological tag, except in the history of thought and the arts, where it still seems to have heuristic value." Muir, "The Italian Renaissance in America," *AHR* 100 [October 1995]: 1117.

[6] William James Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," *AHR* 84 (February 1979): 1–15, rpt. in Bouwsma, *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 348–65.

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had raised, even within the realm of the newer studies that, often informed by anthropology or other social sciences, had begun to focus on the experience of non-elite groups and individuals in the Europe of Machiavelli and Michelangelo. But for the majority of social historians, Burckhardt served primarily as a marker of what they were not. Where Burckhardt had focused on the writings of a few exceptionally talented figures, they would privilege the experience of ordinary people (merchants, artisans, peasants, vagabonds); where he had viewed the state abstractly, in nearly Nietzschean terms, as a "work of art," they had begun to decipher the social and institutional forces that shaped it; and, finally, where he had appeared to "celebrate" individualism, they would demonstrate the vitality of corporate and collective experience.[7]

This essay, by contrast, is an effort to underscore the importance of what I believe should still be called "the discovery of the individual" for our understanding not only of high culture—art, music, literature, and intellectual history—but also for our grasp of social and political history as well. This does not mean that we must approach the Renaissance in traditional Burckhardtian terms. To the contrary, recent philosophical, anthropological, and literary models of the individual have so transformed our understanding of the human person that it is no longer possible to base our analysis of the origins of individualism on the traditional humanistic assumptions that Burckhardt took as a given. We are, in other words, no longer in the comfortable position of believing, as Burckhardt and many of his nineteenth-century contemporaries did, that the individual existed prior to history; that, if the individual was not a central concern of the Middle Ages, this was due to a veil "of faith, illusion and childish prepossession"; that, finally, what emerged in the Renaissance was man *as he really is*. For in recent years, many analysts, inspired by post-structuralist and postmodern arguments and insights, have begun to argue that individualism itself is a construction, that, indeed, the human self is in many ways nothing more than a fiction, and that it is above all what might be called the Renaissance representations of the self as an individual, expressive subject that require explanation.

In the first part of this essay, therefore, I examine in some detail what I believe to be the most significant recent challenge to Burckhardt's understanding of individualism—namely, the work of the Renaissance literary historian Stephen Greenblatt and the New Historicists he has inspired. As I shall try to make clear, there is much in the New Historicist scholarship that should interest historians,

[7] Representative works on non-elite groups in Renaissance Italy include Samuel K. Cohn, *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980), and Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1980); on the social and institutional forces that shaped Renaissance politics, Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), and Dennis Romano, *Patricians and "Popolani": The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore, 1987); finally, on the importance of collective experience, John Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280–1400* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), and Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). For two provocative essays that offer new approaches to the social history of Renaissance individualism, see Ronald F. E. Weissman, "The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism, and Identity in Renaissance Florence," in Susan Zimmerman and Weissman, eds., *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark, Del., 1989), 269–80, and Samuel K. Cohn, "Burckhardt Revisited from Social History," in Alison Brown, ed., *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995), 217–34.

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whether social or intellectual, and that needs to be taken seriously. Indeed, at their best, these scholars offer tantalizing insights into the play of social forces and ideological currents on Renaissance texts and Renaissance selves. Yet, as I shall argue, their accounts are, paradoxically, profoundly ahistorical. On the one hand, their analytical strategies tend to view the formation of the Renaissance self from within a synchronic framework, one frozen in time, with little sense of the operation of more slowly developing historical—or diachronic—forces on the process of what has come to be called "Renaissance self-fashioning."[8] On the other hand, their analyses also tend to be based on a totalizing view of politics and power in the Renaissance world—a view that leaves little room for oppositional or dissenting voices. Accordingly, in the second part of this essay, I try to correct this by offering an alternative approach to a salient aspect of the history of the formation of Renaissance selves. In particular, I examine the effort on both theoretical and practical levels during the Renaissance period to redefine certain moral categories relating to sincerity and prudence and the relation of these redefinitions to the formation of an increased sense of subjectivity and individualism. My claim is not that these shifts alone were responsible for the generation of individualism in the Renaissance. As Michael Mascuch has recently cautioned in his study of the self in seventeenth-century England, "individualism is a multidimensional phenomenon, an amalgam of practices and values with no discernible center. A variety of forces—social, economic, political, intellectual—contributed to its making, each one of which was paramount at some time or another, either separately or jointly with others. Thus a single account of individualism cannot possibly represent its development, its contours, its functions."[9] Nonetheless, the evidence I have gathered does suggest that this shift in moral vocabulary played a significant role in the construction of new notions of individualism in the Renaissance world.

OVER THE PAST FEW DECADES, scholars have approached the problem of the emergence of the modern self from a variety of perspectives. Some of these works—such as Karl Joachim Weintraub's *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* and Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*—have a grand sweep.[10] Other studies by such noted scholars as Alan Macfarlane, C. B. Macpherson, and Ian Watt, though more focused in scope, have nonetheless contributed to an understanding of the social, ideological, and cultural construction of different forms of individualism in various European contexts.[11] But, as I indicated above, the most influential and innovative treatment

[8] The key text is Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980). On the relation of synchronic to diachronic analysis, a recurrent issue in anthropology, see Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), esp. 136–56.

[9] Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591–1791* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 14.

[10] Karl Joachim Weintraub, *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago, 1978); and Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

[11] Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition* (Oxford, 1978); C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, 1962); Ian Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism: Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan and Robinson Crusoe* (Cambridge,

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of the Renaissance self is found in the work of Stephen Greenblatt and, most notably, in his now classic study *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*.[12] This book, which was first published in 1980, has proven enormously influential. This is especially true in Greenblatt's own field of literature, where his ideas have been fundamental for the development of New Historicism, a critical movement that, in its reaction against the formalist or idealist readings of the New Critics, has sought to read literary texts as cultural artifacts or practices, dialectically related to the specific cultural, social, and political contexts in which they were written.[13] In addition—and what is decisive here—the New Historicists also view the self, like a text, not as an autonomous entity but rather as a site on which broader institutional and political forces are inscribed.[14] Accordingly, self-fashioning, or the issue of the construction of the self as subject and/or individual, figures prominently in the work of several major literary historians closely associated with Greenblatt: Jonathan Goldberg, Louis Adrian Montrose, Stephen Orgel, to name but a few.[15] Self-fashioning has become a central theme in the exploration of Renaissance and early modern culture generally. It is deployed in a variety of fields: in social history, art history, intellectual history, the history of science, and it even has important implications for the study of the self in other times and places.[16]

1996). See also Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (London, 1957). For a recent anthology that provides an excellent introduction to the most current historical writing on this theme, see Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York, 1997). The literature on individualism is enormous; here I provide only a sampling of significant works on this topic.

[12] See note 8 above.

[13] That New Historicism has itself achieved canonical status is evident from the entries on this subject in three recent guides to literary theory: *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory* (Baltimore, Md., 1994), 534–40; *The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory* (Toronto, 1993), 124–30; and *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (New York, 1991), 306–08. The entry by Hunter Cadzow in the *Hopkins Guide* is especially insightful. H. Aram Veeser has edited a useful anthology, which can serve as a convenient introduction to the New Historicists and their critics: *The New Historicism* (New York, 1989). See also Louis Adrian Montrose, "New Historicisms," in Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn, eds., *Redrawing the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies* (New York, 1992), 392–418. For useful critiques of certain shortcomings of New Historicism, see David Harris Sacks, "Searching for 'Culture' in the English Renaissance," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1988): 465–88; and Jan R. Veenstra, "The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and the Interpretation of Shakespeare," *History and Theory* 34 (1995): 174–98.

[14] As Jean E. Howard has noted, according to the New Historicism, "man is not so much possessed of an essential nature as constructed by social and historical forces." Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies," *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (Winter 1986): 15.

[15] Although Greenblatt is often viewed as the founding figure in the movement eventually identified as New Historicism, it is more accurate to view him as the most influential figure among a relatively large group of literary scholars whose concerns and interests he shares. Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975), for example, appeared some seven years before *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. Ironically, while Greenblatt bears the lion's share of responsibility for the term "New Historicism" (see Stephen Greenblatt, introduction, *The Forms of Power and the Power of Forms in the Renaissance*, special issue, *Genre* 15 [Spring–Summer 1982]: 3–6), he has distanced himself from it, preferring of late to describe his critical practice as a "cultural poetics"—see "Towards a Poetics of Culture," in Veeser, *New Historicism*, 1–14.

[16] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," in Thomas C. Heller, *et al.*, eds., *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 53–63; Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, 1993); Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, 1993); and Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994). For an example of this approach applied to

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On many levels, this development is not surprising. As a descriptive category, self-fashioning seems to capture much of what is popularly believed about Renaissance life. As Greenblatt notes, "the simplest observation we can make is that in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process."[17] Above all, self-fashioning appears to make sense of a world in which the court was central to literary life—for this was a world in which prudent accommodation and even deception were often seen as virtues. And indeed, the Renaissance world was a theatrical age—an age of masks, of masquerades, of role playing, of the studied nonchalance of *sprezzatura*, even of "honest dissimulation."[18] Clearly, at least among the privileged orders, men and women were often conscious of fashioning particular selves in order to survive or advance in the high-stakes world of court society.

But self-fashioning is not only powerful descriptively, it is also heuristically powerful. At a point when social history appears to have reached an impasse in its ability to offer convincing explanations of cultural developments, self-fashioning holds out the promise of offering scholars new ways of thinking about the interplay of social and cultural life.[19] As Greenblatt himself notes, "self-fashioning derives its interest precisely from the fact that it functions without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life."[20] In short, it seems to offer a way around both idealist accounts of culture such as those found in traditional histories of literature and ideas and those Marxist accounts that privilege the infrastructure to such a degree that cultural life is viewed passively, as a mere reflection of social relations. In theoretical terms, we might say, self-fashioning avoids both the abstract aestheticism of formal analyses and the reflectionist assumptions of much Marxist theory.[21] Throughout his work, Greenblatt deftly merges a consideration of ideas and social life; he argues against theories that deny "any relation between the play and social life" and those that affirm "that the latter is 'the thing itself,' free from interpretation." In his view, "Social actions are themselves always embedded in systems of public signification, always grasped, even by their makers, in acts of interpretation, while the words that constitute the works of literature that we discuss here are by their very nature the manifest assurance of a similar embeddedness."[22] Other scholars have fastened onto this dimension of his ideas. As the historian of science Mario Biagioli has put it in his recent study of Galileo, the "focus on processes of self-fashioning may help bypass some of the deadlocks of the

more modern themes, see James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Self-Fashioning: Conrad and Malinowski," in Heller, *Reconstructing Individualism*, 140–62.

[17] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 2.

[18] Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); on the theme of "dissimulazione onesta," see Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione: La lotta politica nel Seicento* (Bari, 1987).

[19] Patrick Joyce, "The End of Social History?" *Social History* 20 (January 1995): 73–91. See also Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, Arthur Goldhammer and others, trans. (New York, 1995), esp. 492–512.

[20] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 3.

[21] Louis Adrian Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre* (Chicago, 1996), 7.

[22] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 5.

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so-called externalists-versus-internalists debate that has characterized much of recent and not so recent science studies."[23] One can view Galileo's insights, that is, not exclusively as the consequence of external social and political factors impinging on the scientific imagination nor as merely the result of developments within Renaissance mathematics and astronomy but rather as the outcome of Galileo's own efforts to navigate courtly culture and its patronage expectations in relation to late Renaissance or baroque science. The Galilean revolution is thus a result neither of social change per se nor purely of developments intrinsic to science but of the way these two spheres intersected in Galileo's studied "self-fashioning."

Especially significant, however, is Greenblatt's insistence on a new notion of the human person—one that would have been wholly alien to Burckhardt. For while its title seems to suggest a kind of independence on the part of the self, or, as one critic has trenchantly observed, while Greenblatt seems at times to invite us "to read 'self-fashioning' as free, expressive self-making," *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* is in fact a study *not* of the way in which human subjects fashioned themselves but rather of the way in which certain political and religious forces in the Renaissance created the fiction of individual autonomy.[24] For, in the end, Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* offers a view of the self as a cultural artifact, a historical and ideological illusion generated by the economic, social, religious, and political upheavals of the Renaissance. Greenblatt's project, in short, has contributed in decisive ways to a new historiography of the self. Earlier histories—grounded in the liberal and conservative myths of the gradual but heroic emancipation of the individual—have given way to histories that explore the varied constructions of the self in different time periods and different cultures. Not only is it no longer possible to view its history as one of continuous development, but individualism, as Peter Burke has recently reminded us, is itself not a uniquely Western phenomenon.[25]

This new understanding of the history of individualism is explicit in the structure of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* in which the various "authors"—Thomas More, William Tyndale, Thomas Wyatt, Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, and William Shakespeare—are each viewed as shaped above all by the social, cultural, religious, and political tensions of Tudor England. Thus identity is not a given; rather, it is a cultural or political artifact, or, as Greenblatt pithily remarks, "we may say that self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien."[26] More's self-fashioning, for example, is portrayed as taking place in the interplay of his submission to the authority of the church and his opposition to heresy and the monarchy, while Tyndale's self is depicted as developing out of the tensions between his opposition to the church, on the one hand, and his submission to Scripture as authority, on the other. Or, as Greenblatt observes, in an eloquent comparison of the processes of self-fashioning that shaped the identities of More and Tyndale, "The Bible . . . provides for Tyndale what the Church provides for More: not simply a point of vantage but a means to absorb the ambiguities of

[23] Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, 12.

[24] Frank Lentricchia, "Foucault's Legacy: A New Historicism?" in Veeser, *New Historicism*, 235.

[25] Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," in Porter, *Rewriting the Self*, 27–28.

[26] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 9; see also 76: "identity is achieved at the intersection of an absolute authority and a demonic Other."

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identity, the individual's mingled egotism and self-loathing, into a larger, redeeming certainty."[27]

To a large degree, Greenblatt's argument reveals the influence of the cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz. In a gloss on Geertz's well-known essay "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," Greenblatt makes this debt explicit:

> "There is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture," Geertz writes, meaning by culture not primarily "complexes of concrete behavior patterns—customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters"—but rather "a set of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions . . . — for the governing of behavior." Self-fashioning is in effect the Renaissance version of these control mechanisms, the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment.[28]

But Greenblatt is even more indebted to Michel Foucault, whose work offers a radically historicist interpretation of human subjectivity.[29] Indeed, Foucault's rich, complex account of modernity has made a strong case that the human subject is a product of specific epistemological and institutional forces (or expressions of power) and not, as humanists from the Renaissance to Jean-Paul Sartre have claimed, as a thing-in-itself. In Foucault's view, there is no essentialist self, no humanist subject. Just as the soul in Christian doctrine is not an entity per se but a construct engendered by the dogmatics and practices of confession, so the self has no independent ontological status but has been engendered by modern institutions ranging from the development of private property to the emergence of psychoanalytic theory.[30]

To be sure, there are moments in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* and elsewhere in his work when Greenblatt seemingly longs for a more resilient self—moments that come close to reifying the concept of selfhood that he elsewhere unrelentingly deconstructs. At one point, he characterizes the Renaissance self as "brittle and inadequate"; at another, he remarks, almost casually, that Foucault's arguments about the human soul may constitute "too radical a reduction"; finally and most poignantly, in the final sentence to *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, after offering an anecdote, Greenblatt explains his need to tell a personal story—a story about himself—because, as he puts it, "I want to bear witness at the close to my overwhelming need to sustain the illusion that I am the principal maker of my own identity."[31] Nonetheless, such passages are fleeting, and for the most part Greenblatt maintains or implies that even the most substantial selves are egos built on

[27] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 111.

[28] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 3–4; Greenblatt is citing Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), 49, 44.

[29] On Foucault's influence, Greenblatt, a Berkeley professor, notes that "the presence of Michel Foucault on the Berkeley campus for extended visits during the last five or six years of his life . . . has helped to shape my own literary critical practice." Greenblatt, "Towards a Poetics of Culture," 1. See also Lentricchia, "Foucault's Legacy," which argues that the "theoretical identity of new historicism is constituted by its unlikely marriage of Marx and Foucault, with Foucault as dominant partner" (235).

[30] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, Colin Gordon, *et al.*, ed. and trans. (New York, 1980).

[31] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 80, 257; the phrase "brittle and inadequate" is from Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," in his *Learning to Curse* (New York, 1990), 143;

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fictions. In one of his most revealing discussions of Renaissance selfhood, for example, Greenblatt, after citing a famous passage from *Leviathan* in which Thomas Hobbes offered his definition of "person," notes that

> in Hobbes, the "natural person" originates in the "artificial person"—the mask, the character on a stage "translated" from the theater to the tribunal. There is no layer deeper, more authentic, than theatrical self-representation. This conception of the self does not deny the importance of the body . . . but it does not anchor personal identity in an inalienable biological continuity. The crucial consideration is ownership: what distinguishes a "natural" person from an "artificial" person is that the former is considered to *own* his words and actions. Considered by whom? By authority. But is authority itself then natural or artificial? In a move that is one of the cornerstones of Hobbes's absolutist political philosophy, authority is vested in an artificial person who represents the words and actions of the entire nation. All men therefore are impersonators of themselves, but impersonators whose clear title to identity is secured by an authority irrevocably deeded to an artifical person. A great mask allows one to own as one's own face another mask.[32]

Or, as Greenblatt concludes in the epilogue to *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, "the human subject itself began to seem remarkably unfree, the ideological product of the relations of power in a particular society."[33] Greenblatt, in short, is powerfully historicist in his argument. Like other historicists, he sees the self not as a free, autonomous subject but rather as subjected to (because generated by) the codes of culture and power, or what Greenblatt calls "the cultural poetics" of a particular set of cultural, political, and social relations.[34] Identity is shaped from the outside. As Louis Adrian Montrose has written, "The freely self-creating and world-creating Individual of so-called bourgeois humanism is—at least, in theory—now defunct."[35] It was Foucault, in his apocalyptic conclusion to *Les mots et les choses*, who sounded the death knell: "One thing in any case is certain: man is neither the oldest nor the most constant problem that has been posed for human knowledge. Taking a relatively short chronological sample within a restricted geographical area—European culture since the sixteenth century—one can be certain that man is a recent invention within it." And, in Foucault's view, there was nothing permanent about such an invention. It would, he prophesied, "be erased like a face drawn in the sand at the edge of the sea."[36]

Thus from the vantage point of much new literary criticism, Burckhardt's self-creating individual is largely myth. This is so much the case, in fact, that among New Historicists and other scholars influenced either by Greenblatt or other post-structuralist and postmodern discourses, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* now serves as a canonical marker of a paradigm surpassed. In his introduction to *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, for example, David Quint makes it clear that

this essay orginally appeared in Patricia Parker and David Quint, eds., *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts* (Baltimore, Md., 1986), 210–24.

[32] Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," 142–43.

[33] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 256.

[34] Greenblatt, "Towards a Poetics of Culture."

[35] Louis Adrian Montrose, "The Poetics and Politics of Culture," in Veeser, *New Historicism*, 21; and reiterated in Montrose, *Purpose of Playing*, 13.

[36] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1970), 386–87.

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the Burckardtian perspective is outmoded: "The advanced literary theory and cultural practice of the last 25 years continue and extend this logic of modern alienation from the reader to the individual author as well."[37] In a similar fashion, Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass deconstruct Burckhardt's Renaissance individual in the introduction to their recently published book *Subject and Object in the Renaissance*.[38]

Perhaps Greenblatt's most lucid demonstration of this revaluation of the person is found in his essay "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," a fascinating reflection on the case of Arnauld du Tihl, the sixteenth-century imposter of Martin Guerre whose story, already well-known in the sixteenth century, has been widely diffused in our own time as a novel, an opera, two films, a musical, and a scholarly bestseller by the historian Natalie Zemon Davis.[39] Arnaud's fame rests on his having successfully assumed the identity of another man, Martin Guerre, a peasant from southern France. Arnaud not only assumed Martin's name but his wife and social role as well, in the tiny southern French village of Artigat, and his deception was undetected for some three years, before he was finally "discovered" and executed. Were we to adopt a psychoanalytic perspective, Greenblatt notes, it would appear that "Arnaud du Tihl can manipulate appearances . . . but he cannot seize the other man's inner life."[40] Such a view, however, Greenblatt argues, is "irrelevant" in the Renaissance world. In sixteenth-century Artigat, even as doubts began to be cast on du Tihl's identity, "no one bothers to invoke Martin's biological individuality or even his soul, let alone an infancy that would have seemed almost comically beside the point." To be sure, Greenblatt continues, "Martin's body figured prominently in the trial, but not as the inalienable phenomenological base of his psychic history . . . The move is not from distinct physical traits to the complex life experience generated within, but outward to the community's determination that this particular body possesses by right a particular identity and hence a particular set of possessions."[41] Thus, Greenblatt concludes, the case of Martin Guerre offers splendid evidence that early modern identity was not based on "an

[37] Parker and Quint, *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, 6.

[38] Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass, eds., *Subject and Object in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1996), 5. These scholars do not annihilate the subject entirely; as they write, their purpose "is not to efface the subject but to offset it by insisting that the object be taken into account" (5).

[39] Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," 131–45. Modern versions of the story of Arnauld du Tihl and Martin Guerre include the novel by Janet Lewis, *The Wife of Martin Guerre* (San Francisco, 1941); the opera *The Wife of Martin Guerre: An Opera in Three Acts*, score by William Bergsma, libretto by Janet Lewis (Denver, 1958); the films *Le retour de Martin Guerre* (Paris, 1982) and *Sommersby* (Hollywood, 1993); the musical *Martin Guerre*, music by Claude-Michel Schönberg, lyrics by Edward Hardy and Alain Boublil (London, 1996); and the historical study by Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). The historical treatment of the case has attracted considerable attention: see especially Robert Finlay, "The Refashioning of Martin Guerre," *AHR* 93 (June 1988): 553–71, with a response by Natalie Zemon Davis, "'On the Lame,'" in the same issue: 572–603. In answering Finlay, Davis responds as well to Greenblatt's arguments in his "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture"; she maintains that "his argument goes too far" and that the case in fact shows "the sixteenth-century limits to the social invention of reality" (602).

[40] Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," 135.

[41] Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," 135–36.

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authentic self beneath" but rather demonstrates that "[t]here is no layer deeper, more authentic, than theatrical self-representation."[42]

Louis Adrian Montrose offers us a similar, deliberately superficial account of individual identity in *The Purpose of Playing*, his recent study of Shakespearean theater. In this book, as in his earlier articles, Montrose focuses on what he calls—in keeping with a formulation of the French philosopher Louis Althusser—the process of subjectification. Defining this process, as does Althusser, primarily as ideological, Montrose observes that, "on the one hand, it shapes individuals as loci of consciousness and initiators of action, endowing them with *subjectivity* and with the capacity for agency; and, on the other hand, it positions, motivates, and constrains them within—it *subjects them to*—social networks and cultural codes, forces of necessity and contingency, that ultimately exceed their comprehension or control."[43] Refreshingly, Montrose's book is at many points an effort to discern principles of the formation of subjects that can account for the possibility of rebellion by Renaissance men and women against the structures that also molded and constrained them. Nonetheless, Montrose is emphatically reductive in his analysis, maintaining throughout his book, as he has in his earlier essays, that the subject is created exclusively (or nearly so) by the contemporaneous ideological forces in which the self is embedded. To be sure, in his epilogue (an expansive moment when he attempts to provide a structuralist account of Shakespearean "genius"), he does allow that the playwright's "circumstances [as 'sharer and housekeeper in the Lord Chamberlain's company and also its chief dramatist'] cannot *fully* account for the special qualities of Shakespeare's dramatic corpus." But, when Montrose immediately adds that "those special qualities emerged and developed within an individually configured framework of determinate historical and material conditions," he makes it clear that he views these conditions and forces as decisive.[44] Yet, from a less constricted historical framework—one that would take into account both more gradually developing literary and artistic resources in Elizabethan England as well as particular events (were we able to reconstruct them) in Shakespeare's own life—Montrose has offered merely a description of what a historian might describe as the enabling circumstances of Shakespeare's creativity or "special qualities." He provides an account neither of Shakespeare's creativity nor even of his self-fashioning.

This new approach to the person is hardly confined to literary analysis. In his recent study of Albrecht Dürer, the art historian Joseph Leo Koerner draws on New Historicism to frame his analysis of Dürer's self-portraits, stressing the roles of artist, lover, gentleman, and Christian in which Dürer represented himself. "[T]hese works," Koerner observes—immediately before citing Greenblatt on the manipu-

[42] Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," 143.

[43] Montrose, *Purpose of Playing*, 16. Montrose's formulations here—as in much of his analysis in general—are indebted to Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," *Lenin and Philosophy*, Ben Brewster, trans. (New York, 1971), esp. 127–34.

[44] Montrose, *Purpose of Playing*, 207–08, emphasis mine. Montrose has developed his ideas in a number of important and influential articles—see especially "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," *Representations* 1 (Spring 1983): 61–94; "Renaissance Literary Studies and the Subject of History," *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (Winter 1986): 5–12; and "The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text," in Parker and Quint, *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, 303–40.

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lable and artful nature of identity in the sixteenth century—"chronicle not so much one person's physical and artistic maturation as a sequence of roles enacted by the artist for a variety of occasions."[45] Such an analysis by no means necessarily entails the elimination of the subject. Indeed, the brilliance of Koerner's analysis lies in the tension he recognizes between the varied roles Dürer adopted in his self-portraits and the claim the artist's distinctive monogram (based on his initials, A. D.) made for his authorship or subjectivity. Accordingly, it becomes possible to read a painting such as Dürer's *Self-Portrait* of 1500 (see cover illustration) simultaneously as a submersion of the self in the identity of Christ and as an expression of artistic individuality and genius.[46] By contrast, in Stephen Shapin's recent study of the seventeenth-century gentleman scientist Robert Boyle, the disappearance of the subject is conspicuous: identity is radically divorced from subjectivity, experience, and the individual's personal history. As Shapin writes:

> First, a personal identity has to be continually made, and is continually revised and remade, throughout an individual career in contingent social and cultural settings. Such a claim runs counter to ways of accounting for personal development deeply entrenched in present-day academic and lay cultures. In a popular psychological idiom, individual character is seen as *laid down* in infancy or childhood, perhaps massively shaped by the individual textures of universal sexual traumas and rites of passage. The most prevalent sociological perspectives similarly conceive individual personality to be predominantly shaped by early exposure to and internalization of *social values*, thereafter reinforced by the reiterations of those values in *social institutions*.[47]

Shapin is undoubtedly correct that his perspective runs counter to deeply entrenched notions of personal development in at least certain sectors of both academic and popular culture. But his own view is consistent with an *emerging* paradigm that views the self as a protean cultural artifact.

The tide has shifted, then, from Burckhardt's notion of the discovery of the individual to a New Historicist analytics of self-fashioning. Certainly many aspects of the notion self-fashioning are, as I have tried to suggest, compelling at both a descriptive and a heuristic level. But how are historians to make sense of this transformation in the radically altered understanding of the construction of the self in Renaissance Europe? Are we simply to accept the view that the self, in the Renaissance as in all periods, is a mere cultural artifact, and that the humanist self was (and remains) no more than an illusion—something "remarkably unfree" or merely "the ideological product of the relations of power in a particular society"? Was the individual, in fact, "continually made and remade"? In short, does the concept of self-fashioning provide an adequate description of the production of subjectivities or, more prosaically, of the discovery of the individual in the Renaissance?

[45] Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, 67. See especially Koerner's remark again at 67: "This effect should not surprise any modern student of the sixteenth century. As Stephen Greenblatt has argued in his now-classic study of psychic mobility in the Renaissance, during this period 'there appeared to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process.'"

[46] As Koerner writes, in Dürer's view, "invention and genius are properties of the self." Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, 214.

[47] Shapin, *Social History of Truth*, 127–28.

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ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING FEATURES of Renaissance notions of the self was an explicitly layered quality, which represented a sense not only of inwardness or interiority but also of mystery about what Renaissance writers, drawing on a long tradition, imagined as their inner selves. This concern was manifest as early as the fourteenth century in Petrarch's writings, especially the *Secretum* in which, under the influence of Augustine, Petrarch examined the depth and the shortcomings of his own soul.[48] In the sixteenth century, however, this concern reached a new level of intensity. The Venetian reformer Gasparo Contarini conveyed a sense of this inwardness in a celebrated letter, his epistle to Tommaso Giustiniani of April 1511: "if you were to know me from within [*nell'intrinseco*], as I really am (but even I do not know myself well), you would not make such a judgment about me."[49] In a similar vein, John Calvin, in language that substantially expanded the topography of interiority, encouraged his readers to look more deeply into themselves: "The human heart has so many crannies where vanity hides, so many holes where falsehood lurks, is so decked out with deceiving hypocrisy, that it often dupes itself."[50] Montaigne, one of the preeminent architects of inwardness in the sixteenth century, made a similar observation: "I, who make no other profession, find in me such infinite depth and variety, that what I have learned bears no other fruit than to make me realize how much I still have to learn."[51] And the works of Wyatt, the Tudor poet, as Greenblatt himself notes, are marked both by their "inwardness" and their "intensely personal" nature.[52]

Indeed, one can point not only to author after author from the Renaissance—Petrarch, Erasmus, Luther, More, Montaigne, Shakespeare—who made issues of interiority central to his discussion of the human situation but also to the way in which this dimension of experience was registered beyond the realm of great letters. An especially poignant series of examples derives from the inquisitorial records and the martyrologies of this period. *The Acts and Monuments* of the English martyrologist John Foxe, for instance, are filled with Protestant saints who vacillate over the question of whether or not they should reveal their beliefs and convictions to the Catholic prelates who examined them, before finally electing to make their "inner" convictions known.[53] Inquisitorial archives provide similar cases, the most celebrated of which was that of the Italian lawyer Francesco Spiera, who struggled with the question of whether or not to dissimulate his beliefs as he was led into the tribunal in Venice, only to abjure his convictions before the Inquisitor and later to regret it so deeply that he starved himself to death, convinced he was going to

[48] Francesco Petrarca, *Secretum*, Ugo Dotti, ed. (Rome, 1993); see also Hans Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum: Its Making and Its Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

[49] Contarini to Tommaso Giustiniani, April 24, 1511, in Hubert Jedin, ed., *Contarini und Camaldoli* (Rome, 1953), 13.

[50] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John T. McNeill, ed., Ford Lewis Battles, trans. (Philadelphia, 1960), Bk. 3, chap. 2, section 10.

[51] Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, Donald M. Frame, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1965), 823. For the French, I have consulted Pierre Villey, ed., *Les essais* (Paris, 1924).

[52] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 119, though Greenblatt hastens to add that "the inwardness of [his] poems can in no way be conceived as Wyatt's private affair . . . [It] is intertwined with the great public crisis of the period, with religious doctrine and the nature of power" (119).

[53] John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Josiah Pratt, ed., 8 vols. (London, 1870).

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Hell.[54] Calvin, who was familiar with this case, raised the possibility that Spiera was hardly an isolated example. The Catholic lands, he wrote in a series of treatises and letters, were filled with those he called Nicodemites (in reference to the early Christian Nicodemus, who, according to the Gospel of John, had come to Jesus "by night")—men and women, that is, who were Protestant by belief but who continued to attend Mass and make a show of being Catholic to protect themselves and their families from persecution.[55] And, in the Renaissance court as well, the issue of the representation of the self was a central dimension of the life of the elites. The very popularity of Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* not only in Italy but throughout Europe provides evidence of this.[56] The Italian humanist and historian Francesco Guicciardini gave simultaneous expression to courtly and religious concerns when he observed in his *Ricordi*: "And yet the position I have filled under several Popes has obliged me for personal reasons [*per el particulare mio*] to desire their greatness. But for this I should have loved Martin Luther as myself."[57]

The experience of personhood in the Renaissance world was, in short, often the experience of a divided self, of a person who was frequently forced to erect a public façade that disguised his or her convictions, beliefs, or feelings. In the Renaissance generally and the sixteenth century in particular, we see a new emphasis on inwardness or the idea of an interior self as the core of personal identity. To be sure, there was nothing new about the notion of interiority per se.[58] Medieval society, especially in the wake of the cultural and monastic revivals of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries, had numerous writers and theologians who fashioned a deep sense of inwardness and interiority. Bernard of Clairvaux's mystical theology, which was even distributed in vernacular translations, elaborated the most complex psychology of the soul since Augustine. Peter Abelard's ethics shifted the attention of moral judgment away from deed to the intention that lay behind it. Aelred of Rivaulx underscored the importance of inwardness in his celebrated treatise on spiritual friendship. And medieval penitential theory and practice began to stress contrition—genuine sorrow for one's sins—over external acts of penance.[59] But there was something significantly new about the way in which

[54] The literature on Spiera is extensive; for an orientation, see M. A. Overell, "The Exploitation of Francesco Spiera," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (Fall 1995): 619–37.

[55] John 3: 1–2. Calvin's anti-Nicodemite writings include his *De fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris* of 1536, vol. 5 of *Corpus Reformatorum, Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Guilielmus Baum, *et al.*, eds., 59 vols. (Brunswick, 1863–1900), cols. 239–78 [hereafter, *CO*]; his *De christiani hominis officio in sacerdotiis papalis ecclesiae vel administrandis vel abiiciendis*, also of 1536, vol. 5 of *CO*, col. 279–312; his *Petit traicté monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidele* of 1543, vol. 6 of *CO*, cols. 537–88; his *Excuse de Iehan Calvin à Messieurs les Nicodemites sur la complaincte qu'ilz font de sa trop grand rigeur* of 1544, vol. 6 of *CO*, cols. 589–614; his *Quatre sermons* of 1552, vol. 8 of *CO*, 369–452; and in 1562, his *Response à un certain Holandois*, vol. 9 of *CO*, cols. 581–628. On this theme in Calvin's thought, see Carlos Eire, *The War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986); and for a textual history of these works, see Eugenie Droz, *Chemins de l'hérésie: Textes et documents*, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1970–76), 1: 131–71.

[56] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's "Cortegiano"* (University Park, Pa., 1995).

[57] Francesco Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, with English transl. by Ninian Hill Thomson (New York, 1949), series 2, no. 28.

[58] The idea that inwardness was a new feature of the Renaissance is relatively widespread, especially in the sociological literature. See, for example, Roy F. Baumeister, *Identity, Cultural Change and the Struggle for Self* (Oxford, 1986), esp. 36.

[59] On Bernard of Clairvaux's psychology, see Etienne Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard*,

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men and women in the Renaissance began to conceptualize the relation between what they saw as the interior self on the one hand and the expressions of one's thoughts, feelings, or beliefs on the other. Indeed, it is by carefully analyzing this shift from medieval to Renaissance notions of the relation of the interior self to such expressions that we can both better grasp what has come to be called the Renaissance discovery of the individual along with the new sense of subjectivity (both in the sense of ownership of and agency behind one's speech, thoughts, and actions) that it entailed. Here my analysis shall be limited, as I noted earlier, to two relatively well-focused developments: the Renaissance refashioning of the virtue of prudence and the rather more sudden emergence in sixteenth-century discourse of the ideal of sincerity.[60]

PRUDENCE, UNLIKE SINCERITY, IS AN ANCIENT VIRTUE, with classical roots. It played a central role for Aristotle, who viewed prudence (*phronesis*) as the practical reason that guided one's choice in the process of ethical decision-making. In late antiquity, a number of authors—most notably, Augustine—linked this classical ideal to the Christian concept of Providence. Indeed, the two terms *prudentia* and *providentia* both derived from the Latin *providere* ("to foresee," "to take precaution," "to provide for"). As a result, throughout most of the Middle Ages, prudence was viewed as Christian wisdom and took its place alongside temperance, fortitude, and justice as one of the four cardinal virtues. For instance, the twelfth-century theologian Alan of Lille stated in his *De virtutibus*, "prudence is the discernment of those things that are good, evil, or mixed, with the avoidance of evil and the election of the good."[61] In Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, prudence is represented as a principle of order, one that is decisive, when properly developed, in holding the passions and the appetites in check when these threaten one's ability to obtain happiness or salvation. "Prudence," Thomas wrote, "is a virtue most necessary for human life. For a good life consists in good deeds. Now in order to do good deeds, it matters not only what a man does but also how he does it; to wit, that he do it from right choice and not merely from impulse or passion."[62]

Yet this ideal underwent a significant shift in the Italian Renaissance, especially in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when humanists began reading and

A. H. C. Downes, trans. (London, 1955); for Peter Abelard, see especially his *Ethica: Peter Abelard's Ethics*, D. E. Luscombe, ed. and trans. (Oxford, 1971); for Aelred of Rievaulx, see his *De spirituali amicitia: L'amitié spirituelle*, J. Dubois, ed. and trans. (Bruges, 1948); and on changing twelfth-century ideals of penitence, Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 18–19. For two superb general overviews of the shifts in sensibility in this period, see M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 1968); and R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn., 1953), esp. 170–257.

[60] The tension between these ideals is not exclusively Western; see, for example, the suggestive essay by Raymond Jamous, "Politesse et sincérité dans le monde arabe," in Jean-Michel Besnier, ed., *Politesse et sincérité* (Paris, 1994), 25–31.

[61] Alan of Lille, *De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis spiritus sancti*, in Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale au XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1942–50), 6: 51.

[62] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, English Dominican Province, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1947), pts. I–II, Qu. 57, Art. 5.

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interpreting Aristotle's works—above all, his *Nicomachean Ethics*—outside a strictly theological context. In the hands of such humanists as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, Giovanni Pontano, and Lorenzo Valla, prudence was no longer the equivalent of providence but rather an ethical strategy that gave new emphasis to the individual's will. And in the early sixteenth century, in the work of Machiavelli, prudence was divorced entirely from ethics.[63] As Machiavelli argued in a famous passage of *The Prince*, "a wise ruler [*uno signore prudente*] cannot, nor should he, keep his word when doing so would be to his disadvantage and when the reasons that led him to make promises no longer exist . . . But one must know how to disguise this nature well, and how to be a fine liar and hypocrite [*simulatore e dissimulatore*]; and men are so simple-minded and so dominated by their present needs that one who deceives will always find one who will allow himself to be deceived."[64] In Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, the humanist Pietro Bembo states that one should never trust anyone, not even a dear friend, to the extent of "communicating without reservation all one's thoughts to him," while the diplomat Federico Fregoso, the primary speaker of Book II, explicitly recommends "a certain studied dissimulation" in one's conversation. Although other voices are presented as objecting to the opinions of these speakers, the overall thrust of Castiglione's dialogue is to view conversation as an art, in which nothing is said that has not previously been thought through. As Federico remarks at the beginning of Book II, "One should consider carefully whatever one does or says, attending to the place where one does it, in whose presence, at what time, and the motive for one's actions, one's own age, profession, the ends one is striving for, and the means that can lead there, and thus, with these things having been taken into account, let him accommodate himself discreetly for all he wishes to do or to say."[65]

This new understanding of prudence was widespread.[66] As Rita Belladonna has demonstrated in an insightful series of articles, the Sienese nobleman and evangelical Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini's *Trattato della prudenza* (1537–38)—in its stress on the need for the individual "to project an impressive image of himself, training himself to be all things to all men, while at the same time preserving his own inner freedom and remaining detached from the world in spite of his dealings with it"—paralleled Carli's explicitly Nicodemite attitude that the Christian should "conform to what others [do] on the outside but internally to do whatever the spirit inspires [one] to do, addressing everything to Christ."[67] It is hardly surprising that

[63] Victoria Kahn, *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985). See also Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1970); and Nancy S. Struever, *Theory as Practice: Ethical Inquiry in the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1992).

[64] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Mark Musa, ed. and trans. (New York, 1964), 144–47.

[65] Baldesar Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, Bruno Maier, ed. (1528; Turin, 1964), 236, 253, 200.

[66] Mario Santoro, *Fortuna, ragione e prudenza nella civiltà letteraria del Cinquecento*, 2d edn. (Naples, 1978). I thank Elizabeth Gleason for referring me to this book.

[67] Rita Belladonna, "Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Religious Dissimulation: Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini's *Trattati nove della prudenza*," in Joseph C. McLelland, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Italian Reform* (Waterloo, Ont., 1980), 31–32; see also Belladonna, "Bartolomeo Caroli, nobile senese, imitatore di Juan de Valdés," *Critica storica* 10 (1973): 514–28; "Cenni biografici su Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini," *Critica storica* 11 (1974): 507–10; "Pontanus, Machiavelli, and a Case of Religious Dissimulation in Early Sixteenth-Century Siena (Carli's *Tratatti nove della prudenza*)," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 37 (1975): 377–85; and "Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini's Attitude towards

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it was precisely in these years that another evangelical, Lucio Paolo Rosello, the author of the *Ritratto del vero governo del principe dall'esempio vivo del gran Cosimo de Medici*, observed of the courtly life: "I submit that there is a great difference between the prudent man, about whom I wish to speak, and the flatterer; because the latter, of his own accord, and not because he is pushed by necessity, approaches others in a deceptive manner and with false blandishments, but the former is compelled by necessity . . . and accommodates himself to the times, now concealing, now revealing, as circumstance allow."[68] This prudential ideal reached across class lines. Testifying in 1566 before the Inquisition in Modena, for example, a witness noted that there were many Protestants in the city, "but they go about with prudence [*prudentemente*] and in secret in order to avoid being accused of heresy."[69] In the following year in Venice, the silk weaver Marcantonio Varotto reported having received advice from a fellow heretic in Mantua that he maintain the greatest of caution. "If you know the truth," he was counseled, "give thanks to God, but attend to your own affairs, keep the truth within [*in voi*], do not go about revealing it because it is not now the time to discuss these matters."[70]

A prudential rhetoric was, moreover, an increasingly important dimension of the everyday. In a variety of venues, great emphasis was placed on the importance of cultivating a certain ambiguity about one's beliefs in daily interactions. Renaissance books—from Paolo da Certaldo's *Libro di buoni costumi* to Leon Battista Alberti's *Della famiglia* to Francesco Guicciardini's *Ricordi*—recommended a certain caution in revealing one's convictions or feelings. To a large degree, it is not surprising that the demands of everyday life, both in the cities and the courts of Renaissance Europe, tended to collapse the traditional distinction between prudence and dissimulation. Although historical sources are limited, we do have some sense of the history of the self in urban contexts. In their efforts to maintain their honor in the eyes of their neighbors and fellow workers or to negotiate the demands of their own sexuality against a backdrop of seemingly impossible religious demands, for example, it is evident that lay people in the late Middle Ages often viewed the self as a complex entity. For the early Renaissance, evidence is most persuasive in such settings as Florence, where merchants, bankers, and affluent artisans began keeping diaries (*ricordi*) that often provide revealing glimpses of these internal conflicts.[71] And a recent study of sexuality in Renaissance Venice has made it clear that adult Venetians, while posing publicly as moral members of a Christian society, often self-consciously engaged in a variety of sexual practices beyond the expected

Religious Ceremonies Compared to That of Erasmus and That of Luther," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 42 (1980): 421–25.

[68] Cited in Paolo Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento: Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico* (Rome, 1979), 379–80.

[69] Cited in Antonio Rotondò, "Atteggiamenti della vita morale italiana del Cinquecento: La pratica nicodemitica," *Rivista storica italiana* 79 (1967): 1029.

[70] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Sant'Uffizio, busta 22, dossier "Varotta Marcantonio," memorial of January 21, 1567. There are many references to the need to conceal one's convictions in inquisitorial documents; see John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 125–46.

[71] Gene Brucker, "Introduction: Florentine Diaries and Diarists," in Brucker, ed., *Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence: The Diaries of Buonaccorso Pitti and Gregorio Dati* (New York, 1967), 9–18.

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boundaries of proper behavior—evidence that self-fashioning was an aspect of the lives of townspeople as well as those of courtiers.

The Renaissance refashioning of prudence indicates a significant shift in the understanding of the self. Both the emphasis on deliberation—as, for example, in the popularity of dialogues in which the interlocutors debate issues from different perspectives—and the practical divorce of prudence from ethics placed new emphasis on the human subject. To be sure, there was much in Aquinas's thought that had invested the self (whether understood as intellect or will) with a significant role in decision-making, but Aquinas's emphasis consistently fell on the need to bring the appetites and the will into conformity with properly determined ends. In the Middle Ages, it was the role of the virtues both to hold the passions in check and to encourage thoughtful deliberation about the proper ends of one's actions. From the fifteenth century on, by contrast, the will was seen as increasingly free of these external (and internal) constraints and more emphasis was placed on the feelings, emotions, and expressiveness of what we might describe as the individual subject.[72]

THIS NEW EMPHASIS ON THE SELF AS SUBJECT is even more apparent in the Renaissance invention of sincerity. Like many words that eventually gained a wide currency, sincerity had many significations. Before the Renaissance, the word "sincere" had generally referred to something (often a material substance such as a liquid or a metal) that was pure or unadulterated, but in the sixteenth century, as the eminent literary historian Lionel Trilling argued in a famous essay, sincerity became a moral category, referring, as Trilling put it—concisely but usefully—"to a congruence between avowal and actual feeling."[73] That is, in the midst of the sixteenth century (although there is some evidence that this new moral meaning of sincerity had begun to appear in earlier Renaissance writers such as Petrarch and Valla), we discover a growing moral imperative to make one's feelings and convictions known.[74] Indeed, I would argue that this is a characteristically modern concern: to state that someone is sincere or not sincere, to see particular utterances and works of art and literature as essential expressions of individual selves, above all, to desire to connect speech with feeling. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries explored many facets of this ideal. "[L]ooke in thy heart, and write"—as Sir Philip Sidney's muse encouraged him—might be seen as an epigram of the age, as might the Shakespearean imperative from Polonius, "to thine own self be true."[75] But the

[72] Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*.

[73] Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 2. Trilling's observations on the history of this word derived from his reading of the entries "sincere" and "sincerity" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Nonetheless, my preliminary research into the history of this term (in English, German, Latin, and the Romance languages) largely confirms Trilling's point.

[74] A notion of sincerity is implicit in Petrarch, "The Ascent of Mont Ventoux" (Ernst Cassirer, *et al.*, eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* [Chicago, 1948], 46). On Valla and sincerity, see Mario Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente* (Rome, 1969).

[75] Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, stanza 1, line 14. Of the first fourteen lines of this poem, Theodore Spencer has written, "The famous first sonnet of *Astrophel and Stella* is a manifesto of sincerity, an eloquent rejection of anything but the strictest devotion of honest feeling." "The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney," *English Literary History* 12 (1945): 268–69. For a more nuanced view of this question, see

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struggle for the sincere ideal began earlier, among the Italian humanists, though it was the early Protestant reformers who elevated sincerity to a defining virtue.

Medieval authors had also developed an ideal of the proper relation between what they described as the internal self (*homo interior*) and one's words and actions. But, significantly, they did not use the term "sincerity" to describe this relation. Turning to language that had in fact developed much earlier, within early medieval monasticism, they cultivated the ideal of *concordia* (harmony or agreement) and related expressions (*consonantia*, *harmonia*, *concors*, *concordare*, *accordare*) to describe the proper interplay between self and one's words and deeds. A key text was the *Rule of St. Benedict*, in which the interior self was to be fashioned to correspond to the language of the psalms that punctuated the monk's daily life, as when Benedict counseled monks to pray in such a way "that our mind be in agreement with our voice."[76] In the twelfth century, this ideal took hold. Hugh of St. Victor, in his commentary on the *Rule of St. Augustine*, for example, cited Benedict when he wrote: "of those chanting in church, . . . their mind should be in agreement [*concordare debet*] with their voice."[77] In his *Life of Aelred*, the Cistercian Walter Daniel praised the way in which Aelred's teachings were in harmony with his life and his works: "he did not live differently than he taught, but his work was in agreement [*concordabat*] with his voice, and what he taught in words, he put forth with examples."[78] *Concordia* was the central thread of the universe in Bernard of

Richard A. Lanham, "*Astrophel and Stella*: Pure and Impure Persuasion," in Arthur F. Kinney, ed., *Essential Articles for the Study of Sir Philip Sidney* (Hamden, Conn., 1986), 223–40; William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* [1603], Harold Jenkins, ed. (New York, 1982), I. 78.

[76] *Benedicti Regula*, Rudolphus Hanslik, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 2d edn. (Vienna, 1977), vol. 75, sect. 19: "de disciplina psallendi." In part, Benedict was drawing on classical and, in particular, on Stoic conceptions of *concordia*. See, for example, the younger Seneca: "Haec sit propositi nostri summa: quod sentimus loquamur, quod loquimur sentiamus; concordet sermo cum vita," *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, English transl. by Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols. (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 2: Letter 75, sect. 4. On the influence of classical ideals of *concordia* on the Benedictine Rule, see Winfrid Cramer, "Mens concordet voci: Zum Fortleben einer stoischen Gebetsmaxime in der Regula Benedicti," in Ernst Dassmann and K. Suso Frank, eds., *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting* (Münster, 1980), 447–57, esp. 454. For a different perspective on this Benedictine ideal, see Viktor Warnach, who notes that "the words 'concordare,' 'concordia,' 'concors' were first widely used in late classical speech and especially in Church Latin." "Mens concordet voci: Zur Lehre der heiligen Benedikt über die geistige Haltung beim Chorgebet nach dem 19. Kapitel seiner Klosterregel," *Liturgisches Leben* 5 (1938): 179. That *concordia* was not merely a religious but also a political ideal in the late Roman world is evident from H. P. L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 46–51. Nonetheless, it was Benedict's insistence on the importance of harmony between one's speech and one's intent that was most often emphasized in the Middle Ages. For several examples, see Giles Constable, "The Concern for Sincerity and Understanding in Liturgical Prayer, Especially in the Twelfth Century," in Irene Vaslef and Helmut Buschhausen, eds., *Classica et Mediaevalia: Studies in Honor of Joseph Szövérffy* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 17–30. Constable's insightful essay points to "a search for harmony between two associated aspects of the act of worship or prayer, one internal, such as the soul, spirit, heart, mind, thought, meaning, or sense, and the other external, such as the voice, tongue, lips, breath, words, or sound" (17).

[77] Hugh of St. Victor, *Expositio in Regulam Augustini*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus series latina* [hereafter, *PL*], J. P. Migne, ed. (Paris, 1844–91), 176: col. 892.

[78] Walter Daniel, *Vita s. Aderaldi*, *Acta Sanctorum*: October (Paris, 1866), 8: 991–92, cited by Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 98, n. 37. This essay, which originally appeared in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (January 1980): 1–17, has played a significant role in my thinking on the history of individualism in medieval and early modern society. See also John F. Benton, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 263–95.

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Sylvester's neo-Platonic *Cosmographia*. It bound the earth to the heavens and the soul to the body.[79] Later in the twelfth century, the prominent theologian Alan of Lille, in a discussion of liturgy, defined *symphonia* as "a concordant harmony of one's speech and acts with one's mind."[80] And at the end of the twelfth century, the Premonstratensian canon Adam of Dryburgh recommended that, in prayer, the reader should "[p]ay attention . . . that you experience in your heart what you say with your mouth, so that your voice may be in agreement with your mind [*ut concordet vox tua cum mente tua*], and the latter may think about the former sounds."[81]

Indeed, over and over again in the texts from the Middle Ages, *concordia* was viewed as the ideal around which one should structure language and life in relation to beliefs and convictions. In the early thirteenth century, St. Francis wrote that one should pray in such a way that "one's voice was in agreement with one's mind," and the ideal of *concordia* or *consonantia* persisted through Dante and Thomas à Kempis.[82] In the late fifteenth century, we find it as well in the Platonic writings of Marsilio Ficino. "No harmony gives greater delight than that of heart and tongue" is the title Ficino gives to one of his letters. Like the other neo-Platonic writers Bernard of Sylvester and Alan of Lille before him, Ficino too made it clear that the concord between heart and tongue was only one aspect of a larger divine plan. As he wrote in his letter on music, "a man is not harmoniously formed who does not delight in harmony . . . for God rejoices in harmony to such an extent that he seems to have created the world especially for this reason, that all its individual parts should sing harmoniously to themselves and to the whole universe."[83] As an ethic, then, *concordia* or harmony placed the greatest emphasis on the agreement of one person with another in relation to the worship of God. But the shift to the ideal of *sinceritas* was not merely the result of shifts in social and economic structures, with the consequences these new arrangements had for collective life. It was primarily the outgrowth of an intellectual revolution central to the rise of Protestantism.

Like many other dimensions of medieval life, the ideal of *concordia* had rested on the assumption, widespread in the monastic and Catholic culture of this period, that the human person was fundamentally similar to God. Indeed, as Robert Javelet has demonstrated in his masterly *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle*, medieval writers—especially beginning in the twelfth century—strove to model themselves on Christ. They viewed the spiritual life as preeminently a quest for the recovery of the image of God within themselves. The Delphic Oracle's pronouncement "Know Thyself" became, in their understanding of the human person, not a command to discover a unique personality but rather an ideal to recover the image of God within

[79] Bernardus Sylvestris, *Cosmographia*, Winthrop Wetherbee, trans. (New York, 1973), 88, 109.

[80] Alan of Lille, "Expositio prosae de angelis," in *Alain de Lille: Textes inédits avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, ed. (Paris, 1965), 196.

[81] Adam of Dryburgh, *De quadripertito exercitio cellae*, sect. 35, *PL*, 153: col. 878C, cited in Constable, "Concern for Sincerity," 25–26.

[82] Francis's reversal of Benedict's formula "ut mens nostra concordet voci nostrae" to "ut vox concordet menti" has occasioned considerable discussion. See Bertilo De Boer, "La soi-disant opposition de Saint François d'Assise à Saint Benoit," *Etudes franciscaines* 7 (1957): 181–94.

[83] Marsilio Ficino, *Letters*, Members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London, trans., 5 vols. (London, 1975–94), 1: no. 77; 5: no. 21.

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the self.[84] As Caroline Walker Bynum has observed, "The twelfth-century person . . . converted to the Christian life by adopting a model that simultaneously shaped both 'outer man' (behavior) and 'inner man' (soul)." Timothy J. Reiss made a similar point in his observation that, in the writings from this period, "human 'self'-awareness . . . is quite inseparable from a sense of participation ('knowledge') in the Divine."[85]

In the late Middle Ages, beginning with William of Ockham, nominalist theologians began to develop arguments that eventually eroded, especially in the work of Martin Luther, the anthropology on which this ideal of *concordia* had been based.[86] For, unlike earlier medieval theologians and mystics, Luther could not accept the principle that man was essentially similar to God. To the contrary, Lutheran anthropology was based on a principle of dissimilarity. The human person was fundamentally sinful, a concept that was reiterated with special force in Calvin's recurrent emphasis on the majesty of God and the depravity of man. The implications of this shift to a new anthropology were manifold, but at the very least they undermined the possibility of *concordia*. The human person was no longer viewed as in a (potentially) harmonious relation to God, the cosmos, and to him or herself but as an inevitably sinful portion of Creation, whose value in God's eyes was largely a mystery.[87]

But if the ideal of *concordia* had begun to lose its force, how were men and women to conceive of the ideal relation between what they viewed as their internal selves (their thoughts, their feelings, and their convictions) and the broader world? In the sixteenth century, this relation began to be described in terms of sincerity. Crucially, the terms *concordia* and sincerity were not fully synonymous. Whereas *concordia* was based on a complex assumption about the potentiality of harmony throughout the universe—a harmony that ideally would be reflected in the way the individual Christian modeled him or herself on the image of God, the sincere ideal could not appeal, at least not for long, to the image of God within the individual person. To be sure, for Luther, grace to some degree substituted—at least in the elect—for the medieval ideal of *similitudo* (likeness). But, in general, the sincere ideal could not appeal to a common notion of the internal self. Once the idea of similarity or likeness between God and the human person had been ruptured, it

[84] Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle de saint Anselme à Alain de Lille*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967); and Giles Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ," in Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 145–248, esp. 179–217.

[85] Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" 90; and Timothy J. Reiss, *The Discourse of Modernism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 87. Both Bynum and Reiss are responding critically to Morris, *Discovery of the Individual*.

[86] Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Late Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967).

[87] Steven Ozment, "Luther and the Late Middle Ages: The Formation of Reformation Thought," in Robert M. Kingdon, ed., *Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues in European Renaissance and Reformation History* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1974), 124. Despite Ozment's point, it remained true that the human person continued to be understood, at least in part, in the language of similitude, a language in which *concordia* continued to play a role, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On this theme, see S. K. Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, Calif., 1974), but especially Foucault, *Order of Things*, 17–77. Foucault ignores the evidence from early Protestant theology that challenges his dating of the shift from an emphasis on similitude to one of difference, identity, and analysis. As he notes, "Establishing discontinuities is not an easy task even for history in general" (50).

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became increasingly difficult to express a common Christian ideal. A particular person's actions and words were viewed as expressing something far more limited: the internal, particular, and even unique self within. However, not all writers held that one's words and deeds should be a genuine representation of one's beliefs or feelings at all times. As we have seen, the Renaissance period is largely defined by the ascendancy of a doctrine of prudence that held the contrary: that there were numerous occasions on which particular men and women should conceal what is in their minds and hearts. Nonetheless, in both discussions of sincerity and counsels of prudence, a new understanding of the human person emerged—one that placed greater stress on the internal self as agent or subject, as director of one's words and deeds. And although the Protestant attack on the medieval view of the human as a representation, however flawed, of the divine was only one factor in the discovery of the individual, it is nonetheless clear that the development of the individual in the Renaissance had little to do with the cultivation of a sense of interiority per se. What was novel about sixteenth-century views of the self was the new understanding of the relation of one's thoughts and feelings to one's words and actions. On the one hand, Renaissance writers, especially by the sixteenth century, placed new emphasis on differences between individuals. On the other, in overturning the medieval ideal of prudent restraint on one's emotions, Protestant reformers gave a new legitimacy to the expression of one's emotions—an expressiveness of feelings that would, increasingly, be subsumed under the ideal of sincerity.

Luther, Calvin, and other early Protestant reformers played a pivotal role in articulating this new concern with sincerity. Luther was especially forceful in his praise of this virtue in his "Preface to the Psalms," which he published in his German Bible of 1528. The Book of Psalms, Luther argued, far surpassed the lives of saints and other moral tales because it "preserves, not the trivial and ordinary things said by the saints, but their deepest and noblest utterances, those which they used when speaking in full earnest and all urgency to God. It not only tells us what they say about their work and conduct, but also lays bare their hearts . . . [I]t enables us to see into their hearts and understand the nature of their thoughts."[88] Especially noteworthy is the degree to which Luther's endorsement of sincerity is linked to a new valuing of the human passions:

> The human heart is like a ship on a stormy sea driven about by winds blowing from all four corners of heaven. In one man, there is fear and anxiety about impending disaster; another groans and moans at all the surrounding evil. One man mingles hope and presumption out of the good fortune to which he is looking forward; and another is puffed up with a confidence and pleasure in his present possessions. Such storms, however, teach us to speak sincerely and frankly, and make a clean breast. [*Solche sturmwinde aber leren mit ernst reden und das herss öffenen, und den grund eraus schütten.*] For a man who is in the grip of fear or distress speaks of disaster in a quite different way from one who is filled with happiness; and a man who is filled with joy speaks and sings about happiness quite differently from one who is in the grip of fear. They say that when a sorrowing man laughs or a happy man weeps, his

[88] Martin Luther, "Preface to the Psalms," in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, John Dillenberger, ed. (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), 38–39. The German edition I have used is Luther, *Die Deutsche Bibel*, in *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1910), vol. 10.

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laughter and his weeping do not come from the heart. In other words, these men do not lay bare, or speak of things which lie in, the bottom of their hearts.[89]

Clearly, Luther's view of the proper relation of the emotions to human action and expressiveness marks a radical departure from Aquinas's ethics, which had appealed to prudence and reason to restrain the passions and emotions in the shaping of human acts and speech. To Luther, earnest speech found its model in the David of the Hebrew Psalms—an ideal reiterated in the writings of Calvin.

For Calvin, too, drew a new connection between the affections and speech. Much like Luther, he saw the Psalms as a model of sincerity. In his preface to *Commentaries on the Psalms*, published in Latin in 1557 and the following year in French, Calvin made his own special fondness for this part of the Bible clear.

> I am wont to call this book, not without cause, "The Anatomy of all the Parts of the Soul," for not an affection will a man find in himself, an image of which is not reflected in this mirror. Nay, all the griefs, sorrows, fears, misgivings, hopes, cares, anxieties, in short, all the troublesome emotions with which the minds of men tend to be agitated, the Holy Spirit has here offered a vivid picture. The other scriptures contain the commands which God enjoined His servants to bear to us. But here are prophets themselves talking with God, because they lay bare all their inmost thoughts [*interiores omnes sensus*, *toutes les affections interieures*], invite or hale every one of us to examine himself in particular, lest any of the many infirmities to which we are liable, or of the many vices with which we are beset should remain hidden. A rare and surpassing benefit, when, every lurking-place having been explored, the heart is brought into the light cleansed from hypocrisy, that most noisome pest.[90]

The commentaries themselves underscored the value Calvin placed on sincerity, a theme that emerges in his remarks on Psalm 12: "For as those that purpose to deal faithfully with their neighbours, set open their whole heart as it is; so the false and deceitful persons keep back a part of their meaning to themselves, and cover it with the varnish of dissimulation, so that no certainty can be gathered from their talk. Therefore must our talk be sincere [*simplex*], that it may be the very image of an upright mind."[91] And Calvin's gloss on Psalm 15 made much the same point, though here the ideal of sincerity is seen not merely as the opposite of deceit but rather as a mark of God's people. David "requires sincerity" (*sinceritatem*), Calvin wrote, adding that by "to speak in the heart . . . [David] denotes such a concord and

[89] Luther, "Preface to the Psalms," 39.

[90] John Calvin, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, Arthur Golding, trans. [1571], rev. and ed. by T. H. L. Parker (London, 1965), 16 [*Ioannis Calvini in librum Psalmorum commentarius* (1557) in vol. 29 of *CO*, cols. 16 and 17]. Here and below, I have modified the Golding-Parker translation slightly. On the centrality of the Psalms to Calvin, see Barbara Pitkin, "Imitation of David: David as Paradigm for Faith in Calvin's Exegesis of the Psalms," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (Winter 1993): 843–63; and for the central role of the Psalter in Reformed spirituality, see Henri Chaix, *Le Psautier Huguenot: Sa formation et son histoire dans l'Eglise Réformée* (Geneva, 1907). Calvin had compared the Psalms to an anatomy of the soul in his preface to Louis Budé's translation of the Psalms (1551). "Preface de Iehan Calvin aux lecteurs fideles, touchant l'utilité des Pseaumes et de la translation presente," in R. Peter, "Calvin and Louis Budé's Translation of the Psalms," in G. E. Duffield, ed., *John Calvin* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), 201–06, esp. 202, a work overlooked in *CO*, and further evidence of Calvin's desire to popularize the Psalms among Reformed congregations. My preliminary approach to Calvin has been especially informed by William J. Bouwsma; see *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford, 1988); and "The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought," in Bouwsma, *Usable Past*, 19–73, both of which gesture toward the emergence of the sincere ideal in the sixteenth century.

[91] Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, Ps. 12, v. 3.

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harmony of the heart and tongue [*cordis et linguae consensum et symphoniam*], as that the speech should be the lively image of the inward affection [*viva latentis affectus effigies*]."[92] This last passage is especially revealing. In the first part, in his stress on "a concord and harmony of the heart and the tongue," Calvin's ideas were consonant with those of medieval writers. But the second part of the passage, in its emphasis on the ideal of speech as "a lively image of the inward affection," presents a profoundly new ideal, rooted in the new Renaissance emphasis on the expressive subjectivity of the individual.

Luther's colleague Philip Melanchthon was equally outspoken about the need to recognize the power of the emotions in shaping personality. He attacked classical and scholastic authors for dismissing the affections as a "weakness of nature" that had little bearing on human freedom. He insisted on a new vocabulary for understanding human action. Rather than the will, which previous writers had seen as capable of free choice, Melanchthon, like Calvin, privileged the heart. "And why do we not use the word 'heart' instead of 'will' [*voluntas*]?" he asked. "For the Scriptures call the most powerful part of man the 'heart,' especially that part in which the affections arise." "When an affection has begun to rage and seethe," he concluded, "it cannot be kept from breaking forth."[93] "Thus," as William Bouwsma has written, "[Melanchthon] saw that the consequence of control over the affections (if such control were truly possible) would not be rationality but insincerity, the presentation not of a higher and rational self to the world but an inauthentic self."[94] Turning to the subject of prayer in his *Institutes*, Calvin had made much the same point. "[U]nless voice and song . . . spring from deep feeling of heart," he wrote, "neither has any value or profit in the least with God."[95] In Renaissance Europe, many men identified themselves with a personal emblem. Calvin designed his as a hand-held heart, presented as a kind of offering to his readers and to God—the inscription read: *promte et cincere* (see frontispiece).[96]

The refashioning of the ideal of prudence and the emergence of the sincere ideal were both woven—as two threads among many—into the complex web of causes that led, in the Renaissance period, to the discovery of the individual, although the emergence of sincerity is particularly revealing. For, unlike *concordia*, which insisted on identity or similitude between God and the human person, on the one

[92] Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, Ps. 15, v. 2.

[93] Melanchthon, *Loci communes theologici*, Lowell J. Satre, trans., with revisions by Wilhelm Pauck, in Pauck, ed., *Melanchthon and Bucer* (Philadelphia, 1969), 29, 27, 30 [*Loci communes* in vol. 2, pt. 1 of *Melanchthons Werke*, Hans Engelland and Robert Stupperich, eds. (Gütersloh, 1978), 29, 27, 31].

[94] Bouwsma, "Two Faces of Humanism," 47. Melanchthon himself did not use the term "insincere" but rather "per simulationem" (*Melanchthons Werke*, 28).

[95] Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Bk. 3, chap. 20, sect. 31. Significantly, Calvin also attacks prudence in this passage, for, as he continues, "This is what we gather from Isaiah's words, which, although they extend farther, also are concerned with reproving this fault. 'The people,' He says, 'draw near to me with their mouth, and honor me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have feared me by the command and teaching of men' [Isaiah 29:13; compare Matthew 15:8–9]. 'Therefore, behold, I will . . . do a great and marvelous miracle among this people; for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the prudence of their elders shall vanish' " [Isaiah 29:14 paraphrased, compare Vulgate]. Ford Lewis Battles points out that Calvin's sources for his discussion of prayer in this chapter were two works by Martin Bucer, the *Sacrorum Psalmorum libri quinque* (Strasbourg, 1529), and the *Enarrationes perpetuae in Evangelia* (Strasbourg, 1530). Battles, *The Piety of John Calvin: An Anthology Illustrative of the Spirituality of the Reformer* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), 113.

[96] Bouwsma, *John Calvin*, 179.

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hand, and between the heart and the tongue, on the other, sincerity was an ethic of difference. To be sure, it preserved the ideal of harmony between the heart and the tongue, but the heart was now viewed not as a microcosm of a greater whole but rather as an individual entity, which, while perhaps similar to other hearts in its proclivity to sin and to self-deception, was above all characterized by its own irreducible individuality, its particular desires and affections that set it apart from other persons. Luther's image of the diverse passions (fear, anxiety, hope) of men at sea, tossed about "by winds blowing from all four corners of heaven," underscores this new sense of individuality. In *Loci communes*, Melanchthon was more explicit: "we see that in some characters, some affections rule, and that in other persons, others hold sway. Each is drawn by his own desire."[97] Similarly, Montaigne emphasized that he was writing not of men in general but of "a particular one."[98] In a world cut off both from a communion based on similitude with God and an implicit anthropological identity with other Christians, even the most sincere individual could appeal to no truth greater than that based on his or her feelings, emotions, passions, or affections. As an ideal, therefore, sincerity may have seemed to preserve something of the traditional medieval concern with the need to bring expression and behavior into harmony with one's internal beliefs. In reality, this harmony was profoundly limited, or individualistic. It reached out precariously from an individual speaker's or writer's heart. One's language, therefore, may have resonated with the feelings of a friend or lover, or perhaps, fleetingly, with those of one's readers. Writing of his friendship with La Boétie, for example, Montaigne observed that their very souls had communicated with one another "to the very depths of our hearts."[99] But ultimately, no matter how sincere one was, such expressions, precisely because they were based on feelings and emotions, were unable to establish consensus or a sense of community. Where God once was, the individual now stood alone, faced with an increasingly complex dilemma of not knowing if those whom one addressed would ever understand one's deepest feelings, concerns, or hopes.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE INDIVIDUAL was to a large degree, therefore, the result of fundamental shifts in the ethical visions of Renaissance humanists and Protestant reformers. In fashioning their religious, social, even personal identities, Renaissance men and women could draw on two distinct, even opposed virtues. On the one hand, there were those who embraced what I have been describing as a Renaissance notion of the prudential self (a rhetorical posture that subordinated honesty to decorum); on the other, there were those who favored the ideal of sincerity (which subordinated decorum to honesty). Guicciardini exposed the conflict between these two virtues in his *Ricordi*: "Frank sincerity," he wrote, "is a quality much extolled among men and pleasing to everyone, while simulation [*simulazione*], on the contrary, is detested and condemned. Yet for a man's self, simulation is of the two

[97] Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, 27.
[98] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 610.
[99] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 140.

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by far the more useful; sincerity [*realitá*] tending rather to the interest of others."[100] To be sure, for the overwhelming majority, life was lived in the gray areas between, as Polonius's counsel in *Hamlet* suggests. Polonius not only reminded Laertes to be true to himself but also to "give [his] thoughts no tongue."[101] But this tension between two conflicting ethical models points, in my view, to a vital and dynamic aspect of the understanding of the human self that was new in the sixteenth century. For, despite the very real differences between them, both prudentialism and the sincere ideal played pivotal roles in shaping the Renaissance notion of the self as an individual and expressive subject. It was only such a self that could be called upon, as circumstances shifted, to project a faithful representation of its concerns, its feelings, its beliefs to the outside world or to hold them in check, concealing them. This is not to say that what contemporaries imagined as the inner self was, as we are often inclined to believe, "truer" than the ways one chose to represent it, either in the city or the court. Rather, the new sense of the self views the human being as agent, subject, or author—as someone responsible for his or her actions and assertions. Moreover, the very existence of such a duality (between prudence and sincerity) in Renaissance discourse is itself revealing. It provided a kind of ethical field on which many men and women in this period negotiated the demands of everyday life. And, over time, it sharpened contemporary notions of the self as a unique, complex entity.

This sense of particularity or individuality emerges with special clarity in the case of Montaigne. Much of the scholarship on Montaigne has connected his emphasis on self-knowledge and on the individual with his decision in 1571, at the age of thirty-eight, to retire from public life and devote his leisure to the study of himself—a project he ultimately realizes in the *Essays*.[102] To be sure, there is much that lends support to this connection. Montaigne memorialized his retirement with a Latin inscription engraved on the wall of his study; he only rarely returned to public service (twice as mayor and briefly in 1588 as a go-between in the negotiations between the king and Henri of Navarre in the course of the French wars of religion); and, in his *Essays*, he reiterated the value the private sphere had assumed in the course of his life. Indeed, he is perhaps best known for the image he created of the individual cultivating freedom entirely apart from others. "We must reserve a back shop [*arriereboutique*] all our own, entirely free, in which to establish our real liberty and our principal retreat and solitude." "Here," Montaigne continues,

> our ordinary conversation must be between us and ourselves, and so private that no outside association or communication can find a place . . . We have a soul that can be turned upon itself; it can keep itself company; it has the means to attack and the means to defend, the means to receive and the means to give: let us not fear that in this solitude we shall stagnate

[100] Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, series 2, no. 104.

[101] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I.iii.59.

[102] The best biographical study of Montaigne remains Donald M. Frame, *Montaigne: A Biography* (New York, 1965). For examples of scholars who have highlighted the split between public and private life as underlying Montaigne's self-exploration, see Frederick Rider, *The Dialectic of Selfhood in Montaigne* (Stanford, Calif., 1973); and Nannerl O. Keohane, "Montaigne's Individualism," *Political Theory* 5 (August 1977): 363–90.

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in tedious idleness: *In solitude be to thyself a throng* [Tibullus]. Virtue, says Antisthenes, is content with itself, without rules, without words, without deeds.[103]

Not surprisingly, Greenblatt makes much of this passage, which he cites from John Florio's 1603 translation. Like many other commentators, Greenblatt is drawn to the back room, the *arriereboutique*, the place that Florio had translated as "storehouse" and the commercial connotations it unleashes. This word, Greenblatt writes, "conjures up a world of *negotium*, in effect a world of private property. If Montaigne counsels a retreat from this world, he is, at the same time, assuming its existence; that is, his sense of self is inseparable from his sense of the *boutique* and all it represents."[104] For Greenblatt, in short, Montaigne's individualism or self-fashioning is primarily a consequence of the dynamics of an emerging capitalism; the self is implicated in the structures of an economy that would place a supreme value on separating one's private from one's public life.

Yet the emphasis that Greenblatt and other commentators have placed on the split between the public and the private in Montaigne's writings misses an equally fundamental tension in his thought, namely, Montaigne's deeply felt desire to be both prudent and sincere. Indeed, we can also read the *Essays* and therefore Montaigne's own self-fashioning as an effort to negotiate the tensions between these two ideals. Montaigne's praise of sincerity applies to both spheres, just as his own sense of the importance of prudence does. This does not prevent him from condemning prudence in the sense of needless dissembling and dissimulation (though he more often uses this term in the more traditional sense of a kind of practical reason), nor does it mean that he is himself fully sincere.[105] But it does imply that Montaigne's sense of self is largely shaped by his consciousness of the degree to which the pressure to dissemble can conflict with the ideal of sincerity.

The desire for, as well as the impossibility of, sincere speech can be seen as one of the threads that ties the *Essays* together. This work gave poignant expression to a widely felt need, in the age of the court, to find certain spaces—in one's own room, or library, or friendships, or writings—to provide a comparatively honest or sincere account of oneself and one's feelings.[106] Yet this virtue is not only to be

[103] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 177.

[104] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 46.

[105] "Prudence" is most often used as a synonym for wisdom (*sagesse*) in the *Essays*. But Montaigne also equates prudence with dissimulation. When he denounces liars as "those who make a profession of fashioning their words only to suit the affairs they are negotiating and to please the great to whom they are speaking," he ironically labels this vice a "fine sort of prudence" (*belle sorte de prudence*). *Complete Essays*, 23. And he offers a similar condemnation of the new prudence in a passage that explicitly juxtaposes the ideals of sincerity and prudence. Writing of his own tendency to conceal his wealth, he notes, "I made a secret of it all [his fortune]; and I, who dare say so much about myself, spoke of my money only to lie, as do the others who, rich, make out to be poor, or poor, make out to be rich, and dispense their conscience from ever testifying sincerely [*sincerement*] to what they have: a ridiculous and shameful prudence." *Complete Essays*, 44. This use of *sincérité* and related terms (*sincère, sincèrement*) is relatively rare and generally refers to a kind of purity or clarity, often linked to the idea of good judgment.

[106] The question of sincerity in Montaigne has received considerable attention from scholars. Montaigne's relative sincerity is assumed, for example, by Eric Auerbach, "L'humaine condition," in *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, William R. Trask, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1953), 285–311; while it is denied by Paul Ballaguy, "La sincérité de Montaigne," *Mercure de France* 843 (1890): 547–75, an old-fashioned attempt to show that Montaigne was less than forthcoming about his relations with Italian courtesans in his *Journal de voyage*. For a modern edition of this work, see

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practiced in private, among friends, but in public as well. Of course, Montaigne himself is anything but private. He writes his book for a broad public. He never really retreats to the back room. And he tells us again and again that he rejects dissimulation. Contrasting his own temperament with others who served, as Montaigne did, as a facilitator in the political negotiations, he writes, "I have an open way . . . I do not refrain from saying anything, however grave or burning . . . This is what makes me walk everywhere head high, face and heart open."[107] "It is painful for me to dissemble," he remarks, noting that this ability is not in his nature.[108] Repeatedly, he lashes out against dissimulation ("among the most notable qualities of this century").[109] He favors a more direct, a more sincere speech. But "as for this new-fangled virtue of hypocrisy and dissimulation, which is so highly honored at present," he writes, "I mortally hate it; and of all vices, I know none that testifies to so much cowardice and baseness of heart. It is a craven and servile idea to disguise ourselves and hide under a mask, and not to dare to show ourselves as we are . . . A generous heart should not belie its thoughts; it wants to reveal itself even to its inmost depths [*jusques au dedans*]."[110]

Unlike the Protestant theologians who connected sincerity (*sincérité*, *ernst reden*, *sinceritas*, *Aufrichtigkeit*) with the need to express one's emotions, the Catholic and stoic Montaigne based his ethic of sincerity on the need to be true to one's nature or temperament. In doing so, he took some pleasure in critiquing the courtly ethos of the Renaissance:

> Now for my part I would rather be troublesome and indiscreet than flattering and dissembling. I admit that a touch of pride and stubbornness may enter into keeping me sincere and outspoken [*entier et descouvert*] without consideration for others; and it seems to me that I restrain myself a little less whenever it would be appropriate to restrain myself more, and that I react against the respect I owe by growing more heated. It may be, too, that I let myself follow my nature for lack of art. When I display to great men the same extreme freedom of tongue and bearing that I exercise in my own house, I feel how much it inclines toward indiscretion and incivility. But besides the fact that I am made that way, I have not a supple enough mind to sidestep a sudden question and escape it by some dodge, or to invent a truth, or a good enough memory to retain something thus invented, and certainly not enough assurance to maintain it; and I put on a bold face because of weakness. Therefore I give myself up to being candid and always saying what I think, by inclination and by reason, leaving it to Fortune to guide the outcome.[111]

Thus his project—especially in the essays written before 1580—may have had the stamp of self-fashioning, but as Montaigne grew older, he was less confident in his ability to shape himself. "Others form man," he wrote in an essay of 1585, "I tell of him, and portray a particular one, very ill-formed, whom I should really make very

Montaigne, *Journal de voyage*, François Rigolot, ed. (Paris, 1992). My own analysis of sincerity in Montaigne is especially indebted to Jean Starobinski, *Montaigne in Motion*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1985).

[107] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 600–01.

[108] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 642. But see *Les essais*, 846, where he adds, "Pour estre bien secret, il le faut estre par nature, non par obligation."

[109] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 505.

[110] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 491.

[111] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 492.

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different from what he is if I had to fashion him over again. But now it is done."[112] To be sure, the tension in this sentence is enormous. Montaigne does not form or fashion himself, he tells us—only to add that this is something he has already done. But we need not conclude a contradiction or an inconsistency. Montaigne's understanding of self allows for a complex interplay between nature and culture; indeed, it was part of Montaigne's humanist strategy to link his understanding of individualism with his view of nature.[113] "Natural inclinations," he observed, "gain assistance and strength from education; but they are scarcely to be changed and overcome." "We do not root out these original qualities," he continued, "we cover them up, we conceal them." And then he provides—perhaps somewhat disingenuously—a compelling (though equally contradictory) example: "Latin is like a native tongue to me; I understand it better than French; but for forty years I have not used it at all for speaking or writing. Yet in sudden and extreme emotions, into which I have fallen two or three times in my life—one of them when I saw my father, in perfect health, fall back into my arms in a faint—I have always poured out my first words from the depths of my entrails in Latin; Nature surging forth and expressing herself by force, in the face of long habit."[114] Here, of course, the contradiction lies in the fact that a particular language is not a part of nature but rather of culture, something taught and instilled. But Montaigne's point is rather obvious. There are multiple layers in the make-up of a particular person: a natural temperament, a cluster of (often conflicting) emotions, a primary language, a particular family and education, as well as broader political, social, and cultural forces—all of these go into shaping us, making us who we are. Accordingly, we are never purely the roles we play, though there is the possibility, which Montaigne himself acknowledges, that we can become our roles. "*The whole world plays a part*," he writes, citing Petronius, and adds: "We must play our part duly, but not as the part of a borrowed character. Of the mask and appearance we must not make a real essence, nor of what is foreign what is our very own. We cannot distinguish the skin from the shirt. It is enough to make up our face, without making up our heart [*poictrine*].[115]

The construction—above all, Montaigne's insistence that our mask need not shape our interior self—is sharply at odds with Greenblatt's view that, in the Renaissance period, "there is no layer deeper, more authentic, than theatrical self-representation."[116] To be sure, Montaigne's *Essays* often point to the prevalence of such self-fashioning in Renaissance culture. But he also managed to suggest the existence of a complex array of other forces that shape our identities—forces often inevitably in tension or in conflict with the roles we choose to play. That he was able to do so stems, I believe, from the growing importance placed on the questions of prudence and sincerity in the Renaissance. For both these virtues emphasized the need for the individual to fashion the public self *from within*, to know when it was most appropriate to present in one's expressed life a reflection of

[112] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 610.
[113] Jean Lecointe, *L'idéale et la difference: La perception de la personnalité littéraire à la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1993), esp. chap. 3: "Vers une rhétorique de la personne."
[114] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 615.
[115] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 773–74.
[116] See above, n. 32.

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"true" feelings (as in the case of the Protestants) or "true" nature (as in the case of Montaigne) or when, by contrast, it was more appropriate to project or to wear a mask, to dissemble—in short, to exercise prudence in one's affairs, whether public or private.[117]

ALTHOUGH A PRECISE IDENTIFICATION of the forces that led to the invention of sincerity and the refashioning of prudence lies beyond the scope of this essay, it is clear that historical discussions of the emergence of the self as subject—what Burckhardt long ago called "the development of the individual"—cannot and should not be confined to one particular historical moment or context, especially when such a framework is conceptualized as a monolithic, closed, or totalizing system. Indeed, if we stand back from New Historicist theories about self-fashioning, we see clearly that their analyses are too often developed in precisely such a limited fashion, with insufficient attention to broader ideas and vocabularies within European culture. This is not to say that More's arguments with Tyndale, for example, or Shakespeare's dramas do not command our attention. Much recent historical scholarship has benefited from renewed attention to the event and the anecdote, reinvigorating historical writings that had become, all too often, bland and rather predictable social-scientific reconstructions of the past.[118] But we ought not to allow a fascination with great works or even with the unusual, the strange, and the anecdotal to obscure the underlying complexities of longer-term historical changes and their relation to the moral or the cultural life. This is not merely a theoretical claim. To the contrary, the evidence I have presented concerning both the refashioning of prudence and the invention of sincerity—albeit preliminary and necessarily tentative—points to a gradual tendency, beginning in the fifteenth but accelerating in the sixteenth century, to view the self as an agent or subject and in increasingly individualized terms. The ideals of prudence and sincerity, that is, were not fashioned at one particular moment or even in one particular context but developed gradually over the course of several generations. Moreover, the terms "prudence" and "sincerity," both now invested with new significations, became, as the German sociologist Norbert Elias has written concerning such terms as "civility" in his magisterial *The Civilizing Process*, "fashionable words, concepts current in the everyday speech of a particular society. This shows that they met not merely individual but collective needs for expression."[119] From this perspective, the identities of such figures as More and Tyndale were not simply functions of specific, relatively easily identifiable cultural and political forces such as the church or the monarchy in a particular society. To the contrary—even in the absence of direct evidence—their views of the self and its *relative* autonomy must have emerged through their exposure—in their education, their reading, their conversation—to new vocabularies that had, in the Renaissance period, begun to invest the self with

[117] Marc Fumaroli, "Michel de Montaigne ou l'éloquence du for intérieur," in Jean Lafond, ed., *Les formes brèves de la prose et le discours discontinu (XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles)* (Paris, 1984), 27–50.

[118] Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past and Present* 85 (November 1979): 3–24.

[119] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (1939; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1994), 6.

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a new sense of subjectivity and, above all, in an increasingly fragmented culture, with a heightened sense of individualism.

To be clear, there is nothing about this approach that is necessarily incompatible with that of the New Historicists, whose writings have done much to illuminate the salient role that political, social, and cultural institutions played in shaping the self. But the individual so shaped was not a blank tablet or text on which such institutions or indeed certain fundamental tensions or conflicts in the culture (political and religious) were "inscribed." To the contrary, the context of selfhood in the Renaissance world ensured that the notion of person was anything but blank. Increasingly widely diffused humanist educational practices, evolving child-rearing theories that stressed a sensitivity to each particular child's emotions and feelings, a developing model of companionate marriage, Protestant sermons that gave warrant to both expressiveness and plain speaking, the increasingly broad diffusion of books, new practices of reading, and even the commodification of the mirror—these and many other factors, none of which can be reduced to one unifying cultural or social explanation, were part of the complex set of interactions through which Renaissance men and women were shaped with a new awareness of the self as subject, as an individual.[120] The fashioning of selves in the Renaissance world, as indeed the fashioning of selves in other times and places, is overdetermined, and is not reducible to one particular matrix or dialectic, no matter how powerful or persuasive.

The emphasis on the broader cultural climate in the shaping of the self is crucial also for our understanding of the remarkable resiliency of certain aspects of selfhood in the Renaissance. The Renaissance experience of selfhood appeared to transcend social and cultural experience. "Someone says to me, 'You don't express yourself as if you were Cicero.' 'What of it? I am not Cicero. I express myself,'" Angelo Poliziano wrote in the late fifteenth century, demonstrating the degree to which the self was seen as something independent, strong, even God-given.[121] One's past, one's experiences, one's memories, and one's inner life all mattered. Despite growing anxieties about selfhood or perhaps because of them, men and women in the Renaissance were more than likely to embrace the humanist anthropologies that viewed the self as something autonomous and willful, indeed, as a fundamental, underlying essence or as a building block of human society. The language of prudence and sincerity points to a sense of interiority, albeit constructed, that

[120] On humanist educational practices and their influence, see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); and Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1989). On childhood, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, Robert Baldick, trans. (New York, 1962); and Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983). On sermons, Michael Walzer, *Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); and Kenneth J. E. Graham, *The Performance of Conviction: Plainness and Rhetoric in the Early English Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994). On the ideal of the companionate marriage, Steven Ozment, *Magdalena and Balthasar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1986). And on mirrors, where scholars have derived much insight into the construction of identity from the work of Jacques Lacan, see Matthew D. Stroud, *The Play of the Mirror: Lacanian Perspectives on Spanish Baroque Theatre* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1996).

[121] Poliziano to Paolo Cortese, s.d., in Eugenio Garin, ed., *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milan, 1952), 902.

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cannot be viewed purely reflectively in relation to the cultural poetics of a particular place and period but was in fact relatively immune to the sort of ideological forces and totalizing pressures of the church or the monarchy that Greenblatt and other New Historicists have seen as determining if not as wholly hegemonic in the formation of Renaissance identities.

In particular, this broadening of our conception of the forces that shaped Renaissance selves allows for a far clearer understanding of the possibility of agency, dissent, and opposition. In "Invisible Bullets," one of his most brilliant, though much contested, essays, Greenblatt puts forth the enticing argument that in Renaissance England, the monarchy encouraged subversion only to contain it—the "apparent production of subversion [in Shakespeare's histories] is," Greenblatt writes, "the very condition of power."[122] This radical narrowing of the possibilities of human agency, based on a totalizing view of the political theatrics of Elizabethan England, is possible only within a synchronic and totalizing framework. For it is, as Montrose has correctly observed, based on a "binary logic" of subversion and containment that "produces a closed conceptual structure."[123] But it is absurd to view any particular society in Renaissance Europe, most of all the dynamic world of Elizabethan England, as a closed system. For in Renaissance England, as throughout the rest of western Europe in this period, ample evidence points to a view of a new anthropology in which renewed emphasis was placed on the expression of one's feelings and passions. The very vocabulary of prudence and sincerity, moreover, enabled dissent and opposition, a salient feature of Renaissance political life that the New Historicism, with its emphasis on the self as "unfree" has either ignored or failed to explain. Particular men and women may have felt forced to conform outwardly to the political and religious pressures of the day, but, since they could also cultivate oppositional or dissenting views in a realm they imagined as internal (in their hearts or their minds), they were able to hold onto at least a measure of freedom in the increasingly absolutist societies of the Renaissance. Princes may have controlled the outward gestures of their courtiers, but they continued to fear what lay in the hearts of their "subjects." The fact that the constructed self was overdetermined, that is, made it possible for particular men and women to draw on experiences outside particular contexts and to develop a sense of their selves that was in important respects free of clearly defined social and political determinants. The Renaissance self was something greater than the sum of one's social roles. Indeed, the growing importance of the ideals of prudence and sincerity—as well as the tensions between them—made it increasingly possible in the Renaissance and in the early modern period generally to view a particular person as a complex individual, who was self-conscious about the degree to which the inner self, now viewed as largely cut off from God, directed the outer, public self in its daily interactions with one's fellow citizens, subjects, or courtiers. At the time of the

[122] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 65.

[123] Montrose, *Purpose of Playing*, 9. Montrose's alternative to Greenblatt is to posit a more unstable system. But this is mere shadow-boxing, since Montrose's analysis remains resolutely synchronic. For a similar critique of Greenblatt's arguments in "Invisible Bullets," see Alan Sinfield, *Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

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French Revolution, the republican opponents of the Old Regime self-consciously celebrated the sincerity (or the transparency) of their speech and actions.[124]

A historical account of the Renaissance discovery of the individual, therefore, does not need to embrace either the essentialism of Burckhardt or the narrowly synchronic and totalizing historicism of Greenblatt. The primary cultural factors in the making of Renaissance individualism were the emergence of humanism and the development of Protestantism, both of which deeply problematized the relation of what contemporaries viewed as the internal self to one's words and actions. The primary social factors were the rapid expansion of urban life and the burgeoning size of the courts. The demise of the ideal of *concordia* and the emergence of a new understanding of prudence, as well as the construction of the sincere ideal, point to a major historical shift in Renaissance Europe. It was, in fact, a religious or ethical revolution that played a pivotal role in fostering an emerging ethic of individualism, at least in the sense that the individual came to see him or herself as a unique entity, largely responsible for his or her words and deeds, and capable of either concealing or revealing his or her feelings and beliefs as circumstances dictated. To be sure, such an individual was capable of assuming many guises, from the benevolent humanism of Juan Luis Vives to the aggressive individualism of Renaissance despots. That such an individual could take on narrowly self-interested, self-aggrandizing, or even destructive attributes should surprise no one. Burckhardt himself was deeply ambivalent about the consequences of "the development of the individual" and should not be seen—as he too often is—as celebrating it.[125]

Finally—though a proper investigation of these issues must be done elsewhere—it is clear that the questions Burckhardt raised about the discovery of the individual are not exclusively a matter for intellectual or literary history. To the contrary, a grasp of the shifting nature of the self in Renaissance Europe should be at the heart of our studies of the social, political, economic, and cultural histories of the period. This is not to claim that the self was prior to larger structural forces or that the self can be viewed in isolation from them. Nor is it to claim that the Renaissance self always entailed a sense of subjectivity and a related sense of individualism. The Renaissance world was profoundly diverse, and it is likely that we can locate many different constructions of identity within it. But it is my hope that this essay will enliven debate about the enduring significance of Burckhardt's questions. For merely to ask them is to refuse to flatten the self out, to efface it, even to erase it—as it were—by viewing it as the function of one particular context, an approach that results, inevitably, in a distorted if not an impoverished picture of

[124] Or, as Lynn Hunt has put it, in the period of the French Revolution, "Dissimulation was consequently an especially important theme . . . The ability to conceal one's true emotions, to act one way in public and another in private, was repeatedly denounced as the chief characteristic of court life and aristocratic manners in general. These relied above all on appearances, that is, on the disciplined and self-conscious use of the body as a mask. The republicans, consequently, valued transparency—the unmediated expression of the heart—above all other personal qualities. Transparency was the perfect fit between public and private; transparency was a body that told no lies and kept no secrets. It was the definition of virtue, and as such it was imagined to be critical to the future of the republic." Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 96–97.

[125] Gilbert, *History: Politics or Culture?* 66–67. Gilbert stresses Burckhardt's disillusionment with many aspects of nineteenth-century culture, from industrialization and resultant political radicalism to what he viewed as the cheapening of literary and artistic culture.

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the past. Perhaps, *pace* Foucault, the image of "man" will still be with us at low tide. The history of the making of our modern identities is, after all, far from a trivial matter; it goes to core questions of ethics, literature, philosophy, and religion—questions that have emerged as central in many of the current discussions of both the value and the limits of individualism.[126]

[126] Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge, 1989); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1991); and George Levine, ed., *Constructions of the Self* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992).

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The Trespass Speaks: White Masculinity and Colonial Breakdown

WARWICK ANDERSON

> Lay not that flattering unction to your soul: that not your trespass but my madness speaks.
>
> Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 3, Scene 4.

FOR ALL THEIR SWEATY TENNIS MATCHES, their consumption of red meat, their celebrated dedication to the strenuous life, even polo playing, the senior American colonial administrators in the Philippines could still discern in themselves a great vulnerability and tenderness. In the early twentieth century, few of these outwardly hardened characters did not at some point break down, or become "unnerved," and thus "unmanned." Near the end of his term, Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes (a former Harvard football hero and a commanding number 2 on the polo team) had to retire to his sickbed, "worn out." "I had worked my head until I had what they call brain-fag," he scrawled in his journal. His physician, Richard Strong (known as "medico stocky," a dashing number 1 at polo, and later the first professor of tropical medicine at Harvard), thought Forbes's condition serious.[1] But Strong also had been suffering. "Dr Strong ought to have quite a rest from his arduous service of nearly 14 years in the tropics," Forbes wrote. "He broke down under the strain last year."[2] That same year, Dr. Percy Ashburn of the Army Board for the Study of Tropical Diseases had noted that "it is a matter of common belief that men, as well as women, do 'go to pieces,' and become neurasthenic in the Philippine Islands."[3] This irresistible nervousness was a remnant, considerably refashioned, of earlier fears of a general physical debility caused directly by the tropical environment. Even those colonial physicians who had come to scoff at the notion of a

For their comments on earlier versions of this article, I am grateful to Steve Caton, Jenny Hazelgrove, Lisa Herschbach, Arthur Kleinman, Peter Phipps, Hans Pols, Vicente Rafael, Charles Rosenberg, Mary Steedly, Luise White, and anonymous reviewers. Andrew Robinson assisted with research for the essay. This work was supported by grants from the Milton Fund, Harvard University, and the Joint Committee on Southeast Asia of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies with funds provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Ford Foundation.

[1] W. Cameron Forbes, "Journal" [*ca.* March 1912], vol. 5, p. 121, fMS Am 1365, W. C. Forbes Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[2] Forbes to A. L. Lowell, October 24, 1912, Dean's File (T.M.) 1908–23, Code 11: 597, Rare Book Room, Countway Medical Library, Harvard Medical School.

[3] Adjutant General, Philippines Division, to P. M. Ashburn, March 15, 1912, Record Group (hereafter, RG) 112-E26/68075–123, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Ashburn to Adjutant General, March 18, 1912, RG 112-E26/68075–123.

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physiological degeneration of the white race still conceded, reluctantly, that some mental and moral deterioration might occur. Their patients never doubted it. The Americans' overpowering sense of mental stress in alien and disagreeable surroundings was not easily dispelled. Though science had moved on, as late as 1926, Nicholas Roosevelt warned his readers that "there are certain psychopathic and neurasthenic effects of living in the tropics," the results of "nerves frazzled from heavy, hot moisture." "In Manila," he wrote, "there is a disease called 'philippinitis' or forgetfulness which makes many persons unable to recall common occurrences within a few hours."[4]

In the 1860s, George M. Beard, a New York neurologist, had described neurasthenia as a novel and distinctly American disease syndrome characterized by a depletion of "nerve force."[5] Beard provided a plausible materialist explanation for the plethora of vague symptoms, from fatigue to chronic indigestion, that afflicted Americans in their efforts to cope with modern civilization (epitomized by steam power, the telegraph, the periodical press, the sciences, and the mental activity of women). The mechanistic metaphors initially invoked to explain the condition suggested that the human organism produced only a limited amount of nervous force: if the capacity was low or the demands excessive, nervous function could become overloaded, and the system would then break down. The precise quantum of nerve force that an individual possessed was a function of a hereditary endowment organized by race and gender. The disease seemed to attack the most refined or productive members of society, the caretakers of civilization: Beard thought Anglo-Saxons and non-Catholics in the prime of life were particularly susceptible. In general, men became neurasthenic from overwork, competition, and economic acquisitiveness; women succumbed through dissipating their more limited neural vitality in study or excessive socializing.

The nervousness of American men in the tropics (whether "tropical neurasthenia," or "philippinitis," or "brain-fag") was not formally recognized until about 1902 or 1903; during the next decade, it became commonplace among senior colonial officials; then in the 1920s, it burned out.[6] Its history parallels the establishment of the civil government in the Philippines, reaching epidemic proportions when the

[4] Nicholas Roosevelt, *The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem* (New York, 1926), 245.

[5] George M. Beard, *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia) and Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, Treatment*, 2d edn. (New York, 1880). Charles E. Rosenberg has suggested that Beard's work illustrates "the utility of scientific metaphor and authority in helping rationalize a rapidly changing and stress-filled world." Rosenberg, "George M. Beard and American Nervousness," in *No Other Gods: On Science and American Social Thought* (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 98–108, see 98. On the rise of the diagnosis of neurasthenia in America, see also Barbara Sicherman, "The Uses of a Diagnosis: Doctors, Patients and Neurasthenia," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 32 (1977): 33–54; F. G. Gosling, *Before Freud: Neurasthenia and the American Medical Community, 1870–1910* (Urbana, Ill., 1987); and Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991). See also Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Woman, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York, 1985), esp. chap. 5; and Janet Oppenheim, *"Shattered Nerves": Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England* (London, 1991). On the related "discovery of fatigue" by European scientists after 1890, see Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue and the Origins of Modernity* (New York, 1990).

[6] For a useful schematic account of tropical neurasthenia in other imperial contexts, see Dane Kennedy, "The Perils of the Midday Sun: Climatic Anxieties in the Colonial Tropics," in *Imperialism and the Natural World*, John M. MacKenzie, ed. (Manchester, 1990), 118–40.

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expatriate colonial bureaucracy was most extensive and declining with the eventual "filipinization" of the service. This outbreak of colonial "nerves" was thus as much a cultural event as a biological crisis, in the sense that it was recognized only within distinct social and temporal boundaries and never became epidemiologically dispersed like diseases such as cholera or tuberculosis. More than just a disease *in* culture, tropical neurasthenia was a disease *of* a specific culture. This does not mean that colonialism necessarily caused this nervousness, or that tropical neurasthenia was in some way pathognomic of colonialism, but, rather, it suggests that the meaning of white male breakdown in the tropics was structured in relation to a specific colonial setting, even if these relations were usually disguised by mechanistic and, later, psychodynamic formalism. The same complaints or symptoms can suggest different diagnostic meanings in different cultures, so that what appears as a unique, culture-bound syndrome may be, on reflection, a culturally specific (and culturally effective) framing of a more general illness experience.[7] Nervousness could occur anywhere, but only in the colonial world was it called tropical neurasthenia. It is in this sense that the special framing of American nervousness in the Philippines permits us a view of the contours of a colonial culture.

This is an essay in the cultural history of medicine: it considers the shaping of disease categories in a local context; it looks at the cultural salience of diagnostic narratives, both elite and popular. The colonial admission of "nerves" necessarily implied—along with everything else it implied—a setting, a time frame, and a diagnostic trajectory that could be based on mechanistic or psychodynamic assumptions. The diagnosis conferred a label, which in turn suggested an identity. But how, in practice, did these illness careers confirm or reshape subjectivity? In framing their dis-ease, or having it framed for them, how did colonial white males frame themselves? In which ways did American colonial officials try to render their experience in the Philippines generically white, manly, and resolute? How did they manage to recuperate a masterful colonial identity as a recovering neurasthenic? In addressing these questions, I want to link recent work on the biomedical shaping of identity with another emerging literature on the colonial constitution of racial and gender subjectivities. Cultural historians of medicine have tended to neglect the colonial framing of disease, and cultural historians of colonialism have often ignored technical discourses that worked to restructure spaces, bodies, and behaviors.[8] But in extending the scope of the history of medicine in this way, I hope also to indicate the heterogeneity and ambivalence of these colonial

[7] On culture-bound syndromes, see Raymond Prince, "The Concept of Culture-Bound Syndromes: Anorexia Nervosa and Brain-Fag," *Social Science and Medicine* 21 (1985): 197–203. On the biomedical framing of disease, see Charles E. Rosenberg, "Framing Disease: Illness, Society and History," in *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History*, Rosenberg and Janet Golden, eds. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), xii–xxvi.

[8] Some historians have recently noted the apparent ineffectiveness of medical discourses in shaping individual subaltern subjectivities: see Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); and David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). But this was not always the case: see Warwick H. Anderson, "Leprosy and Citizenship," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, in press. Reynaldo C. Ileto has written on the repressive features of American public health in the Philippines, "Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines," in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Society*, David Arnold, ed. (Manchester, 1989).

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explanatory frameworks and the inevitable redundancy of any experience of mental disorder.

This essay builds, in the first part, on the history of nineteenth-century colonial psychiatry and, in the second part, on the history of colonial psychoanalysis. Through tracing the self-reflections of Lt. Col. Fielding H. Garrison, M.D., I have tried to draw together these separate histories, as he did, and to suggest, more broadly, how these disciplines might have shaped perceptions of a colonial location. Most accounts of early colonial psychiatry have focused on medical constructions of native insanity or on Europeans interned in colonial asylums,[9] but tropical neurasthenia has not fitted easily with either of these historical interests. Neurasthenia was deemed, at first, a normal consequence of European displacement; it rarely required admission to an asylum, although repatriation might be recommended. In effect, it rendered all white colonialists outpatients, not inmates. But the ambulatory character of this psychopathology, its distance from outright lunacy, later made it the ideal subject for psychoanalysis, which was spreading through the tropics during the 1920s. A reformulated "neurasthenia" thus figures in historical accounts of colonial psychoanalysis, although even in this literature the primary focus has more often been the psychoanalysis of native elites and cultures.[10]

The medical shaping of nervousness, initially mechanistic in character, later psychodynamic, contributed to the cultivation of masculinity and whiteness in a colonial culture. The new tropical colonies, the latest in a long line of last frontiers, presented both a special resource for white male self-fashioning and its testing ground.[11] In this novel setting, the convergence of ideas of bourgeois masculinity with ideas of whiteness and civilization becomes startlingly obvious, even as the nervy instability of the combination is revealed with equal clarity. American males, drawn often from the expanding university system (especially from Michigan, California, and Johns Hopkins), argued that they were fit to govern Filipinos

[9] See Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*; Jock McCulloch, *Colonial Psychiatry and "the African Mind"* (Cambridge, 1995); Waltraud Ernst, *Mad Tales from the Raj: The European Insane in Nineteenth-Century British India, 1800–1858* (London, 1991); and Ernst, "European Madness and Gender in Nineteenth-Century British India," *Social History of Medicine* 9 (1996): 357–82.

[10] Christiane Hartnack, "Vishnu on Freud's Desk: Psychoanalysis in Colonial India," *Social Research* 57 (1990): 921–49; Ashis Nandy, "The Savage Freud: The First Non-Western Psychoanalyst and the Politics of Secret Selves in Colonial India," in Nandy, *The Savage Freud, and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 81–144; and Sudhir Kakar, "Encounters of the Psychological Kind: Freud, Jung and India," in Kakar, *Culture and Psyche: Selected Essays* (Delhi, 1997), 20–32.

[11] In American studies, they are rarely recognized as such: both Gail Bederman and Anthony Rotundo emphasize the importance of the *idea* of empire in reshaping masculinity but do not study the *experience* of empire. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995); and E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, 1993). Yet Vicente Rafael has remarked on the Philippines as a "terrain for the testing and validation of white masculinity," in "Colonial Domesticity: White Women and United States Rule in the Philippines," *American Literature* 67 (December 1995). See also Donald J. Mrozek, "The Habit of Victory: The American Military and the Cult of Manliness," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940*, J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds. (Manchester, 1987), 220–41; and Amy Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s," *American Literary History* 2 (1990): 659–70.

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because they were racially superior, more manly, and, it followed, more civilized than their charges.[12] This is hardly surprising: rendering explicit such connections between masculinity and empire has become a postcolonial commonplace. Ashis Nandy has linked the British obligation to fashion a more rigid masculinity with colonial domination in South Asia; for Ronald Hyam, the British Empire demonstrated a "culture of the emphatically physical"; and, more recently, Mrinalini Sinha has described "the imperial constitution of colonial masculinity."[13] In a series of essays on the "cultivation of whiteness" in the Dutch East Indies, Ann Laura Stoler studied the colonial production of bourgeois civility through discourses of race and gender. She emphasizes in particular the diversity within the category of "the colonizer" and the attendant "problematic political semantics of 'whiteness'" in colonial society. While not explicitly addressing the framing of colonial masculinities, Stoler observes that "degeneracy characterized those who were seen to veer off bourgeois course in their choice of language, domestic arrangement, and cultural affiliation." Poor whites were the failures of empire.[14] In this essay, though, I argue that the term "degenerate"—usually indicating a discomposing of white masculinity—attached not only to subordinate and marginal colonialists: even the more civilized and apparently masterful of white men might break down and lose their nerve.[15]

Colonial insecurities cannot be isolated from the uncertainties of those white bourgeois males who remained in the United States during this period. Historians of the Progressive Era have attributed American obsessions with manhood, the frontier, the strenuous life, and the great outdoors to a "masculinity crisis" that developed at the end of the nineteenth century. With increasing dependence on bureaucracies, more opportunities for leisure, working-class competition, and the rise of an assertive women's movement, many middle-class men found it hard to affirm the manly ideals of self-mastery and restraint.[16] Yet it could also be said that

[12] See Bederman's helpful remarks on the redefining of manhood in terms of racial dominance in the United States, in *Manliness and Civilization*.

[13] Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi, 1983); Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester, 1990), 72; Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinities: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995). On the mutually reinforcing categories of gender and empire, see also Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Urbana, Ill., 1987); Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History* (New Delhi, 1989); Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992); Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992); and Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, Md., 1995). All of these studies refer to the British Empire.

[14] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995), 62, 99, 32. See esp. Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 134–61; "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia," in *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, Micaela di Leonardo, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 51–101; and "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1992): 514–51.

[15] On degeneration more generally, see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge, 1989).

[16] Charles E. Rosenberg, "Sexuality, Class and Role in Nineteenth-Century America," in *The American Man*, Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980), 219–54;

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manhood was not so much under threat during this period as being remade. Gail Bederman, for instance, suggests that the moral dimension of manhood became muted as anxieties about *fin-de-siècle* social change amplified a fascination with male aggression, muscularity, athletics, and virility.[17] Although it is tempting to follow Bederman and infer a tension between the ideals of manly self-restraint and masculine virility, and to recognize a trend from one to the other, in a sense these tropes of masculinity were fashioned as a physiological amalgam. According to conventional wisdom, a strenuous life built up the nerve force necessary for the maintenance and advancement of civilization. A failure to develop physical force thus led inevitably to neurasthenia, the result not of civilization but of overcivilization, the exclusive focus on brain work at the expense of body work. Elemental simplicity—"intrepidity, contempt of softness, surrender of private interest, obedience to command," as William James put it—might correct the vices of overrefinement and overcivilization.[18] Not surprisingly, this rising concern with the dangers of "overcivilization" presented special difficulties in the new U.S. colonies, where white males regarded themselves as emissaries of civilization in an environment hostile to both mental and physical exertion. Thus colonial breakdown, labeled tropical neurasthenia, came to represent the true weight of the white man's burden.[19]

It is tempting, then, to find in the notion of tropical neurasthenia, with its unsettling of ideals of masculinity and whiteness, the beginnings of an auto-critique of colonialism, an incipient postcolonialism that goes beyond the instabilities of representation to the roots of mental derangement.[20] The recognition of white male nervousness in the tropics would seem to suggest an ambivalence toward colonial expansion, a discomfort or anxiety that must somehow be assuaged. But the political and social meaning of this colonial ambivalence is not self-evidently subversive. Mechanistic, and later psychodynamic, explanatory frameworks recognized the contradictions of colonial displacement, gave them a voice, and in expressing these conflicts often managed to contain or deflect them. Psychology in this period was more a salvage operation than a critique. A diagnosis of tropical

T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Destructive Element: Modern Commercial Society and the Martial Ideal," in *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York, 1981); Michael S. Kimmel, "The Contemporary 'Crisis' in Masculinity in Historical Perspective," in *The Making of Masculinities*, Harry Brod, ed. (Boston, 1987), 121–54; Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, Mark C. Carnes and Griffen, eds. (Chicago, 1990), 183–204.

[17] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; and Rotundo, *American Manhood*. On the flexibility of gender categories, see Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1053–75.

[18] William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," in *Essays on Faith and Morals* (New York, 1943), 323. On James's own breakdown, see Howard Feinstein, "The Use and Abuse of Illness in the James Family Circle," in *Our Selves/Our Past: Psychological Approaches to American History*, Robert J. Brugger, ed. (Baltimore, Md., 1981). For similar prescriptions, see Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York, 1900).

[19] The phrase is of course from Rudyard Kipling's poem, written to celebrate the U.S. occupation of the Philippines.

[20] On the textualism of much postcolonial critique, see Benita Parry, "Signs of Our Times: A Discussion of Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*," *Third Text* 28/29 (1994): 5–24.

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neurasthenia began the process of reconditioning failed colonial identity, not subverting it. Vicente Rafael has described a masterful "white gaze" in the Philippines: "spatially it is a gaze that surveys and catalogs other races while remaining unmarked and unseen itself; temporally, it is that which sees the receding past of non-white others from the perspective of its own irresistible future."[21] While I would argue that this white masculine gaze was often more a nervous glance than a commanding stare, it would be all too easy to overstate the political significance of such an admission of fragility and ambivalence.[22] My main concern here is not the distilling of any subversive potential from colonial breakdown; rather, it is to use the medical framing of colonial nerves to sample "empire as a way of life"—with all its normal heterogeneity and instability built in.[23]

EVEN AT THE ARMY MEDICAL LIBRARY in Washington, D.C., Lt. Col. Fielding H. Garrison, M.D., had sometimes felt worn out and nervous. From the beginning of the century, he had spent long hours compiling the *Index Medicus*, and in the evenings, he wrote historical works—his *Introduction to the History of Medicine* was for many decades the most authoritative survey available in English.[24] Garrison regarded a continuing correspondence with H. L. Mencken as his respite from all the wearying bibliographic drudgery. Through classical allusion, disquisition on music, and reverence for German culture, he tried to demonstrate in his strangely ornate and coquettish letters that he was not just another physician with an "unfurnished mind."[25] An unlikely Bohemian, Garrison shared Mencken's admiration for the German composers and a worship of Friedrich Nietzsche, and even at one point dared to recommend Sigmund Freud to his skeptical correspondent.[26] His ambitions always thwarted at the library, Garrison came to feel that he needed a change of scene. When detailed to the Philippines in 1922, he assured his friend Mencken that it would be "a nice vacation after 31 years for official drudgery, and a good chance to see the East and come back via Europe." Since he was attached "as

[21] Vicente Rafael, "White Love: Surveillance and Nationalist Resistance in the United States' Colonization of the Philippines," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 185–218, see 200.

[22] Much recent postcolonial criticism has valorized heterogeneity and hybridity: see, for example, Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, 1995); and Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 1–56.

[23] The quotation is from William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament* (New York, 1980). See also Amy Kaplan, " 'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, 3–21, see 14.

[24] See Solomon R. Kagan, *Life and Letters of Fielding H. Garrison* (1938); and the Fielding H. Garrison Memorial Number of the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 5 (1937): 299–403. Garrison was a founder of the study of medical history in the United States; the Fielding H. Garrison lecture is delivered each year at the annual meeting of the American Association of the History of Medicine. The Army Medical Library was the forerunner of the National Library of Medicine.

[25] July 4, 1925, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence, Box 5, F. H. Garrison Papers, Ms C 166, History of Medicine Division, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland. I am grateful to Elizabeth Toon for suggesting I look at the Garrison-Mencken correspondence.

[26] August 21, 1921, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence, Box 5, Garrison Papers, Ms C 166.

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literary scribe to the Board to Investigate Tropical Diseases," he expected, through his clerical duties, to learn something about tropical medicine, too. Garrison was forty-one years old. "I think the change will give a sort of goat-gland stimulation to the poor worn-out bean or cerebrum," he wrote just before departing.[27]

He was sadly mistaken. "I am stacking up fairly well," he noted in his first letter from Fort Santiago, "but perspiring as I do, the Klima is a sort of Shylock that exacts a pound of flesh a day, while the humidity and monotony are so depressing that I am 1/16 what I used to be mentally. I do all the military work satisfactorily—anyone could—but have to take calomel weekly, as being of the perilous disposition described by fortune-tellers: 'no sense of humor, homicidal tendencies and an overly conscientious disposition.' I feel quite homicidal most of the time, but Bilibid prison is a dreary sort of place so I will postpone action until I get back to the States."[28] Although the facetious tone soon vanished, he remained "utterly worn out and neurasthenic" for the rest of his stay. "When I struck this place," he recalled, "I was totally unacclimated to that old bromide, the humidity, and the tedious period of getting the body temperature adjusted to the beastly outside atmosphere, or rather lack of it, [so] my reaction was one prolonged, unintermittent growl at being badly stung." He found it "impossible to do anything worthwhile in this strange devitalizing climate. It inhibits thinking of an orderly kind, and, worse still, it superinduces a lethargic forgetfulness."[29]

But the climate was not the only provocation. Filipinos got on his nerves, and Americans were not much better. "The average American hombre," he declared, "is either a lean reflective pig or an unreasoning fanatic" who "wouldn't know Schiller from a wombat."[30] The climate and the banal social life together seemed to "corrode" his nervous system. "Were it not for the liquid refreshment available hereabouts, which, as in the case of Themistocles, 'makes us forget,' life would be diabolically unendurable."[31] Toward the end of his stay in the Philippines, Garrison mused yet again on his "sufferings" in the tropics. "I have lived from day to day in this environment in a state of lowered vitality, like the man in Edgar Poe's poem who felt his life ebbing and oozing away as he poured out sand on the seashore, but even so, that is due to my age and metabolism, and when the foaming beakers of spiritus cerevisae are brought up in the siesta hour, I can say, with my old Bremen acquaintance, 'Ich habe gutes Bier zu trinken.' Better come over and try it."[32] Mencken wisely declined the offer.

Garrison was one of the last American males to admit to "neurasthenia" in the tropics: the formulation of his symptoms is conventional, although his clinical course was not. Usually, it had taken a few years to become neurasthenic in the

[27] April 13, 1922, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence.
[28] May 3, 1922, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence.
[29] December 11, 1922, March 24, 1924, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence.
[30] April 28, 1924, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence.
[31] December 11, 1922. Garrison frequently boasts about his alcohol consumption. He liked "above all the local beer, which is well-brewed and of which I usually absorb two bottles a day in the 'wet' (typhoon) season. There are also Burgundies, Spanish (Rioja) clarets, and even some Rhine wines, also chartreuses, benedictines, and other cordials galore." The Scotch "flows in rivers." July 29, 1923, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence.
[32] May 12, 1924, Garrison-Mencken Correspondence.

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tropics. David P. Barrows, the superintendent of education in the Philippines and a keen measurer of racial features, had remained vigorous from 1903 until 1906. Then, age thirty-three, he found he was more irritable, with poor concentration: "if a good vacation in a cool climate restores my endurance," he noted in his journal, "I shall be content." But the next year was no better. "In my office work my dictating is now halting, confused and badly put together—a great change from say 1903–4–5," he wrote. "This is in part due to the nervousness which assails me at my work and sometimes makes clear thinking and expression almost impossible for me." Despite hiking, riding, and reading Kipling, he was "consistently not in very good health" throughout 1908 and so returned to Berkeley the following year.[33] "Nerves" in the tropics could mean anything from Barrows' lack of concentration to Herbert I. Priestley's disabling morbid apprehensions. A teacher in Nueva Caceres, Priestley began having "morbid spells" in October 1902, but he quieted down with bicycle riding and bromides. "The doctor says the climate is quite wearing on me, and I guess it is," he noted. "I am worn thin, and my nerves are a little out of gear from the climate but I believe that if I hadn't been so foolish as to wear nainsook and cotton I wouldn't have felt my nerves so much." And, soon after the new year, he observed, "of course I am nervous and upset tonight, and my notion is pessimistic, but I don't recover from my nervousness as fast as I should like." Priestley, who thought his "sensitive temperament" set him apart from many of the "hard, sporty" Manila types, left the next year.[34]

Colonel Valery Havard, in reviewing the effects of the Philippine climate on Americans soon after their occupation of the archipelago, had been especially concerned that the atmospheric humidity prevented free evaporation of perspiration, forcing the white organism to reduce its production of heat in order to maintain a physiological equilibrium. The result of "this necessary tropical regime" was a loss not only of heat but of nervous energy, too. "The loss of energy," he observed, "is chiefly felt by the mental faculties: there is a diminution of capacity for intellectual labor, an inability to do work requiring continued concentration." Although the northerner might carefully avoid the recently identified tropical pathogens, he must "resign himself to the loss of more or less of his bodily and mental activity."[35] Thus for an older generation of physicians, who still assumed that their primary task was to observe and aid the body's regulation of intake and

[33] David P. Barrows, "Review of the Year 1906," p. 51, "Review of the Year 1907," p. 241, "Review of the Year 1908," p. 105, in David Prescott Barrows Papers, MSS C-B 1005, cartons 2 and 3, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Barrows had studied anthropology at the University of Chicago. During his stay in the Philippines, Barrows was losing a political battle over the direction of the school system. He returned to the United States as a professor of education at Berkeley, and between 1919 and 1923 he was president of the University of California.

[34] Herbert I. Priestley to mother, October 5, 1902, October 19, 1902, December 21, 1902, January 2, 1903, March 9, 1903, Herbert I. Priestley Papers, MSS 94/13 cz, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[35] Valery Havard, "Is Mortality Necessarily Higher in Tropical Than in Temperate Climates?" *American Medicine* 9 (January 7, 1905): 16–20, see 17, 20. Havard was the assistant surgeon-general of the army. This is probably the earliest article on tropical neurasthenia in the Philippines. But see E. F. Gordon Tucker, "Neurasthenia in Anglo-Indians," *Indian Medical Gazette* 38 (1903): 43–49. Tucker suggested that in India, too, there was "a continual strain upon the machinery of [British] bodies from the influence of a tropical climate," 44. Beard had doubted that neurasthenia was present in the tropics because of the absence of civilization in the region (*Nervous Exhaustion*, 189).

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excretion, the inability to dissipate heat from the closed bodily economy implied a compensatory scaling down of energy production. But their younger colleagues, trained in a different diagnostic method, had only a lingering attachment to the notion that disease might derive solely from such mechanistic mismatches of racial constitution and alien environment. Their more ontological orientation drove them to seek out a particular cause for every disorder.[36] Accordingly, Major Charles E. Woodruff warned "blond races" of the specific dangers of concentrated light. The "actinic rays," or sunlight, he argued, produced "some kind of chemical breaking up which renders [the cell] paretic," leading first to a misleading sense of "stimulation" but soon followed by a chronic "low vitality of tissues." Not surprisingly, then, the poorly pigmented "blonds suffer in the Philippines more than brunets, have higher grades of neurasthenia, break down in larger numbers proportionately, and in many ways prove their unfitness for the climate."[37]

Although Dr. Louis Fales found Woodruff's theory of actinic agency "perhaps a little indefinite" and was not ready to discard entirely Havard's physiological explanation, he had no doubt that—whatever the cause—after a few years' residence in the tropics "the white people become a race of neurasthenics." Fales had observed for himself how Americans in the Philippines soon fell into "a state of semi-invalidism." Brain work in these circumstances seemed an especially effective means of further depleting the tropical resident's climatically diminished reserves of nerve force. American males in the Philippines "cannot easily concentrate their minds on their work," he declared, "they become easily fatigued, and they cannot do the efficient work they were formerly capable of doing." The syndrome was recited as a litany: irritability, peevishness, troubled sleep, bad headaches, poor appetite, a lack of concentration, an inability to plan for the future, molehills become mountains, urgent matters are deferred indefinitely, and morbid introspection eventually prevails. The symptoms resembled those of neurasthenia in the United States, except that circulatory symptoms were more common in the tropics, and neurasthenics from the Philippines recovered as soon as they moved to a temperate climate.[38] The future looked especially grim for white children who were recklessly endangered by long residence in the torrid zone. "Born of neurasthenic parents, they will inherit an organism lacking in nerve force; being

[36] Owsei Temkin, "The Scientific Approach to Disease: Specific Entity and Individual Sickness," in *The Double Face of Janus and Other Essays in the History of Medicine* (Baltimore, Md., 1977), 441–55.

[37] Charles E. Woodruff, "The Neurasthenic States Caused by Excessive Light," *Medical Record* 68 (December 23, 1905): 1005–09, see 1006. See also Woodruff, *The Effects of Tropical Sunlight upon the White Man* (New York, 1905). For a similar explanation of the "lack of self control," "profound nervous depression," and "irritability of temper" that prevailed in sunny parts of the United States, see V. E. Watkins, "Neurasthenia among Blondes in the Southwest," *New York Medical Journal* 82 (December 30, 1905): 1373–74, see 1374. (Watkins was stationed with Woodruff at Plattsburgh Barracks, New York.) Woodruff was probably responding to the theories of Albert E. Sterne, "Neurasthenia and Its Treatment by Actinic Rays," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 42 (1904): 500–07.

[38] Louis H. Fales, "Tropical Neurasthenia and Its Relation to Tropical Acclimation," *American Journal of Medical Science* 133 (1907): 582–93, see 586, 583. Fales also thought that alcoholism and attacks of dengue fever frequently "predisposed [one] to nerve exhaustion," 585. Fales had spent three years as a medical inspector in the Islands, where he became dissatisfied with the opportunities for private practice and with "favoritism" in the Bureau of Health. See Fales, "The American Physician in the Philippine Civil Service," *American Medicine* 9 (1905): 513–17, esp. 515. Aldo Castellani and Albert J. Chalmers in their *Manual of Tropical Medicine* (London, 1910) relied heavily on Fales for their description of tropical neurasthenia, p. 1065.

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forced to live in an enervating climate, their small reserve will be still further drawn upon, and in a generation or two there will result a race with little resemblance to the mother stock, small, puny, weak-minded, in fact a degenerate race which would soon cease to exist if new stock did not continually come from the home land."[39] Thus, in Fales' opinion, a frightening Lamarckian dynamic challenged any fond hopes for permanent white settlement of the tropics.

When Ellsworth Huntington proposed his "climatic hypothesis of civilization" as the core of the "new science of geography," he drew in part on the research of Woodruff and Fales. They had used medical science to show that the environment could influence the global distribution of "human energy." In particular, Huntington identified the deterioration of character that they had described—"weakness of will"—as a crucial problem for the white man in the tropics. This fecklessness led frequently to a "tropical inertia," typically manifested as "lack of industry, an irascible temper, drunkenness, and sexual indulgence." If any should try to work too hard, they became "nervous and enfeebled."[40] Thus male nervousness in the tropics came to be represented (and, to an extent, exonerated) as an unfortunate but understandable failure of character—letting down the side of manly civilization, but perhaps the side was physiologically a forlorn hope in such a climate. In the early twentieth century, this failure meant, in effect, the lack of exercise of the will over habit, a temporary slippage of racial and manly duty.[41] Formerly disciplined, strenuous Anglo-Saxon males routinely became enervated, *louche*, and irresolute in the tropics. And yet reproach was always mixed with sympathy, since the process was represented as basically a natural one (though on occasion complicated by personal recklessness).

Both Fales and Woodruff also speculated on the delicate constitutions of white women that evidently rendered them especially vulnerable to the alien tropical environment. Most American women in the Philippines, according to Fales, "become nervous, irritable, anemic, lose weight, suffer with neuralgia, spells of faintness, sleep poorly, and almost invariably are troubled with menorrhagia and dysmenorrhea."[42] As men succumbed to the climate and the onerous demands of administrative duties, women were victims of the climate and their excessive sociability and depletive reproductive tract. Dr. W. W. King in Puerto Rico had thought the tropical humidity caused a special "atony," or weakness, of white female bodies. It was because American women in the tropics "menstruate more

[39] Fales, "Tropical Neurasthenia," 591. Warnings of the damage to the mental apparatus of white children were commonplace and persistent: "In the case of European children living in the tropics the whole nervous system seems to be in a condition of unstable equilibrium so that, apart from illness, fretfulness and peevishness are common, and a condition often approaching hysteria may even be encountered." Andrew Balfour, "Personal Hygiene," in *The Practice of Medicine in the Tropics*, W. Byam and R. G. Archibald, eds., 3 vols. (London, 1923), 1: 5.

[40] Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate* (New Haven, Conn., 1915), 8, 42, 44. The lack of willpower was often the reason for fits of anger: "their power of self-control is enfeebled," 44.

[41] Stefan Collini, "The Idea of 'Character' in Victorian Political Thought," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35 (1985): 29–50. Janet Oppenheim explains the importance of "will" or "managerial force" as an organizing principle for the nervous system in *"Shattered Nerves,"* 42–43.

[42] Fales, "American Physician," 514. The disorders of menstruation that he describes involve an excessive loss of blood or excessive discomfort. See also Fales, "Tropical Neurasthenia," 584. Fales estimated that 50 percent of women and 30 percent of men in the American community in Manila became neurasthenic.

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abundantly" than in the United States; they felt the lack of "accustomed society, pleasures and diversions" more keenly than the men; and "housekeeping where customs and language are strange and where servants are inefficient and uncleanly has its thousand and one little difficulties and worries that need to be seen to be appreciated."[43]

Yet actual accounts of tropical neurasthenia among women are surprisingly rare. Described in medical texts as pallid, weak, and nervy, without exception they appear in personal recollections as robust and competent.[44] Perhaps white women were reluctant to admit to a nervousness that was formulated (for them) so explicitly as an index of biological and intellectual inferiority. While American men in the tropics evidently could attest to the mental strain formalized in their diagnosis of male neurasthenia, and so ratify an etiology that suggested their superior status, American women were understandably less ready to assent to a condition that marked principally a disorder not of an overtaxed mental apparatus but of a leaky reproductive tract. Female neurasthenia in the tropics signified a basic biological maladaptation that could not possibly be circumvented. A white man could rest from brain work or mitigate it through exercise, but a white woman could not avoid her uterus. In medical treatises on neurasthenia, she thus becomes a physiological pariah in the tropics: biologically, this region is no place for a white woman, nor for the style of domesticity that her presence signifies.

A neurasthenic disposition was less commonly attributed to the military in the Philippine Islands, perhaps because the troops did not represent civilized manliness and self-restraint in the tropics, and regular exercise and other virile activities presumably compensated for what little "brain work" they had to do.[45] Only a few officers—the self-consciously intellectual ones—were prepared to assert their nervousness. Lt. Col. Eli Huggins, a convinced anti-imperialist and a poet, was appointed military governor of Ilocos Sur in 1901 after a distinguished career fighting Indians (during which he had compelled the surrender of Lakota chief Rain-in-the-Face). "I am not in harmony with my environment over here," he lamented. "In fact there is a horrible jangling discord." Fortunately, the translator of Theophile Gautier and Alfred de Musset was sent home within the year.[46] More

[43] W. W. King, "Tropical Neurasthenia," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 46 (1906): 1518–19, quote 1519. King was an assistant surgeon with the U.S. Public Health and Marine Hospital Service. For an analysis of similar explanations of female neurasthenia in the United States and Britain, see Showalter, *Female Malady*, esp. chap. 5; and Oppenheim, *"Shattered Nerves."* On tropical menstrual irregularities, see Grace Mackinnon, "Disease of Women in the Tropics," in Byam and Archibald, *Practice of Medicine*, 3: 2472–76.

[44] For example, Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife* (New York, 1908); Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines* (New York, 1906); and Mrs. W. H. Taft, *Recollections of Full Years* (New York, 1914).

[45] Bernard Moses, one of the Philippine Commissioners and a professor of political science at Berkeley, thought it was because the men of the army showed a "lack of wide intellectual range"—though "formally polite, . . . to the best of knowledge and memory they never say anything." Moses, Diary, Vol. 2, February 8, 1901, Bernard Moses Papers, MSS 308x M911 di, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[46] Eli L. Huggins to sisters, January 18, 1901, Huggins Papers, MSS 81/51 p, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Huggins retired in 1903 as brigadier general. See Eli L. Huggins, "Custer and Rain-in-the-Face," *The American Mercury* 9 (1926): 338–43; and Carolyn T. Foreman, "General Eli Lundy Huggins," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 13 (1935): 255–65.

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commonly, young (and less civilized) soldiers developed mild psychoses or delirium tremens. Thus a private in the Nineteenth Infantry was repatriated in 1901 with "paranoia," believing his officers had been persecuting him. He was called excitable, with "an abnormal development of Ego" and a "fixed delusion of his own ability," telling everyone about his ideas for a machine of perpetual motion and an "absurd" plan for "rifles which should fire some chemical preparation the gases from which would overpower the enemy."[47] A private in the Fifth Infantry was "excellent" until he went to the Philippines, where he "indulged excessively in alcoholics" and began to "labor under delusions of persecution" and develop an "acute melancholia."[48] It seems that when an enlisted man was exposed to the tropical sun, he was more likely to show "melancholia" or paranoia than neurasthenia—a flattening of emotional response or a psychosis but not an overcivilized nervousness.

Speaking in 1909 on "the nation and the tropics," William Osler impressed upon his audience that "it is no light burden for the white man to administer this vast trust." Despite the great advances in tropical sanitation, and the consequent reduction in transmission of the region's disease organisms, Osler, that model physician, doubted that the higher-order transplanted Anglo-Saxon, laboring to impose order on the "blossom-fed Lotophagi," could maintain his characteristic "hardy vigor."[49] The white man might live among the banana palms—he might trade and, for a time, even fight boldly—but it was likely that the manly character of the race would degenerate and civilization would not thrive.

AFTER THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, few U.S. Army doctors, and even fewer of their colleagues in the Philippines' nascent public health service believed that climate alone could cause physical disease such as malaria, dengue fever, or dysentery. But many of them still speculated that a climate different from a race's ancestral climate might indeed render that race more susceptible to alien microbes. The tropical climate seemed capable of vitiating the white race's resistance to specific disease organisms, if no longer likely in itself to excite illness. Thus Joseph Curry of the army's biological laboratory argued in 1900 that malaria would become prevalent among white troops because "the depressing influence of the tropical climate lessens the individual's normal resisting powers and thereby prepares a favorable soil for the invasion of parasites."[50] Smallpox "in this latitude and longitude," according to surgeon Henry Hoyt, the self-proclaimed "red-haired Indian fighter," was "very fatal, especially to the white man."[51] Charles Greenleaf, the army's chief

[47] William P. Banta, "Medical History of ALS, Oct. 2, 1901," and Richard McDonald, "Personal Report, Feb. 5, 1902," AGO file (Adjutant General's Office), RG 94–403201, National Archives.

[48] William P. Banta, "Medical History of WB, Oct. 2, 1901," AGO file, RG 94–403202, National Archives.

[49] William Osler, "The Nation and the Tropics," *The Lancet* 2 (November 13, 1909): 1401–06, see 1401, 1405. Osler, one of the leading physicians of the late nineteenth century, had recently left the United States to take up the Regius Chair of Medicine at Oxford.

[50] Joseph J. Curry, "Notes on the Diseases of the Philippine Islands," Report to the Surgeon General, *ca.* 1900, RG 112-E26/68075/G, p. 31, National Archives.

[51] Henry F. Hoyt, "Appendix," in *Report of the Philippines Commission to the President*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1900), 1: 262–64, see 262.

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medical officer in the Philippines, advised George Sternberg, the distinguished bacteriologist and surgeon general, that "the white man in the tropics" could not "endure the same amount of nerve tension and physical strain that he can in a temperate zone, that recuperation and convalescence in this climate are slow, and that were an epidemic of any character to occur among men in that condition, its effects would probably be very disastrous."[52] Sophisticated analysts thus still assumed—in the first years of the new century—that climate could exert a more or less direct and dynamically deteriorating influence on the racially constituted body.

But it is striking how medical officers, over the next two decades, were able to mute even these fears of deteriorating resistance. First, they argued that the physical dangers of the Philippine climate had been overstated in the heat of battle, and when that did not sufficiently allay American fears, they assured the anxious white emissaries that careful, unremitting personal hygiene could circumvent any residual risk. If it now seemed feasible to avoid contact with dangerous tropical organisms (located principally in insects and natives), surely an avoidance of the harsher features of the climate—an artificial adaptation, in a sense, to the climate—also was possible. Thus the proper care of the body might preserve and supplement the soldier's power of resistance and so mitigate a presumed transgression against nature. But how was this reestablishment of balance to be achieved? Few doubted that if an American soldier was to withstand the tropics, his "habits, his work, his food, his clothing, must be rationally adapted to his habitat."[53] The basic precepts of tropical hygiene were simple enough: avoid the sun, stay cool, eat lightly, drink alcohol in moderation or not at all. In Charles F. Mason's experience, for instance, "errors of diet, abuse of alcoholics, chilling after overheating, especially at night, excessive fatigue, and the use of the heavy cartridge belt" had all been "powerful predisposing factors" to invalidism and death in the tropics.[54]

In civilian life, Americans were rather delicately advised to follow familiar, though somewhat revised, stipulations of diet, clothing, and housing. Americans would still have to be "acclimatized," but it seemed more likely than ever that this could be achieved through a relatively congenial adaptation of culture rather than of physiology. "Acclimatization," wrote Patrick Manson at the turn of the century, "to a great extent means experience—education; not simply an unconscious adaptation of the physiology of the individual but an intelligent adaptation of his

[52] C. R. Greenleaf to G. M. Sternberg, January 30, 1900, RG 112-E26/57592–76, pp. 14–15, National Archives. Lt. Col. James Parker confirmed the climatic problems: "The air lacks vitality; undue exertion exhausts the men and takes the heart out of them . . . A march of 12 or 15 miles in this country is a *forced* march," in Parker, "Some Random Notes on the Fighting in the Philippines," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 27 (1900): 317–40, see 319 (original emphasis).

[53] Hamilton Stone, "Our Troops in the Tropics—From the Surgeon's Standpoint," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 26 (1900): 358–69, see 361.

[54] Mason, "Experiences of a Medical Officer," 309. Each surgeon stipulated his own particular regimen, although they differed only slightly. For instance, Hamilton Stone, "Our Troops in the Tropics," declared: "Given an enlisted man of average strength and intelligence who lives in clean government quarters, eating the ration, drinking boiled water, who is particular as to his personal cleanliness, who wears and frequently changes his underwear, who keeps good hours, who has neither alcoholic, venereal nor tobacco excesses, who uses his best judgement and the surgeon's advice in satisfying his passions, who avoids the filthy places in the cities, and who is blessed with a detachment commander who conscientiously looks after the interests of his men, and I guarantee to him in the tropics a health record equal to my own" (p. 365).

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habits."[55] As acclimatization dwindled from a hazardous physical process, involving constant struggle against degeneration, into a culturally sanctioned effort to tone up or protect a mismatched and deteriorating resistance, the procedure appeared more feasible than ever before. Above all, it would require character, an exercise of the will over habit. Thus Professor Llewelys Barker, of Johns Hopkins University, hoped that if the American in the tropics "carefully chooses his diet, eschews iced drinks, clothes himself rationally, avoids excesses both physical and mental, keeps out of the sun during the hottest time of the day, sleeps under mosquito netting and does not bathe in too cold water, he may live a fairly comfortable life and will probably enjoy good health."[56]

But the problem of tropical neurasthenia continued to challenge these anodyne prescriptions. While longer tropical experience and more sophisticated laboratory research were reducing the salience of climate in explanations of systemic physical disease, most Americans in the Philippines reserved a special place for the climatic theories in their framing of colonial mental deterioration. In the control of malaria, hookworm, and even dysentery, medical officers increasingly were choosing to concentrate on reducing transmission of the seeds of the disease, but the prevention of "neurasthenia" still depended chiefly on replenishing a dried-up racial reservoir of nervous energy. Theories that emphasized a depletion of nerve force in the tropical environment, and the additional strain of brain work on a mental apparatus already out of gear with its surroundings, continued to resonate with the American sense of imperial mission and the self-sacrifice this entailed. At the same time, an ideology of American superiority that emphasized the mental and moral sensitivity of the white male emissaries of civilization could present (at least in principle) an impediment to the efficient functioning of a colonial state.

When Woodruff sought to explain with elaborate geographical and racial theories the epidemic of neurasthenia he witnessed among white males in the Philippines, he was also trying to fashion a coherent and appealing hypothesis for his (and many others') experiences of despair, illness, and incompetence in the tropics. An irascible man, frequently admonished by superior officers, Woodruff had been repatriated from the Philippines in 1904 suffering from chronic amoebic dysentery and "neurasthenia." Ordered back to the Philippines in 1909, he again developed there a "mucus colitis" and neurasthenia ("cerebrospinal type"), and consequently he demanded a posting to a more temperate climate. But in 1910, Percy Ashburn

[55] Patrick Manson, *Tropical Diseases* (London, 1898), 103.

[56] Llewelys F. Barker, "Medical Commission to the Philippines," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 11 (1900): 26–30, see 29. On the physiological and hematological experiments on acclimatization conducted in the Manila Bureau of Science between 1905 and 1915, see Warwick Anderson, "'Where Every Prospect Pleases and Only Man Is Vile': Laboratory Medicine as Colonial Discourse," in *Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures*, Vicente L. Rafael, ed. (Philadelphia, 1995). These experiments were designed to demonstrate that "acclimatization" was either trivial (and therefore easily achieved) or else rendered unnecessary through hygienic regulation. The work of Weston Chamberlain and others had shown that white Americans maintained their usual body temperature in the tropics, their blood pressures were unremarkable, their blood did not "thin," and if they donned orange-red underwear, this misguided pigment-envy only made them sicker. Pigmentation was no longer *prima facie* evidence of belonging, of natural possession. Health for Americans was little more than a matter of avoiding contact with the germs associated with native (pigmented) races and local insects.

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examined him back in San Francisco and found him in good physical condition. The medical board commented—rather snidely—that "in view of Lt. Col. Woodruff's well known opinions as to the injurious effects of tropical climates upon white men and his marked disinclination to expose himself to such influences, it is appreciated that a return to Manila might result in a considerable degree of mental perturbation and distress." They sent him back anyhow, for a "trial," and he was repatriated again in 1912 and retired for disability in 1913. He died two years later, in his fifties, no doubt convinced that in doing so he had proven his hypothesis.[57]

Although his theories and his experience had been unusually extreme, Woodruff's forebodings haunted even the most confident of tropical hygienists. (Ashburn himself eventually conceded the dangers of tropical neurasthenia, even though he thought it preventable.) In its later, more sophisticated form, Woodruff's argument echoed the militant degenerationism of both Benedict Morel and Cesare Lombroso.[58] "The instrument for extinction of men in unnatural climates," Woodruff declared in 1909, "is degeneration in its modern sense, and it is brought about in the tropics by nervous exhaustion." The white man might now be able to avoid tropical infection, but he would always be prone to nerve weakness, flippantly called "philippinitis." The causes of this debility were "overwork, vicious conduct, and the thousands of things which lower vitality." As a result, "low tropical savages are the fittest for their environment, and the strenuous white man is the unfit." Accordingly, the white man should never try to colonize the Philippines, for colonization as a biological process was doomed to failure. Instead, Woodruff advocated a "commensalism": an expansion into the tropics based on mutual aid,[59] a policy that at least would have meant that Woodruff might remain—energetic or otherwise—in New York.

Despite Woodruff's protestations, the contribution of an implacable climate even to the causation of tropical neurasthenia appeared gradually to diminish over the first two decades of the century. While a sense of the deleterious effects of a tropical climate was never entirely erased, other factors such as the irritation of colonial social life became more important contributors to the etiological complex. Not surprisingly, public health officials increasingly emphasized those aspects of the problem that were most preventable or treatable. It would, of course, be infinitely easier to reform negligent conduct or to circumvent the multiple vexations arising from racial proximities than to alter the climate. When Victor Heiser, the harshly

[57] "Charles E. Woodruff," RG 94–1946APC87, National Archives. This file contains Woodruff's medical records, including the "Report" of March 31, 1910. Woodruff's views were circulated widely: W. H. Taft in a letter to Dean C. Worcester refers in passing to "that fellow Woodruff, of the medical corps, who went crazy on the subject of colors in the tropics." February 26, 1914, Box 1, Worcester Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[58] See Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*.

[59] Charles E. Woodruff, *Expansion of Races* (New York, 1909), 257, 274. David Starr Jordan in *Imperial Democracy* (New York, 1899) had made similar claims, though they lacked Woodruff's medical rationale. Thus he wrote that "civilization is . . . suffocated in the tropics," (p. 45) and the torrid zone was "Nature's asylum for degenerates" (p. 93). The biological idea of mutual aid is from P. A. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (London, 1904). Commensalism resembles Frederick Lugard's later "dual mandate": *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (Edinburgh, 1923).

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efficient director of the Bureau of Health, broke down in 1908 after suppressing a cholera epidemic in the Philippines, he identified the immediate cause of his illness as "the continuous efforts over the past five years of overcoming the passive resistance of the Oriental to health measures." The mental effort of dealing with the natives, he complained, had left him "mentally fagged out and physically weak."[60] Heiser later concluded (without recalling his own susceptibility) that "philippinitis"—the "mental and physical torpor, forgetfulness, irritability, lack of ambition, aversion to any form of exercise" of which so many of his compatriots complained, and which they blamed on climate—was in fact the result of the "direct violation of hygienic laws, especially those governing the production and dissipation of body heat."[61] The answer to his own nervousness had been a better diet, more tennis, and opposition to the irritating filipinization of the health service: he did not choose to leave the tropics for another seven years.

One of Heiser's colleagues, William S. Washburn, the chairman of the Philippine civil service board and also a medical doctor, endorsed the belief that social infractions caused more breakdowns than the supposedly "enervating" climate ever did. To maintain mental health, all that was required were "regular habits, the leading of a temperate life, and the absence of indulgence in excesses." The formula—temperance, exercise, and maintenance of social boundaries—was similar to the prior injunctions for resisting physical deterioration. Washburn approvingly quoted Major General Leonard Wood, the governor of Moro province and formerly a Rough Rider: "A moral life, with plenty of hard work, will be found to counteract in most cases the so-called demoralizing effects of the Philippine climate."[62] By the 1920s (the years of Garrison's "neurasthenia"), medical officers in the tropics were convinced that relentless supervision and regulation of personal and domestic hygiene (with a particular emphasis on manly restraint and strenuous exertion) promised to prevent any local pathology, mental or physical; colonialists thus tried, more optimistically than ever before, to build up hermetic microenvironments, enclosures that allowed free play for the masculine virtues. It seemed likely that such a health-oriented colonialism might circumvent tropical neurasthenia, making it little more than an object lesson, a token of pessimism: in effect, the diagnosis had become a means of containing or disciplining breakdown, a means of recovering a faltering civilized identity in the tropics. With attention to the rules of personal, domestic, and public hygiene, with the careful regulation of social life, complete "acclimatization" of the American male was possible; and, if acclimatization was possible, so, too, was a manly white civilization.

BUT FIELDING GARRISON'S BREAKDOWN HAD SUGGESTED more to him than the temporary overstrain, in a depleting climate, of a refined mental apparatus. Its

[60] Victor G. Heiser to Walter Wyman, Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service, January 14, 1908, Heiser Papers, B:H357.p, Letterbook, 1901–13, vol. 15, American Philosophical Society.

[61] Victor G. Heiser, *An American Doctor's Odyssey: Adventures in Forty-Five Countries* (New York, 1936), 74.

[62] William S. Washburn, "The Relation between Climate and Health with Special Reference to American Occupation of the Philippine Islands," *American Journal of Medical Science* 130 (1905): 497–517, see 513, 515.

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meaning was not fully contained in the notion that one was manfully, if with faltering steps, trying to carry the burden of civilization. Not simply a potentially avoidable physiological failing of the white race in an alien land, neurasthenia became for him a sign of willful individual disaffection with modern life, evidence of deep-seated mental conflict. Secretly, he came to suspect that his nervousness indicated not an over-permeable outer membrane but a rotten core. And yet Garrison's own Freudian revisions of the meaning of his tropical nervousness illustrate the complexity and redundancy of any mental derangement. No one frame—mechanistic or psychodynamic—would permanently fit his disorder.

To the skeptical Mencken, Garrison had rendered his nervousness in terms consistent with earlier environmentalist etiologies of tropical breakdown, even though he—better informed than most of his military colleagues—must have known how dated such materialist assumptions had become. Humidity and social frustration clearly retained some conventional and phenomenological appeal as causes of devitalization. And perhaps he thought Mencken would appreciate their literary resonance. But Garrison himself was too sophisticated to believe the theories he proffered, or, at least, too taken with a new psychological formalism to regard physiological disturbance as sufficient explanation for fragmentation of identity. In an extraordinary memorandum book kept while in the Philippines, he interrogated his own internal psychological processes, his "unconscious." But he kept this self-analysis to himself. Scrawled across the lines in pencil, the memoranda are a potent, disturbed, and disturbing pastiche of quotation, précis, statistics, confession, and philosophical speculation. Each note merges with the next: "thyroid in myxoedema" runs into Mendelism, into "causes of low blood pressure," into Ezra Pound on democracy, into the *Golden Bough*, Baudelaire, "Masochismus in Am[erican] male," somatotypes, syphilis in the Middle Ages, "schizoid types," "schizothymia," homosexuality, Jews as "hereditary profiteers," frigidity in albino women, impotence, marriage, "Wundt and Freud on tabu," Manila, racial types, infantile sexuality, the Oedipus complex, penis size, ideas as "sublimated sex instinct," D. H. Lawrence, Sherwood Anderson, Frank Harris, and Gertrude Stein—an intertextual series delivered in precisely that "order." There are few discernable boundaries: quotations end as vehicles for self-revelation without any indication of the point at which Garrison's thoughts began to wander; Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, and English often cluster on the one page; the line breaks are erratic; banal self-assertion is mixed with complex and innovative historical analysis, all within the space of a few pages. Through this stream of consciousness, Garrison was seeking a new set of formulas for his disorder.[63]

The first memoranda are mostly medical and literary. And then, after fifteen

[63] Memorandum Book No. 1 (Army and Navy Club, Philippines), Garrison Papers, Ms C 166. Garrison's later memoranda books consist mostly of literary quotations and clinical descriptions, without passages of self-analysis.

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pages or so: "I wish to be protected from my enemies but from myself, my vices and passions, *no*!" There follow a few more pages of clinical notes, and then:

> Look out for the stenographers
> the cuties sit in your lap and invite you by their
> willing manner to take them out to dinner
> & first thing you know along comes a shyster
> lawyer with a breach of promise blackmail
> prospectus
> didnt fall for a skirt but for a mesh-bag
> [———] being raped
> Villa Palagonin
> Chinese musical records
> —"the undiscovered secret of perpetual
> motion might after all be lust."

This merges into a summary of an article on "Heredity of Homosexuals," signaling the beginning of Garrison's sexual reflections, which soon come to dominate the text. Often, he will begin with a quotation or a synopsis, but after a few lines, the third-person "one" will be crossed out and replaced with "I."

> offshoot of an outworn and inbred
> stock, the son of a mother who was
> physically gummy and mentally
> asthmatic—aunts ~~one~~ I damned
> puffballs, rickety

Followed by "a clever practical race the Jews," and a little later: "I fear my mother—makes me feel inferior in intelligence—a shriveled old woman nearly mad with an image of human futility." And then:

> Callow idealist—American
> whipping post of sadistic Puritanism
> she cat—

At the end of a summary of E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*, Garrison writes: "Letter: Dear Dr Aziz: I wish you had come into the cave. I am an awful old hag and it's my last chance."

In fracturing Garrison's racial, sexual, and professional identity, the memoranda seem at first to frustrate any effort at coherent reconstruction. Where has the manly white physician gone? Who is it that scribbles the following? "Creative minds opposed to the Army regimen the creative ones go morbid. Scares you when you stop long enough to think. The answer is: don't stop long enough to think; just whistle in the dark . . . The skin of which you think so highly is no good. It smells disagreeably to my nose. I knew in the dark that your skin was white. caliente cubierto nagging woman." And who, then, launches into an account of a prostitute with a fur coat who resembles "a rabbit who has had an extensive career"?

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I've needed my body so little in my career.
Where does she act?
In an old-fashioned piece of furniture with 4 posts.
I ate so much rabbit I hopped just like a kangaroo.
I said kanga
I mean roo

This leads inexorably to a discussion of Hippocrates on humors and, later, a recounting of a biological classification of races, followed by Isadora Duncan, and Freud again on "pansexualism." For Garrison,

sex knowledge is the key to the world
Erotic periods are also the most inhibited (erotically)
Inhibited periods are the most erotic
why because there is ambivalence
shameful and erotic feeling in us.

Bibliographic drudgery—brain work—did not mean an excessive drain on a limited supply of nervous force: Garrison was trying to get it to mean a destabilizing and unsustainable repression of the sex instinct, but the material repeatedly exceeds his explanatory capacity. If Garrison could recognize himself at all, it was as one of civilization's discontents, not as a dutiful representative of the white race vulnerable to nervous depletion in a steamy, sunny environment.[64]

Garrison may not have understood himself, or entirely recomposed himself, but at least he thought he knew that there was "no individuality as a unity but complex," and repression was never complete. He could privately invoke the new psychoanalytic theories to explain, or work through, his sense of mental fragmentation. The psychodynamic formula he turned to offered a more complex structuring of identity than the conventional diagnostic complex of tropical neurasthenia, yet both descriptions presupposed a mental apparatus of superior refinement, and both offered hope of its eventual reconditioning through individualized therapeutic interventions. Although altered in form—from materialist to psychodynamic—the recourse to psychological explanation continued to erase the colonial specificity of his disclosures and thus displace the social and political setting of the breakdown. In Garrison's letters to Mencken, a frustrating military relocation had merely exposed an overcivilized white male's physiological settings to a devitalizing climate; in his memoranda, he revealed a complex internal psychopathology, probably dating from infancy, that again attested to his cosmopolitan, overcivilized condition. The former was probably more respectable; the latter was increasingly legitimate for an intellectual, and thus not necessarily reassuring for most colonial officials.

Garrison's tentative Freudian speculations prefigured a more general psychodynamic understanding of tropical nervous breakdown. Before leaving for Manila, his bibliographic duties and literary ambitions had exposed him to Freud's work on the neuroses, at a time when few colonial medical officers would have understood the

[64] Garrison returned to Baltimore, his nervousness under control once in the United States.

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first principles of psychoanalysis. Some elite practitioners in the United States had become interested in Freud's ideas after his visit to Clark University in 1909.[65] But it was not until World War I that psychodynamic explanations—usually emphasizing notions of the "unconscious," "repression," and "mental conflict"—began to supplant the older mechanistic theories of constitutional degeneration. The scale of the problem of "shell shock" had been crucial in unsettling physicalist etiologies and substituting for them a relatively autonomous complex of psychological causation.[66] By the middle of the 1920s, a number of younger colonial psychologists were prepared to draw an analogy between "shell shock" and tropical breakdown.

Increasingly, it seemed that most examples of tropical neurasthenia were to be counted among the psychoneuroses, with their underlying causes located in internal mental conflict. In 1924, Commander Joseph C. Thompson, recently stationed at Guam, declared that so-called tropical neurasthenia was "the result of a conflict in the patient's mind. This conflict is regularly between the desires created by the repressed libido and the demands of the cultural environment of the individual."[67] When a person encountered the demands of social life, he could react in two very different ways. The "reality method" was to "attack the problem at hand, bring to bear upon it all the conscious efforts of training and education," and so dispose of it with "virility, efficiency and happiness." The other type of behavior was a "flight from reality," leading to "the entire gamut of human frailty and neurotic symptoms."[68] These unvirile symptoms were "compensations on the part of the organism for a repressed wish," a longing that relates "invariably and inexorably to unsated desires and mismanagement of the procreation instinct of the individual, in that no neurosis ever takes place in a person whose sexual life is normal." To control these boiling internal pressures, Americans in their own land had become dependent on diversions such as "five-o'clock teas, large moving picture productions amid certain chair comforts and organ or orchestral accompaniments, theater going, terminating in cabaret climaxes, and ball-room dancing." But in the tropics they were deprived of these distractions and so "there comes to the surface a curious set of what Adler terms ready-at-hand neurotic symptoms."[69] The "picturesque" terms previously attached to this "deprivation neurosis" should now be abandoned. To attribute "philippinitis" or "guamitis" to "physical material situations . . . would in itself be a flight into phantasy of so extravagant a nature that no medical officer in the Navy could be counted upon to concur in the concept." Instead, patients should now have their internal psychological disorder explained to them, for a "psychoneurosis only

[65] On the selective appropriation of Freud in America, see Nathan G. Hale, Jr., *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876–1917* (New York, 1971). Interestingly, Garrison (who had read Freud in the original German) seems far more receptive than most early American psychoanalysts to Freud's theories of infantile sexuality.

[66] Martin Stone, "Shellshock and the Psychologists," in *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the History of Psychiatry*, W. F. Bynum, Roy Porter, and Michael Shepherd, eds., 3 vols. (London, 1985), 2: 242–69. See also Nathan G. Hale, Jr., *The Rise and Crisis of Psychoanalysis in the United States: Freud and the Americans, 1917–85* (New York, 1995), esp. chap. 1.

[67] Joseph C. Thompson, " 'Tropical Neurasthenia': A Deprivation Psychoneurosis," *Military Surgeon* 54 (1924): 319–27, see 319.

[68] Thompson, " 'Tropical Neurasthenia,' " 322.

[69] Thompson, " 'Tropical Neurasthenia,' " 323–24.

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thrives in a mind that is ignorant of the underlying unconscious motive for the ailment."[70]

Thompson urged fellow tropical physicians to avoid the old diagnosis of "neurasthenia," as Freud had decided to reserve this term for actual neuroses in which somatic pathogenic agents act at the same time the symptoms are manifested. Neurasthenia, warned Thompson, was now frequently attributed "to overindulgence in the sexual act, and a medical officer should be very careful in appending this diagnosis to a health record, especially in the case of bachelors."[71] But this caution was not always heeded. In response to Major Hugh W. Acton's spirited, if conservative, defense of the humidity hypothesis in 1927, Major V. B. Green-Armytage daringly asserted that there were in fact three main causes of tropical neurasthenia: masturbation, coitus interruptus, or sexual starvation. The notion that it was due to "not wearing a solar topee" was "drivel." He was sure that over 70 percent of white males in the colonial service were masturbating regularly, and it was "extremely common in females in hot weather." Coitus interruptus was also lamentably widespread. Finally, sexual starvation developed when happily married men were separated from their wives. "Under such conditions, when a married man tried to lead a 'straight life,' he became the subject of an inferiority complex, which resulted in psychic trauma."[72] Lt. Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill, one of the founders of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society, later commended Green-Armytage for his appreciation—unsophisticated though it may have been—of the "sexual factor" in the etiology of neurasthenia. "From my own experience, as well as from much study of neurological literature," he wrote, "I have reached an almost unshakeable belief in the correctness of the Freudian theory that real neurasthenia arises solely through a conjunction of an excess of efferent stimulation." But he wanted to distinguish the new "real" neurasthenia from "all those subjective feelings of physical ill-being"—from the more prevalent psychoneuroses—that "arise secondarily from a repercussion of thwarted *libido* upon secondary erogenetic zones."[73] Thus "tropical neurasthenia" was a psychoneurosis, not a real neurasthenia, and it had little to do with the tropics.

These images of the variously sexualized and repressed white male, while not calculated to reassure worn-out colonial administrators or to impress local nationalists, still worked to erase, or at least to exonerate, the colonial setting of a

[70] Thompson, " 'Tropical Neurasthenia,' " 322, 327.

[71] Thompson, " 'Tropical Neurasthenia,' " 325. See also Beard's later emphasis on "sexual neurasthenia."

[72] V. B. Green-Armytage, "Discussion," in Hugh W. Acton, "Neurasthenia in the Tropics," *Indian Medical Gazette* 62 (1927): 1–7, see 7. Acton was professor of bacteriology at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene; Green-Armytage was a gynecologist.

[73] Owen Berkeley-Hill, "Neurasthenia in the Tropics," *Indian Medical Gazette* 62 (1927): 234 (his emphasis). Berkeley-Hill was superintendent of the European Mental Hospital at Ranchi, Bihar, between 1919 and 1934. In 1922, he was one of fifteen psychiatrists brought together by Girindrasekhar Bose to form the Indian Psychoanalytic Society. See Christiane Hartnack, "British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India," in Mitchell G. Ash and William R. Woodward, eds., *Psychology in Twentieth-Century Thought and Society* (New York, 1987), 233–51; and Hartnack, "Vishnu on Freud's Desk." Ashis Nandy refers to Berkeley-Hill as the "first westerner to attempt a psychoanalytic study of the Hindu modal personality and the first westerner to use psychoanalysis as a form of cultural critique in India." Nandy, "Savage Freud," 96. But if critique at all, it was a strangely complicit one: see Owen A. R. Berkeley-Hill, "The 'Colour-Question' from a Psychoanalytic Standpoint" [1923], in Berkeley-Hill, *Collected Papers* (Calcutta, 1933), 139–48.

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breakdown. There is nothing distinctively colonial about these individualized psychopathologies: they are everywhere abstracted from social and historical determinations. And even though psychodynamic theories could be taken to indicate a less homogeneous identity, it was evident that white male subjectivity, if sadly conflicted, was still of the greatest complexity. White males at least possessed something—civilization—that repressed their primitive sex instincts. The medical challenge was how to manage this internal binary opposition, not how to remove the supposed repression—just as previously the goal had been to cope with the external depletive climate. If some white males proved maladapted to their higher tasks, then they must be retrained.

Yet, as nervousness was increasingly associated with sex, a diagnosis of tropical neurasthenia—whatever the theoretical associations with the burdens of civilization—became for its sufferers less a mark of mental distinction than a badge of personal shame. The white man's dirty secret was replacing the white man's burden. "Tropical neurasthenia" was acquiring a rather smutty connotation, and no amount of clinical detachment could cleanse it. It is therefore not surprising that many attending physicians and their patients continued to affirm the older, more comforting physical explanations. When the bishop of Singapore wrote to the *British Medical Journal* in 1926 wanting to know the cause of the "upset of mental balance" so common in the tropics, fourteen medical men offered answers, all different and none with a Freudian taint. These physicians still cited humidity, strong sunlight, eye defects, worry, hyperemia of the brain, north wind, barometric pressure, electrical content of the atmosphere, food, alcohol, constipation, native servants, and smoking. Moderate exercise remained the best preventive treatment.[74] But Owen Berkeley-Hill and other modernist psychiatrists derided such old-fashioned, materialist explanations. Berkeley-Hill thought this sophistry indicated just "how almost hopelessly ignorant we are about a state of affairs which no one can deny is of some considerable importance." He personally was convinced that Europeans in the tropics were prone to "a neurotic syndrome, the central symptom of which is a state of hyperexcitation manifested in a general irritability or a condition of morbid anxiety." The primary cause of this anxiety-neurosis was a voluntary abstinence from sexual intercourse. If this could not be remedied (through concubinage, for example), then psychoanalytic treatment was indicated. Freud was right, and persisting with physicalist euphemism did no more than provide mentally unbalanced patients with unscientific and misleading consolation.[75]

[74] C. J. Singapore, "Mental Irritability and Breakdown in the Tropics," *British Medical Journal* 1 (March 13, 1926): 503–04. The bishop observed that "countries such as British Malaya are now distinctly healthy, but 'nerves' are as frequent a cause of breakdown as ever," 503. See later contributions, under the same title, all in *British Medical Journal*, by A. F. MacCallan, 1 (March 20, 1926): 545–46; Andrew S. McNeil and R. van Someren, 1 (March 27, 1926): 595–96; R. Murray Barrow and J. W. Thomson, 1 (April 3, 1926): 634–35; H. M. Hanschell, M. Iles, and E. Rivaz Hunt, 1 (April 10, 1926): 676–77; George Mahomed and K. Vaughan, 1 (April 24, 1926): 760–61; Andrew S. McNeil, 1 (May 8 and 15, 1926): 846–47; Q. B. de Freitas, M. Jackson, and L. D. Parsons, 1 (May 22, 1926): 884; and J. W. Lindsay, 1 (May 29, 1926): 920. An editorial ("The White Man in the Tropics," 1 [May 29, 1926]: 909–10) was optimistic about the prospects for settling a working white race in the tropics but pointed out that "shibboleths die hard," 910.

[75] Owen Berkeley-Hill, "Mental Hygiene of Europeans in the Tropics," in *Transactions of the 7th Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine, December 1927*, J. Cunningham, ed., 2 vols.

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Psychodynamic theories did not produce anything like the earlier pre-Freudian collective repertoire of assumption about the mind and the body. Indeed, the new psychological speculation rivaled the older microbiology in its alienating lack of self-evidence. The causes of mental disease had become as arcane and insensible and internal as the minute organisms that were supposed to be causing physical ailments. At the same time, theories of unconscious mental conflict did provide a body of specialized knowledge around which a psychiatric profession could organize itself. As this specialty became increasingly autonomous during the 1920s and 1930s, its reference group was more likely to include international colleagues than colonial officials. Articles on mental disorders in the tropics began to appear in general psychiatry journals, not in colonial medical publications. Experts on nervous diseases in the tropics had realized that their postcolonial future depended more on professional legitimacy than on local administrative service. If they had to choose between offending colonial bureaucrats and appearing old-fashioned and ignorant, then they would jettison their soothing function in the interests of intellectual respectability. Since most psychiatrists had no intention of hanging around the colonial outposts, during their brief tropical sojourns they often did not see any need to show special respect to the modesty of their fellows. Increasing independence had allowed them to locate sexual ambiguity and otherness deep within the personalities of colonial administrators, even as they promised through psychotherapy to discipline the conflict they had discerned between civilization and the savage within.

BREAKING DOWN IN THE TROPICS had once indicated a temporary failure of the will: a depletion in the racial allotment of nerve force that was not altogether discreditable in such trying circumstances. If the climate's burden on race and gender proved unendurable, those who succumbed could console themselves with the knowledge that they were, for a short time, the innocent victims of an inexorable biological process. Try as they would to avoid it, decay might still lurk in the humidity and actinic rays of the tropics. Unless they had flagrantly disregarded prescribed rules of hygiene, the temporary victims of tropical neurasthenia could be absolved from blame—if anything, they had fulfilled their civilizing duties too meticulously. But in the 1920s, tropical neurasthenia came to signify a pathology of the will itself, an actual deformity of personality—the destabilizing tropics had, in a sense, become internalized everywhere in the minds of white men. No longer was the main problem a physical mismatch between the white male's refined mental apparatus and an alien, depleting climate; the predicament was by then represented as a personal maladaption to civilized social life. Once a discomforting, though passing, mark of distinction and self-sacrifice for tropical white men, a diagnosis of nervous debility now more likely signified a true defect, or at least an individual's internal psychological conflict.

Although considerably different in form and consequence, both mechanistic and

(Calcutta, 1928), 1: 389–99, see 392. Berkeley-Hill had married an Indian in order to escape his neuroses.

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psychodynamic theories shared during this period an assumption that the true terrain of civilization was the mind of the bourgeois white male. The threat to civilization might come from outside (as the tropical climate) or from inside (as the unconscious), but the locus of its target did not change. The medical problem was how best to educate or to discipline this civilized mind—how to harden it against internal and external enemies. The widely dispersed followers of Beard and Freud aimed to maintain or to recover, in significantly different ways, an exemplary colonial identity at once manly, white, and civilized. But in admitting a sensitivity or fragility of the generic white man (if chiefly to mark his superiority and retrieve it), psychological theories might now seem to prefigure a critique of colonial modernity. Like all family romances, however, such a genealogy should be received with skepticism. If there is a critique of colonialism within colonial psychology in this period, it is a muted one, with the specificity of colonial history and politics conveniently erased. The stimulus to breakdown is repeatedly displaced onto the environment or internalized; its signs and symptoms are structured as manifestations of a personal crisis, not as evidence of political or social disorder. White men might become destabilized, but their problems were not allowed, in any serious way, to subvert Western civilization, even in its colonial setting.

All the same, these medical efforts to codify and contain disturbed identity did still permit some play in many Americans' understanding of the colonial setting. For example, one might conclude, like Woodruff, that tropical neurasthenia allowed only a political "commensalism," and doomed to failure any direct colonial presence; or one might argue, like Heiser, that unrelenting self-discipline would circumvent the condition and so permit high-quality American brain work in the tropics. It was a question of *how* white males might civilize the tropics (resident or distanced), and whether that region deserved their best efforts—they remained the only possible agents of civilization. Colonial optimism always won out over colonial pessimism during this period, but it was nevertheless an endlessly prevaricating sort of optimism.

A diagnosis of colonial nervousness was never likely to generate coherent resistance or subversion. Far from providing an independent oppositional discourse, tropical neurasthenia did more to invigorate than to sap colonial authority. Yet it must be assumed that the practice of breakdown often exceeded the framing capacity of theory. The full meaning of colonial nervousness might sometimes be deferred by eloquent materialist analogy or psychodynamic speculation but never indefinitely. Such formulas, whether conventional or novel, provided Garrison with only transient satisfaction: his memoranda are abundant, irreconcilable supplements to his tightly drawn theories of mental derangement. When an American man in the colonial Philippines broke down, he experienced himself as multiply fragmented, gone "to pieces," his carefully nurtured identity as a manly white colonial emissary fractured. What, then, was happening in his moments of fragmentation, before the re-collection of himself as a recovering neurasthenic or neurotic? The answer, if there is one, is probably inimical to history, for any narrative of breakdown will seek to find coherence where there may be none.[76] We

[76] Historians are prone to structure such breakdowns of male identity as feminization, but I would argue that male neurasthenia connoted disorder and fragmentation so profound as to subvert the sort

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lack evidence of embodied memories of colonial culture and cannot observe directly the signs of the body, although we still might read Garrison's memoranda, in their deranged social and political specificity, their disjunctures and excesses, as constantly exceeding the reach of his recovery.[77] Of course, even this bizarre testimony, given all its disturbance, has emerged already heavily medicalized. But when Garrison notes that the white skin he and many of his colleagues paraded was no good—"It smells disagreeably to my nose"—neither the mechanistic nor the psychodynamic theories he favored could fully account for such an incident of putrescence.

After the 1920s, reports of tropical neurasthenia among Americans in the Philippines are rare, mostly because few white males remained in the archipelago, but perhaps also because those who stayed on were reluctant to translate their experiences of disorder and nervousness into Freudian terms.[78] If breakdown had to be articulated, it was generally managed through recourse to the mismatch between mental apparatus and climate.[79] At the same time, an epidemic of neurasthenia was now recognized among another group in the colonial Philippines, one hitherto racially exempt from any diseases of civilization. The diagnosis was made available as an object lesson to "educated natives." When W. E. Musgrave, the director of the Philippine General Hospital, discussed his "clinical notes" on tropical neurasthenia, he emphasized for the first time the special susceptibility of elite Filipinos. "Few natives," he had determined, "are mentally constituted to withstand the normal stress of Western civilization which so many of them adopt." This was strikingly illustrated in the Philippines, where twenty years of inculcating "Occidental methods" had led to widespread neurasthenia among the "younger generation of more progressive Filipinos." The imitation of "Western methods of energy, application and efficiency" had come at great cost. The local race had been happier in a state of nature. For the "native," Musgrave concluded, prevention of nervous debility "consists in holding his ambitions and energies within his natural bounds and resting before the breaking point is reached."[80] While adapted to manual labor in a tropical climate, Filipinos evidently did not exhibit the mental discipline or self-mastery required to manage civilization in such a climate. According to Musgrave, civilization in the tropics was necessarily still the white man's burden.

Musgrave clung to a materialist theory of Filipino neurasthenia that emphasized simple racial incompetence, but a later generation of colonial psychiatrists would render the male native conflicted, or "hybrid," and therefore psychoanalyzable. Just

of coherence that "feminization" implies. To be called "unmanned" is not always to be named "woman." On the coding of aporias in grand narratives as "feminine," see Alice Jardine, *Gynesis: Configurations of Woman and Modernity* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985).

[77] For an ethnographic project to retrieve embodied memory, see Arthur Kleinman and Joan Kleinman, "How Bodies Remember: Social Memory and the Bodily Experience of Criticism, Resistance, and Delegitimation following China's Cultural Revolution," *New Literary History* 25 (1994): 707–23.

[78] The number of U.S. officials and teachers in the Philippines fell from 2,600 in 1913 to 614 in 1921.

[79] For example, there is still the folk diagnosis of "going troppo" in northern Australia, and perhaps similar popular residuals exist in other tropical settler societies.

[80] W. E. Musgrave, "Tropical Neurasthenia, Tropical Hysteria and Some Special Tropical Hysteria-Like Neuropsychoses," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* 5 (1921): 398–407, see 399, 400, 401.

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as Freud had discovered the tropics within the European mind, colonial psychoanalysts, such as Berkeley-Hill, began to argue that the elite native might yet develop a superego. But with this normalization of mental hybridity, this psychiatric decolonization process, the individual's anxieties and instability continued, until the 1950s, to be abstracted from political and historical circumstances. The colonial setting might serve to liberate the repressed anxiety, but it was not, until Frantz Fanon began writing, deemed the underlying cause of it. Fanon was working in a tradition that had already admitted, and attempted to codify, colonial alterity and mental conflict, whereas he took this psychic economy and rendered it political.[81] "Does psychoanalysis win out over Marxism?" Albert Memmi asked. "Does it all depend on the individual or on society?"[82] Fanon did not doubt it all depended on a racialized colonial social structure. "For the black man," he wrote, "historical and economic realities come into the [psychoanalytic] picture," which meant that "a black man's alienation is not an individual question."[83] A new generation of oppositional colonial psychiatrists would thus practice a politically informed socioanalysis as much as psychoanalysis.[84] Relocated and socialized, psychoanalytic theory could inform an emergent postcolonial critique, in which the recognition of instabilities of identity might be used to question essentialist fantasies rather than to recuperate them.[85] Psychiatric disorder was a result of an insupportable colonial structure of inequalities; it was not business as usual.

Whatever its political utility, Fanon's work still was building on earlier medical framings of colonial nerves and therefore passed over its own complicity with the processes it condemned.[86] For Fanon and his successors, colonial society had

[81] See esp. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Critical Fanonism," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 457–70. Gates notes that, in Fanon's work, "the Freudian mechanisms of psychic repression are set in relation to those of colonial repression," 466. Similarly, Homi Bhabha has referred to "Fanon's sociodiagnostic psychiatry," in "Remembering Fanon," foreword to *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967; London, 1986), xx. For an interesting account of Fanon's "sociotherapy," see Françoise Vergès, "Chains of Madness, Chains of Colonialism: Fanon and Freedom," in Alan Read, ed., *The Fact of Blackness: Frantz Fanon and Visual Representation* (Seattle, Wash., 1996), 47–75.

[82] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Howard Greenfield, trans. (New York, 1965), xiii.

[83] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York, 1967), 161, 13.

[84] Gates has recognized Fanon's "socioanalysis" ("Critical Fanonism"), but I want to emphasize here the political character of this socioanalysis, its explicit implication of colonialism, which I believe is Fanon's innovation. After all, it could be argued that Sigmund Freud had engaged in socioanalysis (see Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, James Strachey, trans. [New York, 1962]), and certainly many colonial psychoanalysts had been ready to study "Hindu character," to the extent that one might argue that socioanalysis had long been characteristic of colonial psychoanalysis: see, for example, Berkeley-Hill, *Collected Papers*.

[85] Recently, there has been renewed attention to white male ambivalence: Ashis Nandy has described Kipling's "pathetic self-hatred and ego construction which went with colonialism," in "The Psychology of Colonialism," *Psychiatry* 45 (1982): 197–218, see 209; and Homi Bhabha observes that "the colonizer is himself caught in the ambivalence of paranoic identification," *Location of Culture*, 61. Bhabha argues that by avoiding the earlier emphases on personal responsibility and on the recovery of masterful identity, it may be possible "to redeem the pathos of cultural confusion into a strategy of political subversion," 61. On the dangers of reducing "social and political problems to psychological ones, and of the substitution of poststructuralist linguistic manipulation for historical and social explanation," see Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1994): 329–56, see 337.

[86] See Albert Memmi, "Frozen by Death in the Image of Third World Prophet," *New York Review of Books* (March 14, 1971): 5, 20. Fanon recognized a colonial distortion of an otherwise neutral medicine: "The truth objectively expressed is constantly vitiated by the lie of the colonial situation" ("Medicine and Colonialism," in John Ehrenreich, ed., *The Cultural Crisis of Modern Medicine* [New York, 1978],

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shaped a specifically colonial subjectivity, but their colonial psychiatry apparently could be disengaged from the institutions that had produced it. Fanon was able to point to a convergence of colonialism and subject formation—an observation that makes this essay possible—but, at the same time as he saw colonialism producing a symptom, it was framing even his own diagnostic activity.

229–51, see 235). But he positioned himself as practicing a liberated, noncolonial psychiatry—as an analyst of colonialism, not as a worker within it.

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AHR Forum

History and Memory

Over the last decade, memory in its many guises has become a critical and widely used means of examining the past. This AHR Forum *analyzes the growing importance of one particularly significant form that this work has taken, studies of collective memory. It does so by offering two thoughtful critiques of the emerging historical literature. The articles by* **Susan A. Crane** *and* **Alon Confino** *express a common concern about the theoretical underpinnings of current historical approaches to collective memory. However, they highlight different issues and propose different solutions. Crane focuses on issues of historical consciousness and the roles that historians play as witnesses of the past. Confino highlights the issue of contextualization and the place of cultural history in studies of collective memory.* **Daniel James***'s commentary pulls these issues together by drawing on his own studies of labor history in Argentina to suggest some of the specific challenges facing historians who use memory as a means of trying to recover the past. Taken together, the articles and commentary suggest why collective memory has become such a compelling form of historical analysis.*

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AHR Forum
Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory

SUSAN A. CRANE

it came in a language
Untouched by pity, in lines, lavish and dark,
Where death is reborn and sent into the world as a gift,
So the future, with no voice of its own, nor hope
Of ever becoming more than it will be, might mourn.

Mark Strand, from "Orpheus Alone."[1]

PERHAPS THE MOST BANAL THING that could be said about history, in general, is that "it happened," or something happened. But of course, history is not only the past or pasts that "happened" or continue to happen, it is also what is written or produced about those pasts both then and now. And so whenever we think about history, we are thinking in terms of commemoration, or, in Mark Strand's words, the "gift" sent into the world so that the future might mourn. This "present" (the gift of/from the now) to the coming generations encapsulates a historical consciousness that attempts to transmit memory and identity as corporate, corporeal entities.[2] That the future might mourn is the projection of nostalgia; it is also the supposition of historical thinking, which charges itself with the preservation of what would otherwise be lost both mentally and materially. Practitioners of history have tended to distinguish history and memory by their distinct functions and modes of operation. But what has prompted one of the most significant, ongoing debates about the nature and practice of history in the twentieth century is a proposition that came from outside the historical profession, and that has stimulated the creation of divisions between types of memory: the suggestion that another venue of memory and identity transmission has operated simultaneously and competitively with history, namely "collective memory."[3]

An earlier version of this article was presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 1995; the present essay has intentionaly retained much of the spirit of that "thought-piece." I would like to thank my co-panelists Alon Confino, Elliot Neaman, and Andrei Markovits, as well as Gail Bernstein, Joe Fracchia, Nancy Hunt, and the anonymous readers at the *AHR* for their comments.

[1] Mark Strand, "Orpheus Alone," in Strand, *The Continuous Life: Poems* (New York, 1990), 9.

[2] See John R. Gillis's introductory essay to *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

[3] For recent discussions of the theory of collective memory by and for historians, see Keith Michael Baker, "Memory and Practice," *Representations* 11 (Summer 1985): 134–59; Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, eds., "Memory and Counter Memory," special issue of *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); Amos Funkenstein,

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If history is both the past(s) and the narratives that represent pasts as historical memory in relation to presents/presence, collective memory is a conceptualization that expresses a sense of the continual presence of the past. Both forms are, of course, authored or represented in particular ways—although discussions of collective memory rarely address the simple fallacy that memory, which the most recent research posits as operating from multiple locations within the brain, is here metaphorically understood to operate without requiring anything like a single biological entity, much less an individual providing its expression. But assuming this basic, representational similarity, it seems to me that the difference between collective memory and historical memory marks the separation between lived experience (in Henri Bergson's sense) and the preservation of lived experience, its objectification—rather than marking the absolutely separate functioning of the two forms of historical consciousness.[4] Historical memory, always appearing in the form of historical narrative, is one form for the content of collective memory, but collective memory is also the framework in which historical remembering occurs. The difference between form and framework has come to be understood as one created by the professionalization of history. The redefinition I will be presenting here, however, suggests that the debates about the differences and relative values of historical and collective memory may have eclipsed a historical consciousness that yet remains available within both memory frameworks. I follow the late scholar of Jewish thought, Amos Funkenstein, in defining historical consciousness as a useful and neglected middle term in this debate. However, Funkenstein argued that "Western historical consciousness doesn't contradict collective memory, but rather is a developed and organized form of it," which apparently equates historical consciousness with historical memory.[5] As a middle term, historical consciousness should designate the desire for experiences to be understood historically. The

"Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness," *History and Memory* 1 (Spring/Summer 1989): 5–26; Paula Hamilton, "The Knife Edge: Debates about Memory and History," and Chris Healy, "Histories and Collecting: Museums, Objects and Memories," in Hamilton and Kate Darian-Smith, eds., *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* (Oxford, 1994); Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, N.H., 1993); Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), is designed to serve as a textbook and includes a useful annotated bibliography. Substantial catalogs of American, French, and British collective memory practices, respectively, include Michael Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991); Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1984–92); David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985); and Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London, 1994). Oral history's peculiar relationship to collective memory and anthropological approaches are presented in Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*; Thomas Butler, ed., *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind* (Oxford, 1989); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989); and the special issue "Memory and History," *History and Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1986). See also David William Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago, 1994).

[4] Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory* (Paris, 1896; English transl., New York, 1911). Bergson's conception of memory as an action occurring in the present, rather than as an element of archival material located in one spot in the brain, emphasized the lived experience of recalling and remembering the past in the living, active present. He foreshadowed current psychological and neurological research that focuses on the multiple functions of memories, the interacting brain components that produce them, and the nature of the experiences in which memories are created and recalled: see Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain* (New York, 1994); Daniel L. Schacter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, the Mind and the Past* (New York, 1996). See also the discussion of the bodily aspects of Bergson's theory in Matt K. Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern* (New York, 1996).

[5] Funkenstein, "Collective Memory," 19.

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varieties of lived experience, discussed at the end of this essay, require both historical and collective memory for their articulation of historical consciousness.

Historians who may be skeptical about the relevance of this entire discussion to their own work should consider their reactions to the following questions: Do we create forms of historical representation because history is past, or do we create them because history is present? Do we write history because we have experienced it ourselves, or do we see ourselves as looking at something that is distant and virtually lost to us? Most imperative, who is this "us" or you or me that thinks historically? The answers to these questions—and they will be plural—can help historians think about how collective memory may in fact already constitute a fundamental aspect of their work. Historians also must address the same issues in establishing their field of inquiry and in their writing that students of and participants in collective memory do: Who has history and/or memory, who represents it, who experiences it, and how is it perpetuated? Are the collectives national, ethnic, religious, generational, or does the definition depend on the story being told? These questions relate to the task of representation, the inevitable "speaking for others" that historians write. What may at first seem like a confusing or hair-splitting fine line between two forms of collective historical consciousness is in fact a rich discussion of the responsibility for and participation in collective memory, in which historians will still play a part.

The differences between collective memory and historical memory only began to be discussed explicitly within European traditions of historiography during the nineteenth century.[6] While many would argue that a "sense of the past" is a perpetual aspect of the human condition, it is clear that the era famous for the development of historicism also witnessed a decisive change in the ways in which the recording and record of the past were valued. In Germany, for instance, the beginnings of a "culture of preservation" were contemporary to the rise of historicism after 1815 and resulted in a ground swell of regional historical preservation movements. These began as amateur vocations but quickly became professionalized.[7] The former curiosity cabinets and art galleries of Europe were gradually consolidated for collective, public presentation, along with newly valued

[6] This is not to argue that historical consciousness did not exist before 1800 but, rather, that it took on significant new forms that deliberately spoke for collective memory. For a summary of the "arts of memory" and memory theaters drawn from Frances Yates's seminal study, see Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*. On the antiquarianism and curiosity cabinets, as well as natural historical collecting, see Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine*, Allison Brown, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, Elizabeth Wiles-Portier, trans. (Cambridge, 1990); Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London, 1992).

[7] See Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge, 1984); Susan Crane, "Collecting and Historical Consciousness: New Forms for Collective Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992). Still worth noting for its discussion of both the discipline of history and related collecting practices is G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913; rpt. edn., New York, 1959). In the rapidly growing literature on museums, collecting, and preservation in Europe, see also Phillipa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge, 1986); Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1989); and Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds., *Museum/Culture* (London, 1994).

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medieval, European artifacts and contemporary, foreign ethnographic objects. Historical collecting and preservation was a group effort, locally coordinated and state-supported in Germany in *Vereine*, or associations. The results were supposed to express a group identity (particularly a national one), a sense of the past valid for the members of this preservationist culture and anyone who encountered their products—just as we continue to do in the public museums that began to be founded then and have been created since. In this culture, which is largely still our own, it became virtually inconceivable to speak of having one's own sense of historical consciousness except as mediated by the reception of the "history" created by historians and preservationists.

The new form of historical memory thus entered consciousness at the group level, and it was seen at the time to be recording and saving memories or experiences that would otherwise be lost—while simultaneously masking the role of the individual in this collective remembering. This is the culture of preservation we have inherited. The increasingly professionalized role of historians as those publicly entrusted with the duty of memory and commemoration apparently made it incumbent upon practicing historians to retract almost all vestiges of personal memories or personal involvement in the production of the history. The apparently simultaneous appearance of professional historians and disappearance of collective memory has led modern theorists of collective memory to posit the notion that historical memory has displaced collective memory and, further, to mourn its passing. Two of the most significant, and tendentious, discussions of this transition appear in the work of the French historian Pierre Nora and the historian of Jewish thought, Yosef Yerushalmi. They in turn refer, as do most scholars in this field, to work of the early twentieth-century French sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, who crafted a programmatic outline of the frameworks of collective memory. But I will argue that Halbwachs' work contains an implicit possibility of a recombination of historical and collective memory. For if historical memory is only one form of collective memory, it may well be that collective memory has not been lost or supplanted but, in fact, has persisted in a way altogether unlike what has been proposed so far. In order to reconceptualize collective memory and show that it is not simply a historical artifact, I will suggest relocating the collective back in the individual who articulates it—the individual who disappeared in the occlusion of personal historical consciousness by the culture of preservation.

A revised notion of collective memory may provide a theoretical basis for imagining a different kind of historical memory, which would focus on the way individuals experience themselves as historical entities. It would thus avoid the pitfalls that the concept of collective memory suggests to those who fear its nationalist, revisionist temptations, as exemplified recently in the American controversy over the Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian in 1994–1995. The difference between collective memory and historical memory was marked by the creation of a distinction between a lived experience and the preservation of that experience: between one's own sense of having an experience and an external representation of that sense which is presumed to be valid for others as well as yourself. By relocating collective *and* historical memory in the individual thinking historically, and avoiding "speaking for others," I am trying to imagine a new form

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for historical consciousness that takes its inspiration from, but is not necessarily limited to, the forms created in the nineteenth century.

DESPITE WORK DONE UNDER THE RUBRIC of Freudian or Jungian psychology, we owe the theorization of collective memory primarily to the early twentieth-century French sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs. A recalcitrant student of Henri Bergson who switched professional allegiances to Emile Durkheim, Halbwachs brought insights into the nature of individual memory to the sociological study of group dynamics and particularly emphasized the social contextualization of all individual memories. In addition to major texts on suicide and social morphology, he produced two works on memory, *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925) and a collection of posthumously published fragments, *The Collective Memory*, which survived Halbwachs' internment and death at Buchenwald and appeared in English in 1950.[8] In these two texts, Halbwachs develops a partly experiential, partly literary-critical basis (Stendahl and Marcel Proust account for much of his evidence) for his idea that individual memory can only be recalled in the social framework within which it is constructed.[9] Individuals, he argues, belong to many social groups, and a collective memory inheres in each. He discusses the frameworks of family, religion, and nation, showing how each conditions the ways in which memory is activated.

In the essay entitled "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," Halbwachs is explicit about the distinctions between two types of memory:

> Every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time. The totality of past events can be put together in a single record only by separating them from the memory of the groups who preserved them and by severing the bonds that held them close to the psychological life of the social milieus where they occurred, while retaining only the group's chronological and spatial outline of them.

Collective memory exists and is perpetuated in specific groups that exist in discrete times and places. These groups maintain a living relation to collective memory, and it is only within such groups that any individual can remember and express personal memories. "The groups to which I belong vary at different periods of my life," Halbwachs wrote. "But it is from their viewpoint that I consider the past."[10] This suggests that "the past" is in fact multiple pasts. Collective memory is flexible with

[8] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, Francis J. Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter, trans. (New York, 1980), contains the crucial essay, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory" (50–87); see also Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis A. Coser, ed. (Chicago, 1992), which contains selections from "The Social Frameworks of Memory" and other essays.

[9] Compare Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, "Collective Memory—What Is It?" *History and Memory* 8 (Spring/Summer 1996): 30–50. Gedi and Elam argue that Halbwachs rejected Durkheim's "fine distinction . . . between individual and collective representations" by completely obliterating individual memory and its representative status (36). They see Halbwachs as presenting the old idea of social "myth" in new clothes. It should be noted, however, that their argument is based on a reading of "The Social Frameworks" essays rather than the later work collected in *The Collective Memory*, where Halbwachs indeed articulates the potential (and limits) of individual memory in collective memory. Further, in the later essays, Halbwachs stresses the plurality of social frameworks and each individual's multiple memberships, in which a single totalizing "myth" could not function.

[10] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 84, 72.

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regard to the events of the past and the individual memories of them. It must allow for lapses of memory, the passing of generations, and the personal development that characterizes maturity.

By contrast, Halbwachs sees historical memory as a marker of the moment and condition in which memory is loosed from its social moorings and becomes anchored instead in the abstract frameworks of chronology and factual detail, "severing the bonds" from its "social milieu": "General history starts only when tradition ends and the social memory is fading or breaking up . . . The need to write the history of a period, a society, or even a person is only aroused when the subject is already too distant in the past to allow for the testimony of those who preserve some remembrance of it."[11] This is the key insight of Halbwachs' multifaceted study: that historical memory is the representation of a *lost* past, and its only recollection. The past no longer exists as collective memory. How, then, has it been remembered? "History is neither the whole nor even all that remains of the past. In addition to written history, there is a living history that perpetuates and renews itself through time and permits the recovery of many old currents that have seemingly disappeared. If this were not so, what right would we have to speak of a 'collective memory'?"[12]

Lived experience and collective memory "interpenetrate" each other through autobiography, the self-conscious memory of individual members of a group.[13] But this is different from historical memory in two crucial ways. First, lived or personal history and collective memory are continuous in their interpenetration; "collective memory . . . is a current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive."[14] There is no break between awareness of the past and its presence in the present, and nothing can be lost in this continuum. Historical memory, by contrast, begins when social traditions are broken and living contact with the past has been lost; all that remains are fragments as artifacts.

Second, collective memory is by definition multiple, with as many memories as there are groups within which to remember, but history, Halbwachs argues, is by definition "unitary" and single. He believes that the historian aims to include in history all of the information available, on the assumption that the resulting totality will be the closest possible approximation to the lost, lived reality. "Now the historian can make such judgements," Halbwachs states, "because he is not located within the viewpoint of any genuine and living groups of the past or present."[15] Halbwachs' conception of what historians produce as history may sound terribly out of date now. It seems that, although individuals and collectives interact in their production of collective memory, the historian and historical memory are outside any group, because the memory they address is a distant correspondent, not a living, communicating member of an existing collective. Historical memory is seen to be seeking a solitary, unifying entity to inhere in, unlike the continuous, multiple

[11] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 78.
[12] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 64.
[13] See Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 55.
[14] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 80.
[15] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 83.

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collectives of the "Other" memory, but—and this is where his old-fashioned notion of history breaks out to potentially new territory—the only place Halbwachs envisions this unity coming together is in the individual historian: not "the history."

This brief introduction to Halbwachs' theory must suffice to provide a comparative framework in which to reconsider the potential of collective memory as a useful category of analysis for historians and as a mode of historical expression or representation. For, although Halbwachs left historians out of the framework of collective memory, and apparently signaled the death of collective memory in the rise of history, it may be that collective memory has indeed survived the onslaught of historical representation. In particular, it may provide a way to understand what is at stake in the current debates about memory and forgetting in relation to the Holocaust, to name only one example of the phenomenon in which individuals with a particular lived experience (survivors of the Holocaust, survivors of the war, and contemporaries) are brought into conflict with individuals who have another kind of lived experience (succeeding generations of all three groups, for whom the Holocaust is a "learned" historical experience). Individuals provide interpretations for other individuals, and these are dealt with as information to be assimilated, remembered, or archived. The criteria, however, of "what remains" has more to do with who is acting as a witness and who is remembering lived experience than it does with whether a narrative adequately sums up a historical event.

This is nowhere more apparent than in the recent discussions of postwar European collective memory.[16] Fraught with a different calculus of guilt and responsibility than had entered the French debate until the 1980s (with the analysis of the "Vichy Syndrome"), the German debate about how to "come to terms with the past" is shaped by irreconcilable differences between lived experience and memories, repression, official historiography, and above all, the variety of generations who participate in the debate.[17] The oldest generation includes surviving victims of the Holocaust and "survivors" of the Hitler regime. (Note that the word "survivor" is itself ambiguous: for Holocaust survivors, it implies an unending traumatic condition; for "survivors" of the Hitler regime, those remaining alive from that time, the term implies both culpability and retribution.) Younger generations vary in their distance to the key events, the Holocaust or the Third Reich, but both events are unarguably cores of their collective memories. They still have access to the lived experience of the remembering generation but are rapidly

[16] See Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Eric L. Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, 1991); Peter Reichel, *Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die Nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit* (Munich, 1995). On the monumentalization and preservation of conflicted collective memory, see James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Sarah Farmer, "Symbols That Face Two Ways: Commemorating the Victims of Nazism and Stalinism at Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen," *Representations* 49 (Winter 1995); Rudy Koshar, "Building Pasts: Historic Preservation and Identity in Twentieth Century Germany," and Claudia Koonz, "Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration Camps in German Memory" both in Gillis, *Commemorations*.

[17] The experiences of trauma and repression are aspects of collective memory that deserve particular attention; see Michael S. Roth's collected essays, *The Ironist's Cage: Memory, Trauma and the Construction of History* (New York, 1995); and Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (Baltimore, Md., 1996). See also Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds., *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York, 1996).

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approaching the time when that link will be severed. It may be paradigmatic for any definition of historical consciousness, what we want and need from "the past," to understand how collective memory continues to function at the level of individual experience and how it can contest historical representation.

One of the most influential attempts to understand the function of collective memory in modernity has been the studies conducted as part of Pierre Nora's *Lieux de mémoire* series. A project of encyclopedic scope, the *Lieux de mémoire* series has employed prominent French historians to locate and describe the "sites" of collective memory for conceptual entities as diverse as the Panthéon and Port-Royal, the Vendée and architect Viollet-le-Duc, gastronomy and gallantry—words and things that may or may not have archaeological status. Well-known as a publisher—an editor at Gallimard and for the critical journal *Le debat*—Nora also led a seminar on collective memory at the Ecole Practique des Hautes Etudes in the 1970s, which spawned the larger collection. Nora's project situates itself squarely within a historical context that includes the legacy of the Annales school, the bicentennial of the French Revolution, and the impact of Foucauldian concepts of power/knowledge and counter-memory. A programmatic essay of Nora's was translated into English for a specially dedicated issue of *Representations* in 1989, but since the multiple-volume publication began in 1984, the phrase *lieux de mémoire* has become common coin among Anglophone students of collective memory.[18] Holding a mirror up to French historical consciousness, Nora saw a troubled visage and a disembodied nation. In treating a variety of objects, places, and concepts as "sites," Nora argued that these sites have become the fixed, externalized locations of what was once an internalized, social collective memory. Nora characterizes a shift from *milieux de mémoire*, or naturalized collective memory, to *lieux de mémoire*, which represent self-conscious, deliberate attempts to preserve memory in historical ways. Archives, museums, memorials, anniversaries, and histories needed to be created by modernity because spontaneous collective memory has ceased to function. In his most striking and most frequently quoted statement, Nora writes, "We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left."[19] In fact, the artifact of lost collective memory is the practice and production of commemoration.

What is missing, for Nora, is spontaneous memory activity outside the direction of a modern preservationist culture. Halbwachs noted, "History indeed resembles a crowded cemetery, where room must be constantly made for new tombstones."[20] Nora also addresses the problem of the surfeit of preserved memory, which apparently has all but destroyed any real, living connection to the past. History, Nora argues, "besieges memory, deforming and transforming it, penetrating and petrifying it."[21] In this view, history plays the role of invader and manipulator, a force from within collective memory that is self-destructive and that produces

[18] Pierre Nora, "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Mémoire" *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25. See also Steven Englund, "The Ghost of Nation Past," *Journal of Modern History* 64 (June 1992): 299–320; Hutton, *History as an Art*, 124–53; Nancy Wood, "Memory's Remains: *Les lieux de mémoire*," *History and Memory* 6 (Spring/Summer 1994): 123–49; *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 1: *Conflicts and Divisions*, under the direction of Pierre Nora, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1996–).

[19] Nora, "Between History and Memory," 7.

[20] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," 52.

[21] Nora, "Between History and Memory," 12.

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prosthetic artifacts to replace natural connections to reality. But the determination of what qualifies as a *lieu* is reserved to a subjective act: the will to remember, although Nora does not specify who wills, who will act out this desire. Without this (agentless) imaginative act, "we would quickly drift into admitting virtually everything as worthy of remembrance" or commit the historicalizing, preservationist error of assuming that anything might be worth saving.[22]

This striking pessimism about historical memory and fears for the loss of a culturally unique collective memory is shared by a contemporary of Nora's, Yosef Yerushalmi. In his 1982 book *Zakhor* (Remember), Yerushalmi argued that "history" has supplanted the tradition of Jewish memory and ritual with a record of the past rather than a reinvocation and repetition of it in the present.[23] Disturbed by the secularization implicit in this shift in historical consciousness, Yerushalmi was concerned that a split had occurred between Jewish tradition and Jewish identity. Yerushalmi's provocative thesis was contested by several, albeit mostly admiring, scholars of Jewish thought, including Amos Funkenstein.[24] Yerushalmi appeared to have touched a nerve; while scholars have argued where and how forms of Jewish historical consciousness may have predated the modern break Yerushalmi postulates, his larger point remains significant within the framework of collective memory theory.[25] Like Nora, Yerushalmi sees the form of historical representation as destructive of lived experience, and both are skeptical of the value of the substitute form and the accompanying compulsion toward regarding this mediocre substitute as historically valuable. Yerushalmi reacts similarly to Nora in criticizing the impulse to regard any and everything as potentially "valuable" in a historical sense. Collective memory, he argues, is necessarily selective in what it preserves: "Certain memories live on; the rest are winnowed out, repressed, or simply discarded by a process of natural selection which the historian, uninvited, disturbs and reverses."[26] Clearly, the collective memory process is not a benign one; however, for Yerushalmi, the value in this "natural selection" is its preservation of a powerful guiding force, a "messianic faith" from the Jewish tradition, which provided the principle for coherence and continuity. Yerushalmi sees the production of history and the reification of preservation as a goal in and of itself, as markers of a historical era that professes no faiths and creates a value out of fragmentation and loss by preserving all fragments. He invokes Jorge Luis Borges' story of Funes the Memorious, the man who could not forget anything and consequently was an insomniac. This, Yerushalmi muses, could be the message that historical scholarship delivers to itself: in forgetting nothing, we lose ourselves.[27]

Like Halbwachs, Yerushalmi distinguishes (collective) memory from (historical) recollection: memory is continuous, unbroken, and perpetually available, whereas recollection is the act of recovering that which has been forgotten, and is the basis

[22] Nora, "Between History and Memory," 19.

[23] Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982; rpt. edn., New York, 1989).

[24] See Funkenstein, "Historical Consciousness," 12–19; see also Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

[25] See David Meyer, "Remembering *Zakhor*: A Super-Commentary," *History and Memory* 4 (Fall/Winter 1992): 129–48; Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Jews: History, Memory and the Present*, David Ames Curtis, trans. and ed. (New York, 1996), 57–62.

[26] Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 95.

[27] Cited in Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 102.

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of all knowledge and "true learning."[28] While there is always a role for historical memory, it must not supplant the continuity of the collective, which is exactly what Yerushalmi fears has happened in Jewish tradition. Indeed, history must salvage something of its own "dignity" and fight against the abuse of memory:

> For the world in which we live it is no longer merely a question of the decay of collective memory and the declining consciousness of the past, but of the aggressive rape of whatever memory remains, the deliberate distortion of the historical record, the invention of mythological pasts in the service of the powers of darkness.[29]

Yerushalmi, Nora, and Halbwachs all acknowledge that historical memory is present in the present, that it shapes collective memory and is shaped by it. But they also see history as a destructive force, because the historian is neither strong enough to be the provider of the "law" or messianic faith that determines, for Yerushalmi, what may be forgotten, nor representative of any organic connection to a people or milieu, in Nora's terms, and so cannot participate in a collective memory but merely provide yet another tombstone in Halbwachs' cemetery of historical identity. For the two practicing historians, this realization presents a challenge and an opportunity. They imagine writing histories of forgetting and histories of the sites of collective memory. But they do not propose, as I am going to attempt here, to reopen the possibility that collective memory is itself an expression of historical consciousness that derives from individuals, and has only recently, in the last two hundred years, found one kind of expression in national or collective histories—this being only one possibility, not an exhaustive depletion of the concept.

Collective memory maintains the lived experience of individuals within groups, according to Halbwachs, because that individual experience is never remembered without reference to a shared context. But there is a body/body problem lurking in this theory of memory (as opposed to a mind/body problem) that is rarely alluded to: we all know that groups have no single brain in which to locate the memory function, but we persist in talking about memory as "collective," as if this remembering activity could be physically located. We may speak, with Jacques Derrida, of "traces"; Nora identifies "sites," and I have studied the origins of historical preservation in the nineteenth century, which, in seeking to give form to collective memory, created new "forms" for historical memory. None of this, however, addresses the fact that collective memory ultimately is located not in sites but in individuals. All narratives, all sites, all texts remain objects until they are "read" or referred to by individuals thinking historically. Individuals are responsible for Nora's will to remember; individuals will respond to Yerushalmi's call for a reaffirmation of the dignity of historical writing. These individuals may happen to be professional historians, but, more often, they may simply be people who are thinking historically.

For any individual, learning about history is a lived experience that becomes part of collective memory—a seemingly simple proposition that none of the theorists of collective memory discuss. Some individuals may be collectively recognized as

[28] Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 197–98.
[29] Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 116.

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historical actors, but others will be readers and receivers of stories and will never consider themselves to have been either historians or historical actors, although the information and knowledge they have received and created has come from historical contexts in which historical knowledge is valued. The historian plays a socially confirmed role as rememberer, but, just as often, the historian does not see him/herself as remembering lived experience but rather as witnessing to the experience of others through their testimony—by working in archives or conducting interviews, reading texts, which are the voluntary or involuntary testimonies of others, and then speaking of this evidence.[30] The criteria of "what remains" as memory has more to do with when one is acting as a witness and when one is remembering lived experience, and how these two roles coalesce in one person, than it does with whether a narrative adequately sums up a historical event. Witnessing is a lived experience; it is an awareness of receiving another's testimony, and of having the impact of that experience remain as part of one's historical knowledge. The voice of the historian is generally veiled in historical narrative because this historian does not consider himself to be remembering—he is witnessing. As history enters its "epistemological phase" of self-awareness in the late twentieth century, as Nora puts it, the historian reemerges as an author.[31] The study of history has returned to the sites of collective memory, made collective memory its object, and, according to Nora, this self-reflexivity is mirrored in the voice of the historian (though not in his own). Nora is skeptical of how the "new type of historian emerges who, unlike his precursors, is ready to confess the intimate relation he maintains to his subject."[32] Nora was already critical of this trend, and I suspect that he did not conceive of this historian as someone who had recognized that she was now ready to suggest not just an affinity for her topic but possession of it as memory as well.

The theorists of collective memory are skeptical about the new historical consciousness that is both self-aware and aware of its own constructedness, because they wonder how such reflexivity can speak for a *collective* memory. At stake is the role of the rememberer, the designated ritual role of interpreter, the one who speaks for others. But when, in fact, has collective memory ever been uttered if not individually? As even Yerushalmi notes ironically, "No symphony was ever written by committee."[33] Individuals provide interpretations for other individuals, and these are dealt with as information to be assimilated, remembered, or archived, to create the multiple pasts Halbwachs described, and this is a lived experience. I am suggesting that historical research is a lived experience that the self-reflexive historian consciously integrates into collective memory. Historical representation is inadequate to this lived experience only so long as the author remains absent and the textual or site-artifact serves only the function of commemoration.

[30] "Testimony" implies both spiritual and evidentiary discourses, a moral or legal imperative to attest to memory. The potential richness of this vein of analysis for historians can be drawn from literary criticism and psychoanalytic theory: see Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (New York, 1992); and Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, Conn., 1991).

[31] Nora, "Between History and Memory," 18.

[32] Nora, "Between History and Memory," 18.

[33] Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 95.

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It follows from this that the real issue of historical representation is not only the question of how historical knowledge is represented linguistically, narratively, and in what objectifications, but how it is that all collective memory, the knowledge that supposedly fed and sustained the historical inquiry, is represented through a history written by one witness. Why isn't each individual experience of collective memory different? What if we consider the possibility that each self-expression of historical consciousness is an expression of collective memory, not because it is exactly shared by all of the other members of the collective but because that collective makes its articulation possible, because historical consciousness has itself become an element of collective memory? Is this the collective memory that eludes historical representation, by insisting on its subjectivity of lived experience rather than its representativeness?

The theoretical differences between collective memory and historical memory, between loss and preservation, have lain in the decision of what to "save." History can save what has been personally lost, by preserving a collective representation of memory. Collective memory can preserve the memory of lived experience, in living experience, and sustain the loss of other memories. But morally speaking, as Nora and Yerushalmi do, collective memory cannot sustain the loss of historical memory. Therefore, the terms of memory have to change, now that we are aware that collective memory's "sites" are heuristic devices designed to supplement the lack of a central remembering organ in the social body. We can think about collective memory as being expressed by historically conscious individuals claiming their historical knowledge as part of personal, lived experience, expressed autobiographically in terms of what has been learned. The "site" of collective memory is thus removed from an external representation of preservation and returned to the individual who remembers—but not, as Nora suggested, to the professional historian (who would become a selfsame *lieu de mémoire*).[34] Instead, each individual, as a member of many collectives, holds and expresses personal memories of historical significance as lived experience. They might produce histories in which they claim their historical subjects as part of their own memories. The resulting expansion of historical discourse will not overburden or incapacitate us with memory, as it did Funes the Memorious, but what it produces also may not look like what we have called history, because it will not speak as a representative collective.

Some may fear that this conclusion will doom us to be mired in something like the subjectivity-run-amuck of the current "memoir boom"—what Daphne Patai called the "nouveau solipsism" currently in vogue among scholars.[35] Genre-bending aside,

[34] Nora, "Between History and Memory," 18.

[35] Daphne Patai, "Sick and Tired of Scholars' Nouveau Solipsism," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 23, 1994): A52; see also the forum "Four Views on the Place of the Personal in Scholarship," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 111 (October 1996). The problem of when to use the subjective, self-reflexive voice in historical writing was raised at the "Narrating Histories Workshop" in April 1994 at the California Institute of Technology, where "the debate over the 'I' in the text was, without a doubt, the most heated of the workshop," Robert Rosenstone, *et al.*, "Experiments in Narrating Histories: A Workshop," *Perspectives* (September 1994): 7–10, see 8. Historians at the meeting were in general more willing to consider experimenting with fictional writing in historical narratives than with using the first-person voice anywhere beyond the introduction or acknowledgments. Philippe Carrard, *Poetics of the New History: French Historical Discourse from Braudel to Chartier* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 86–104, includes a discussion of the use of the first person in Annales school historical writing. I have also discussed the relationship between autobiography and historical writing

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should we not be talking about the production of history as a personal endeavor of interpretation that refers as much to lived experience as it does to the preserved past? Is it not possible to expand historical discourse to include a conception of every one of us, as historical writers, writing as historical actors? One striking example of self-conscious historical writing is Luisa Passerini's *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*. Passerini's historical memoir takes a recognizable historical moment, "Italy, 1968," and frames it in terms of her own life story.[36] Alternating chapters present her "condensed journal" of her psychoanalysis, conducted during her research in 1985–1988, and her scholarly oral history of participants in the student movement of the 1960s. While Passerini is clearly implicated in the history she tells, what makes this work so insightful, even brave, is the way she relates her own state of mind to the object of her historical study: she explores how she is and is not a member of this self-generated generation, as well as how her earlier work on fascism was equally motivated by her desire to understand where she came from. Historians are always "from" not only their own pasts but also the pasts that they write, insofar as they work on that past in their own lives. Therefore, it is not necessary to strictly segregate the genres of autobiography and history.[37] I am not suggesting that the inclusion of intimate personal information is essential to the honest production of history. But neither is it inappropriate, for it serves as a marker of the author's acceptance of subjective responsibility as well as a caution against assuming the authority to speak for others; it may also serve as a mode of access for nonprofessional historians.

In refusing to speak for others, what would historical discourse lose—nationalism, cultural imperialism, revisionism? As Raphael Samuel pointed out, "if history were thought of as an activity rather than a profession, then the number of its practitioners would be legion."[38] This is not to suggest a return to "everyman his own historian" nor what Jacques Le Goff calls for when he writes, "it is incumbent upon professional specialists in memory—anthropologists, historians, journalists, sociologists—to make of the struggle for the democratization of social memory one of the primary imperatives of their scientific imaginary."[39] Le Goff still limits the distribution of responsibility only to "professional specialists"—when those figures are actually only teachers, when, in fact, teachers and students alike have the learning experience that constitutes participation in historical consciousness. It should not be an exaggeration to tell students (or any audience) that they become historians the moment they begin to think about history—that part of their learning experience constitutes participation in the transmission of historical memory, which

in "(Not) Writing History: Rethinking the Intersections of Personal History and Collective Memory with Hans von Aufsess," *History and Memory* 8 (Spring/Summer 1996): 5–29.

[36] Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*, Lisa Erdberg, trans. (Hanover, N.H., 1996).

[37] A panel called "Autobiography, Personal Identity, and History" at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 3, 1997, discussed only autobiographies written by historians. See the articles previously published by two of the participants: Bonnie G. Smith, "History and Genius: The Narcotic, Erotic, and Baroque Life of Germaine de Stael," and Jeremy D. Popkin, " 'Ego-histoire and Beyond': Contemporary French Historian-Autobiographers," in *French Historical Studies* 19 (Fall 1996): 1059–83 and 1139–67.

[38] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 17.

[39] Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 99.

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they translate into personal experience as soon as they speak or write of it. Perhaps the *practice* of history, redefined as the active participation in remembering and forgetting within collective memory by each member, can become characteristic of historical consciousness, rather than simply reference to the *knowledge* of history.[40]

The third great poem, as Mark Strand wrote, came into the world in a lavish and dark language untouched by pity, and made a gift to the future: the representation of death as loss, so that the future, "with no voice of its own, nor hope of ever becoming more than it will be, might mourn." This is the poem of the *lieux de mémoire*. The fourth great poem will be written by each individual who is thinking historically: and it may or may not be "saved."

[40] The role of the archive, particularly in the newly expanded electronic sense, thus becomes one not simply of preservation but of infinite selection. Wolfgang Ernst has developed the most intriguing reconceptualization of the archive, stemming from a Foucauldian analysis; see "Reisen ins Innere des Archivs," in Ulrich Johannes Schneider, *et al.*, eds., *Philosophie und Reisen* (Leipzig, 1996), 160–77. On the new technologies of memory, see also Healy, "Histories and Collecting," 46–48; Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Making Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 34–35; Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 90–94.

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AHR Forum
Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method

ALON CONFINO

THE CONCEPT OF "CULTURE" HAS BECOME FOR HISTORIANS a compass of a sort that governs questions of interpretation, explanation, and method. And the notion of "memory" has taken its place now as a leading term, recently perhaps *the* leading term, in cultural history. Used with various degrees of sophistication, the notion of memory, more practiced than theorized, has been used to denote very different things, which nonetheless share a topical common denominator: the ways in which people construct a sense of the past.[1] It has been used to explore, first, the memory of people who actually experienced a given event, such as the memory of Holocaust survivors.[2] In addition, it has come to denote the representation of the past and the making of it into a shared cultural knowledge by successive generations in "vehicles of memory" such as books, films, museums, commemorations, and others.[3] The richness of memory studies is undeniable. Perhaps collective memory has been so

I should like to thank Edward Ayers, Francesca Fiorani, and Sophia Rosenfeld for their insightful critical advice.

[1] Also in cases where the use of memory has been insignificant in terms of method and theory, the memory perspective itself has proved to be thought provoking. Take, for example, the recent debate on post-Zionism in Israel, where a group of scholars, called "the new historians," has questioned Zionist historiography's most cherished assumptions. The scholars have criticized, among others, the myth of the heroic birth of Israel, Zionism's repression of the Palestinian tragedy, and, more generally, the reduction of historical studies in Israel to an ideological and educational tool of Zionism. These and other claims opened a public debate by scholars and laypersons about the historical meaning of Zionism. At the center of the rethinking of Zionist history has been the term "memory." As Anita Shapira, a leading historian of Zionism and a critic of the "new historians" observed, "the debate is less about historiography than it is about collective memory." But the notion of memory has been used either perfunctorily or as a hollow metaphor defining memory as a monolith in expressions like "the collective memory of early statehood" or "Palestinian collective memory." In terms of method, the debate has centered on the actions, ideology, and motivation of institutions and leading figures, while a social and cultural history of memory's construction and reception has not been taken, as well as the interrelations among different memories within and between Israeli and Palestinian societies. These topics still await their historians. For a good introduction to the post-Zionist controversy, see *History and Memory* 7 (Spring/Summer 1995): "Special Issue on Israeli Historiography Revisited," especially Anita Shapira, "Politics and Collective Memory: The Debate over the 'New Historians' in Israel," 9–34; and Ilan Pappe, "Critique and Agenda: The Post-Zionist Scholars in Israel," 66–90. For a collection of essays about the recent historical disputes in Israel, see Robert Wistrich and David Ohana, eds., *The Shaping of Israeli Identity: Myth, Memory, and Trauma* (London, 1995).

[2] The literature is enormous. See, for example, Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, Conn., 1991); Ronald Berger, *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust: A Life History of Two Brothers' Survival* (Niwot, 1995).

[3] The term "vehicles of memory" is used by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (New York, 1989). Pierre Nora's magisterial seven-volume collection *Les lieux de*

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useful to think about how people construct pasts because of its open-endedness, because it is applicable to historical situations and human conditions in diverse societies and periods.

But the benefit of richness cannot overcome a sense that the term "memory" is depreciated by surplus use, while memory studies lack a clear focus and have become somewhat predictable. The often-made contention that the past is constructed not as fact but as myth to serve the interest of a particular community may still sound radical to some, but it cannot (and should not) stupefy most historians. The history of memory, in fact, has developed into a fragmented field. It lacks critical reflection on method and theory, as well as a systematic evaluation of the field's problems, approaches, and objects of study. It is largely defined now in terms of topics of inquiry. Repressed memory. Monuments. Films. Museums. Mickey Mouse. Memory of the American South. Of the Holocaust. The French Revolution. Memory of recent events. Of current events. And instant memory of yesterday's news.[4] One cannot avoid a sense that the choice of subjects is all too often governed by the fashion of the day. The history of memory defined topically becomes a field with neither a center nor connections among topics. It runs the danger of becoming an assemblage of distinct topics that describe in a predictable way how people construct the past.[5]

Of course, everything is a memory case; memory is everywhere. We construct a

mémoire provides a cornucopia of memory sites: *Les lieux de mémoire*, Vol. 1: *La république*, Vols. 2–4: *La nation*, Vol. 5–7: *Les France* (Paris, 1984–92).

[4] See, for example, Frederick Crews, *The Memory Wars: Freud's Legacy in Dispute* (New York, 1995); James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, Conn., 1993); Miriam Hansen, " 'Schindler's List' Is Not Shoah: The Second Commandment, Popular Modernism, and Public Memory," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (Winter 1996): 292–312; Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1996); Daniel Sherman, "Objects of Memory: History and Narrative in French War Museums," *French Historical Studies* 19 (Spring 1995): 49–74; Michael Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia, 1996); *Southern Cultures* 2 (Fall 1995), special issue on memory and the South; Keith Wilson, ed., *Forging the Collective Memory: Government and International Historians through Two World Wars* (Providence, R.I., 1996).

For recent, current, and instant history of memory, see Barbie Zelizer, *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992); Thomas Johnson, *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon: The Media's Effect on Collective Memory* (New York, 1996); Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past* (New York, 1992); Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York, 1996).

[5] Lynn Hunt warned several years ago against the danger of defining the new cultural history topically: "Just as social history sometimes moved from one group to another (workers, women, children, ethnic groups, the old, the young) without developing much sense of cohesion and interaction between topics, so too a cultural history defined topically could degenerate into an endless search for new cultural practices to describe, whether carnivals, cat massacres, or impotence trials." See Hunt, "Introduction," in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 9. The history of memory faces a similar danger.

I was reminded of memory studies when I recently read Jacques Revel's critical evaluation of social history: " 'Classical' social history was mainly conceived as a history of social entities . . . As a result, when one looks through the enormous mass of results accumulated over the past thirty or forty years, one has a certain sense of déjà vu and stagnant categories. From one work to the next, the characters are the same though the cast may vary." Memory studies could also end up being predictable, as yet another memory is subjected to an analysis of its construction, appropriation, contestation. Jacques Revel, "Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social," in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds. (New York, 1995), 498.

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sense of the past from the most mundane, everyday-life objects (postcards), as well as from the most sacred totems (the Christian cross). But, then, not everything is a memory case in the same way. Beyond proposing new topics for memory investigation, we need to question the methods of memory studies, by way of refining our approaches and proposing new connections. This essay is an occasion for critical reflection on memory studies and on the field that defines it: cultural history. It is not necessary to state here the advantages of cultural history, but it is perhaps beneficial to remind ourselves of the risks and problems it includes in terms of evidence and in relating the cultural to the social and the political. There is too often a facile mode of doing cultural history, whereby one picks a historical event or a vehicle of memory, analyzes its representation or how people perceived it over time, and draws conclusions about "memory" (or "collective memory"). Memory is a new field of research, but this is not sufficient to make of it a novelty. As a field of study, memory has a label more than a content; that is, though the label is an attractive one, in itself memory does not offer any true additional explanatory power. Only when linked to historical questions and problems, via methods and theories, can memory be illuminating. The aim of this essay is not to propose an alternative strategy, for there is no one, correct way to "do" memory. It is, rather, to think through how it is effective to think with memory. At the center of the essay is the problem of how the term "memory" can be useful in articulating the connections between the cultural, the social, and the political, between representation and social experience.

I THINK ABOUT THE STUDY OF MEMORY by associating it with two bodies of work: the history of *mentalités* and the work of a European scholar who in the 1920s was among the first to use the concept of collective memory. I mean Aby Warburg, the great art and cultural historian. I do not suggest that we follow on the heels of these works. Not at all. I view them rather as inspiring us to think about the notion of memory, to establish new relations, to suggest new strategies. Certainly, there are other bodies of work that can illuminate the history of memory; but, for the purpose of this essay, I found these two useful in articulating several problems of method that exist in memory studies. I therefore begin this essay by discussing the connections between the history of memory, of *mentalités*, and Warburg, before I analyze questions of method.

The study of memory and the history of *mentalités* appear to share a common purpose and agenda, as well as a sense of fashionableness and crisis. If we replace "mentalité" with "memory," then Jacques Le Goff's opening paragraph to a 1974 article, "Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities," could just as well have been the beginning of this essay: "For the historian today, the term mentality is still a novelty and already devalued by excessive use. There is much talk of the history of mentalities, but convincing examples of such history are rare. It represents a new area of research, a trail to be blazed, and yet, at the same time, doubts are raised as to its scientific, conceptual, and epistemological validity. Fashion has seized upon it, and yet it seems already to have gone out of fashion. Should we revive or bury

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the history of mentalities?"[6] Familiar music. Similar to the study of memory, the history of *mentalités* was denounced as a "semantic prestidigitation."[7] Like the history of *mentalités*, a great appeal of the history of memory appears to be its vagueness.[8] And both histories have by themselves no additional explanatory value; their value depends on the problems posed and methods used.[9]

But the history of *mentalités* is useful not only in order to outline the dangers faced by the new history of memory. There is also a great advantage in thinking of the history of memory as the history of collective mentality. This way of reasoning resists the topical definition of the field and, conversely, uses memory to explore broader questions about the role of the past in society. The history of memory is useful and interesting not only for thinking about how the past is represented in, say, a single museum but also about, more extensively, the historical mentality of people in the past, about the commingled beliefs, practices, and symbolic representations that make people's perceptions of the past. This kind of history of memory should aim at "reconstructing the patterns of behavior, expressive forms and modes of silence into which worldviews and collective sensibilities are translated. The basic elements of this research are representations and images, myths and values recognized or tolerated by groups or the entire society, and which constitute the content of collective psychologies." These words, which articulate so well an agenda for the history of memory, are Robert Mandrou's analytical description of the history of *mentalités*.[10]

Moreover, memory as a study of collective mentality provides a comprehensive view of culture and society that is often missing in the history of memory, whose fragmentary tendency is to focus on distinct memories. The history of mentality distinguished itself from the history of ideas by looking at the common man. This included both examining objects produced by the common man (popular literature, for example) and studying the reception by the common man of objects of high culture (say, Shakespeare). It attempted, in theory if not in practice, to outline the mental horizons of society as a whole, to link both Shakespeare and popular literature within a single cultural world. This is a useful corrective for the history of memory, a field that is inclined, as we shall see, to isolate memories instead of

[6] Jacques Le Goff, "Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities," in *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, Le Goff and Pierre Nora, eds. (New York, 1984), 166. It was first published as "Les mentalités: Une histoire ambiguë," in *Faire de l'histoire*, Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, eds., vol. 3 (Paris, 1974).

[7] François Furet, "Beyond the *Annales*," *Journal of Modern History* 55 (September 1983): 405.

[8] The French history of *mentalité* was justifiably criticized on grounds that it, first, tended to view every historical problem as a psychological problem and second, reduce categories of mentality to social analysis (of hierarchy, income, occupation), a method that reduced beliefs and values to a social structure established *a priori*. See Carlo Ginzburg, "A proposito della raccolta dei saggi storici di Marc Bloch," *Studi medievali* 3 (1965): 335–53; and Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories," in *Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, Dominick LaCapra and Steven Kaplan, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 13–46, esp. 22–32. For a critical appraisal, see also Patrick Hutton, "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History," *History and Theory* 20 (1981): 237–59.

[9] This has been Furet's argument about the study of mentalities. I found Furet's critique of the history of mentality insightful for my thinking about memory. See Furet, "Beyond the *Annales*," 404–07.

[10] Robert Mandrou, "Histoire/L'histoire des mentalités," in *Encyclopaedia universalis* (1971; rpt. edn., Paris, 1985), 9: 366.

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placing them in relation to one another and to society as a whole. This approach heightens our awareness of the fact that collective memory is an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group, be it a family or a nation, whose members nonetheless have different interests and motivations. And of the fact that the crucial issue in the history of memory is not how a past is represented but why it was received or rejected. For every society sets up images of the past. Yet to make a difference in a society, it is not enough for a certain past to be selected. It must steer emotions, motivate people to act, be received; in short, it must become a socio-cultural mode of action. Why is it that some pasts triumph while others fail? Why do people prefer one image of the past over another? The answers to these questions lead us to formulate hypotheses and perhaps draw conclusions about historical mentality. And to articulate such answers, the work of Aby Warburg is *insightful.*

Aby Warburg (1866–1929) used but never developed systematically the notion of social memory (*soziales Gedächtnis*).[11] His work focused on the transmission of primitive and ancient motifs to later societies, especially their influence and meaning in Renaissance Florence. All human products, argued Warburg, and artistic work in particular, were expressions of human memory transmitted through symbols from ancient times. He came to believe that the key to deciphering art and culture lay in tracing the collective memory of primitive, primeval beliefs and responses that continued to shape our world through shared symbols.

Warburg's ideas of memory are interesting in themselves. More consequential to this essay is his approach to art and cultural history emphasizing the connection between artistic representation and the social world. Warburg's studies explored what is nowadays called the history of mentality or collective memory. Warburg read widely in anthropology and social psychology. Like a historical anthropologist, he observed the Other to gain insights into his own, modern culture; in 1895, he traveled among the Hopi Indians in New Mexico and recorded their rituals and

[11] For Warburg's idea of social memory, see Kurt Forster, "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images," *Daedalus* (Winter 1976): 169–76; E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1986), 239–59. Gombrich presents Warburg's fragmented notion of social memory but does not attempt to provide a comprehensive view. For a critical evaluation of Gombrich's book, see Felix Gilbert, "From Art History to the History of Civilization: Aby Warburg," *Journal of Modern History* 44 (1972): 381–91.

Seventy years after Warburg's death, his writings are still unavailable in English. Fortunately, Kurt Forster is now preparing the English edition of Warburg's collected writings (*Gesammelte Schriften* [Leipzig-Berlin, 1932]), to be published in the Getty Research Institute's book series Texts and Documents. For a selection of Warburg's essays and several critical appraisals of his work, see Dieter Wuttke, ed., *Aby Warburg: Ausgewälte Schriften und Würdigungen* (Baden-Baden, 1980). For some evaluations of Warburg's notions of culture and art history, see Silvia Ferretti, *Cassirer, Panofsky, and Warburg: Symbol, Art, and History* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Yoshihiko Maikuma, *Der Begriff der Kultur bei Warburg, Nietzsche und Burckhardt* (Königstein, 1985); Kurt Forster, "Aby Warburg: His Study of Ritual and Art on Two Continents," *October 77* (Summer 1996): 6–24. For an attempted feminist, poststructuralist, and psychoanalytic reading of Warburg, see Margaret Iverson, "Retrieving Warburg's Tradition," *Art History* 16 (December 1993): 541–53. On the reception of Warburg's writings, see Michael Diers, "Warburg and the Warburgian Tradition of Cultural History," *New German Critique* 65 (Spring–Summer 1995): 59–74. On his projected picture atlas of memory, which he called *Mnemosyne*, and which included photographs and reproductions of recurring human figures and gestures, see Dorothee Bauerle, *Gespenstergeschichten für ganz Erwachsene: Ein Kommentar zu Aby Warburgs Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (Münster, 1988).

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ceremonies.[12] For Warburg, the historian of artistic production must take cognizance of two intertwining factors. One is the "full spectrum of artifacts" (the context, in other words) in a given culture and the ensuing relationship of artifacts both to one another and to their surroundings.[13] The work of art represents the life of the period and its needs; to interpret it, we need "to reconstruct the connection between artistic representations and the social experiences, taste, and mentality of a specific society."[14] The second is the peculiarity of the individual work of art. Looking at the whole, Warburg attempted to maintain a coherent balance between the way a work of art eventuated in the specific form and quality it did and its connection with the larger culture around it.

This mode of proceeding has enormous potential to the study of memory by reversing a recent trend whereby, as we shall see, a representation of the past (in, say, a museum, a film, or a commemoration) is not placed within the symbolic universe available to the society. The result is studies of memory in symbolic isolation. I would like to view memory as an outcome of the relationship between a distinct representation of the past and the full spectrum of symbolic representations available in a given culture. This view posits the study of memory as the relationship between the whole and its component parts, seeing society as a global entity—social, symbolic, political—where different memories interact. This approach also seeks to reconstruct the meaning of a given collective memory by using an intertwined, double move: placing it within a global historical context and a global symbolic universe, and analyzing the ideas, values, and practices embedded in and symbolized by its particular imagery.

Of special significance is Warburg's approach to the issue of evidence. He rejected the arbitrary selection of evidence by art historians who believed in the autonomy of aesthetic values, which he judged as pure history of ideas that disconnected the individual work of art from the larger politics and society. He also rejected the selection of evidence by proponents of the formalist approach (characterized by Heinrich Wölfflin's 1888 *Renaissance and Baroque*), which explained art history in terms of the development and transmission of shapes, lines, colors, and subjects, for this approach interpreted the symbols and meaning of art too narrowly. To carry out his art historical method, Warburg used the concept of response, emphasizing the importance of social mediation of images. The theory of response called for a study of those prevailing customs, tastes, and traditions that connected the historical conditions with the artistic representation. When we interpret a work of art, we cannot assume that images are the transparent expressions of political and social values, for in fact artistic style is a most treacherous key for ascertaining political and social developments. In short, the work of art cannot speak for itself; to decipher its meaning, we must examine intermediaries between the social world and the artistic representation.

[12] Peter Burke, "Aby Warburg as Historical Anthropologist," in *Aby Warburg: Akten des internationalen Symposiums Hamburg 1990*, Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, and Charlotte Schoell-Glass, eds. (Weinheim, 1991), 39–44; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995), 209–14; Ron Chernow, *The Warburgs* (New York, 1993), 64–66.

[13] Forster, "Aby Warburg's History of Art," 172.

[14] Carlo Ginzburg, "From Aby Warburg to E. H. Gombrich: A Problem of Method," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 21.

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Warburg's approach is useful in warning us against the danger of assuming that the representation of memory *can* speak for itself, without intermediaries. Studies that focus on the representation of memory, while ignoring social practice and transmission, implicitly make an assumption, as we shall see, that the representation is a transparent expression of a historical mentality, of social and political values. In reality, the crucial issue is not what is represented but how this representation has been interpreted and perceived.

In the 1920s, Warburg was not the only one thinking of social memory and the history of mentality. Maurice Halbwachs, the French sociologist, was the first to have used the concept of collective memory systematically. In a series of studies, Halbwachs argued that every memory is carried by a specific social group limited in space and time.[15] His approach was very different from Warburg's. And although Halbwachs' fundamental contribution—establishing the connection between a social group and collective memory—is the starting point for every scholar of memory, Warburg's writings are, I believe, no less suggestive in terms of method. Also active at the same time was, of course, Marc Bloch, who explored in his 1924 classic *Les rois thaumaturges* the "beliefs and fables" around royal healing rites.[16] Bloch and, it appears, also Warburg knew of Halbwachs' work.[17] What kind of an intellectual genealogy existed between a sociologist, a historian, and an art historian who shared the notion of memory and the history of culture is an investigation that still awaits its scholar.

How, exactly, are Warburg and the history of mentality useful to the study of memory? I see three areas of convergence, which have already been alluded to: the connection of the political with the social in the history of memory, the issue of reception and evidence, and the relationship among memories within a given society. I would like to discuss these topics critically by analyzing several excellent studies on memory. In accordance with the principle that one should direct criticism at leading books in the field, I have chosen those books that I found insightful and stimulating. In the short space of this essay, I cannot possibly claim to do justice to these studies; I therefore ask the reader to bear in mind the rather limited nature of my investigation. Still, I believe that the characteristics I shall discuss are representative of the current study of memory.

[15] Maurice Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des Evangiles en Terre sainte: Etude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941); *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925). In English, see Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis Coser, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 1992); and *The Collective Memory*, Francis Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter, trans. (New York, 1980). On Halbwachs' formulation and use of collective memory, see Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, N.H., 1993), chap. 4.

[16] Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London, 1973), 4.

[17] Halbwachs received after World War I a Chair of Pedagogy and Sociology at the University of Strasbourg, where he began a close professional friendship with Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. When Bloch and Febvre founded the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociales* in 1929, Halbwachs became a member of the editorial board. See Coser, "Introduction," in Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 5–11. About the relation between Warburg and Halbwachs we know very little. See Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (Spring–Summer 1995): 125.

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ONE OF THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEMORY STUDIES has been to explore how the construction of the past, through a process of invention and appropriation, affected the relationship of power within society. The "politics of memory" (at times, "the politics of identity") has emerged as a leading theme in the growing body of literature about memory. Memory is viewed here as a subjective experience of a social group that essentially sustains a relationship of power. Simply stated, it is who wants whom to remember what, and why.[18] This theme is no doubt illuminating to our understanding of the functions and meanings of collective memory. But it seems to me only partially illuminating, for one consequence of it is the tendency to reduce memory, which is fundamentally a concept of culture, to the political.

The problem with memory defined in terms of politics and political use is that it becomes an illustrative reflection of political development and often is relativized to ideology. In *The Past in French History*, Robert Gildea seeks to "explore the relationship between political culture and collective memory," and he views French political cultures as "defined around the main axes of political conflict." Collective memory thus turns out to be the political memory of liberalism, socialism, communism, anarchism, regionalism, Catholicism. Significantly, the political memory described by Gildea is one constructed by party and institutional leaders, among intellectuals, journalists, statesmen, politicians, and publicists. Consequently, when Gildea argues, for example—"The 'making of the working class' in France did not take place as a result of industrialisation or urbanisation but as a result of the construction of a collective memory, the myth of the Paris Commune . . . as a class war, a proletarian revolution suppressed with unprecedented violence by the French bourgeoisie"—one is not sure in what ways "collective memory" is different from ideology.[19]

More important, the result of memory being sacrificed to an analysis of politics and political use is, often, to ignore the category of the social. In this case, representations of the past derive from and are mainly used to explain relationships of political nature, but they are considerably silent about the effect of memory on the organization, hierarchization, and arrangements of social and cultural relationships. An illuminating example of this problem is Henry Rousso's acclaimed book *The Vichy Syndrome*, a study of the memory of Vichy in post-1945 French society.[20] The first and major part of the book, "Evolution of the Syndrome," is a useful description of the various ways in which the Vichy memory was mobilized for political purposes. Rousso's narrative follows the "unfinished mourning" after Liberation, the "repression" of the 1950s and 1960s, the turning point of 1968, the films *The Sorrow and the Pity* (*Le chagrin et la pitié*, 1971) and *Shoah* (1985), and, after 1974, the Jewish and gentile "obsession" with Vichy and the Holocaust. This is an important story, historically, politically, and morally, told with verve and clarity.

But whose memory is it? Similar to Gildea's, this is a memory constructed by

[18] Peter Burke poses this question in his discussion of social amnesia. See Burke, "History as Social Memory," in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, Thomas Butler, ed. (New York, 1989), 108.

[19] Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 9–10, 44.

[20] Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

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politicians and intellectuals: Charles de Gaulle, the Communist Party, *Shoah* filmmaker Claude Lanzmann, members of the Chamber of Deputies, historians, journalists, or André Malraux speaking at the ceremony for Jean Moulin at the Panthéon. *The Vichy Syndrome* shows a very important manifestation of French memory, yet it is a limited one; this is largely a public, often official, and narrowly political memory. The period of repression, 1954–1971, for example, is predictably centered on the figure of de Gaulle. But if in Rousso the Vichy memory appears to have been repressed between 1954 and 1971, it is also because the book explores a memory created from above. It ignores the construction of popular memories of Vichy and their links to the everyday level of experience. In the private spheres of family, friends, workplace, and neighborhood, there may have been very different representations of Vichy. Robert Moeller has convincingly argued recently that German society during the 1950s, in contrast to the widely held opinion of scholars and laypersons, did not forget or repress the Nazi era but actively remembered it—selectively and with an inverted meaning of who the victim really was.[21] It is improbable that the mass of French men and women who collaborated with the Nazis, some out of opportunism, others out of ideology, simply forgot it all. *The Vichy Syndrome* thus fails to give a sense of how the Vichy memory made a difference in people's lives, and how it was enacted on the local and private level. Moreover, while Rousso ignores popular Vichy memories that were produced away from the corridors of political, cultural, and entertainment power, he also fails to explore how the memory constructed by the powerful—say, the Moulin commemoration—was received by the people. (We will return to this topic below.) Consequently, the Vichy memory from above is isolated from larger patterns of historical mentality in French society. As a study of memory from above, *The Vichy Syndrome* cannot be considered, as it aspires to be, a study of collective memory.

By sanctifying the political while underplaying the social, and by sacrificing the cultural to the political, we transform memory into a "natural" corollary of political development and interests.[22] Consequently, we are the poorer in method and theory to analyze crucial memory issues that cannot be reduced to the political: the relations between modernity (and postmodernity) and memory; the obsession with and/or neglect of memory, forgetting, and conservation in modern and premodern societies. Furthermore, one unfortunate side effect of treating memory as a

[21] Robert Moeller, "War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany," *AHR* 101 (October 1996): 1008–48. The narrative trajectory of Holocaust and World War II memory as one of repression (1950s–60s), awakening (sometime during the 1960s), obsession (the 1970s and after) has an air of predictability. A common argument about Holocaust remembrance in Israel, for example, is that the Adolf Eichmann trial was the watershed between survivors' repression and state indifference before 1961 and growing interest and instrumentalization of the Holocaust later on. But this argument is correct only insofar as we explore the official state level. In everyday life, the Holocaust was everywhere between 1945 and 1961. The fundamental division in Israeli society between those who came from "there" and those who were "here" was often represented in small gestures, as when a survivor's number on the arm drew hisses and furtive glances or when a survivor's behavior was excused with the explanation, "Well, he was *there*." So far, this aspect has been captured better by writers than by historians. See the novel by David Grossman, *See Under: Love*, Betsy Rosenberg, trans. (New York, 1989), and especially the masterful first story, "Momik."

[22] My argument is not, in case such a clarification is needed, against every exploration of the political. The study of the political is fundamental because it allows cultural history to link with power and thus avoid being a rendition of the old history of ideas. My critique is of the particular mode of cultural history that reduces power to politics, and the political to top-down, public, and official manifestations.

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symptom of politics is the lack of explorations of power in areas that are not politically evident. Consequently, a search for memory traces is made mostly among visible places and familiar names, where memory construction is explicit and its meaning palpably manipulated, while in fact we should look for memory where it is implied rather than said, blurred rather than clear, in the realm of collective mentality. We miss a whole world of human activities that cannot be immediately recognized (and categorized) as political, although they are decisive to the way people construct and contest images of the past. We can think of the family, voluntary association, and workplace but should also include practices such as tourism and consumerism.

Interestingly enough, by sacrificing the cultural to the political, memory studies—and by extension cultural history—has reproduced a model of society that is, in a sense, not dissimilar from that of the social history of the 1960s and 1970s. According to classic social history, cultural cleavages necessarily reflected social differences constructed beforehand; the social structure identified and explained cultural originations that subsequently needed only to be characterized. The underlying assumption was that culture can only be explained by its relation to social structural preconditions, thus changes in the formation of culture are explained by earlier changes in social relation. Cultural history has justifiably demolished the validity of this approach by arguing that culture shapes, as much it is shaped by, the social structure. But if social history reduced the cultural to the social, cultural history often reduces the cultural to the political. Memory cleavages reflect political differences constructed beforehand. Political differences identify and explain memory origination. Memory thus becomes a prisoner of political reductionism and functionalism.

THERE IS ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT CONSEQUENCE to the sacrificing of the cultural to the political, namely that we tend to ignore the issue of reception, that ogre that awaits every cultural historian. Many studies of memory are content to describe the representation of the past without bothering to explore the transmission, diffusion, and, ultimately, the meaning of this representation. The study of reception is not an issue that simply adds to our knowledge. Rather, it is a necessary one to avoid an arbitrary choice and interpretation of evidence.

Let us look again at *The Vichy Syndrome*, which treats the history of transmission at length. The second part of the book, "Transmission of the Syndrome," focuses on three memory carriers: official commemorations, popular movies, and scholarly works of history. In addition, to gauge "how deep were the roots of the syndrome in French society," Rousso discusses book sales, movie attendance, and polling results.[23] But there is no comprehensive analysis of the diffusion of Vichy representations or a clear rationale for why one piece of evidence is chosen over another.[24] Moreover, however elaborate the polling results are, and however

[23] Rousso, *Vichy Syndrome*, 272.

[24] Rousso does not provide in his discussion of transmission any new information that was not already discussed in Part 1 about the evolution of the syndrome. We only get more of the same—more films, more books, more commemorations—though it is unclear what are the criteria according to

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complete the information about box-office sales of *The Sorrow and the Pity* and book sales of Robert Paxton's *Vichy France*, this superficial evidence cannot capture the meaning of the Vichy memory for French men and women. The evidence presented is anecdotal, and the anecdote is presented as proof of reception. The anecdotal approach appears to be confirmed by Rousso's own evaluation of his method as an attempt to "capture the full diversity of 'collective memory' by recording all its *visible* signs."[25] "All the visible signs": one wonders how arbitrary is Rousso's Vichy syndrome.[26] Parallel to the visible representations there were perhaps different Vichy syndromes that can be found among silent and less visible sources. For the Vichy syndrome, like other pathologies, was created to hide as much as to reveal. The book's main metaphors—syndrome, neurosis, repression, obsession, pathology—are taken from psychology. But if we think further with the psychological metaphor, we must wonder whether the historian/psychologist should take the patient's (French society) explicit utterances as *a priori* important, indeed almost at face value. Should the historian not be suspicious of the visible, explicit narrative offered by public and official French society about Vichy? My argument is not that Rousso interprets the visible evidence naïvely; on the contrary, he is sensitive to silences, appropriations, lies. It is rather that Rousso interprets *only* the visible evidence: as a result, he interprets the Vichy syndrome within the constraints of public, and to a large extent official, narrative. Should we not assume, instead, that the patient would try to conceal the effects and implication of the trauma, that the visible signs of a trauma are at times the least meaningful?[27]

The real problem is one of method: the decision to explain the meaning of the Vichy memory by separating its construction (Part 1 of the book) from its reception (Part 2). Rousso interprets reception by attempting "not to lose sight of the overall picture" of the syndrome's evolutionary stages established in Part 1 (from unfinished mourning to obsession).[28] The result is an interpretation that is closed within itself—because the reception's "overall picture" has already been predetermined. The discussion of reception thus only shows what we have already learned in Part 1 and in fact has no bearing on the evolution of the syndrome. This method is an interpretative vicious circle in which Rousso reads into the evidence of reception what he has already learned from other sources and what he wants to "prove."[29]

which a source (say, de Gaulle's memoirs) is used to interpret the construction of the syndrome (Part 1) rather than its reception (Part 2).

[25] Rousso, *Vichy Syndrome*, 219, emphasis added.

[26] The danger of looking for evidence in the most visible places is clear when Rousso explains his choice of method in exploring the depth of the syndrome in French society: "Before 1971 . . . polling . . . [about World War II's issues] was practically non-existent. Since polling data are essential for what I want to do here, I have focused in what follows on the 1970s and 1980s" (Rousso, *Vichy Syndrome*, 272–73). Instead of posing a problem—how French men and women remembered Vichy—and looking for the answer everywhere, Rousso viewed polling data, which as a source should be a *vehicle* to establish an argument, as the essential factor, and looked for the answer where polling data existed. This is a little bit like looking for a lost coin under the lamppost because there is light there.

[27] The status of evidence in the history of memory has been so far ignored, although this is a crucial issue. See the discussion of James Wilkinson, "A Choice of Fictions: Historians, Memory, and Evidence," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 111 (January 1996): 80–92, who has a favorable view of Rousso's method.

[28] Rousso, *Vichy Syndrome*, 221.

[29] Rousso, *Vichy Syndrome*, 221. Rousso himself is conscious of this problem when he writes of his

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When historians attempt to interpret evidence of memory from a representation of the past, the risk of a circular argumentation through "cultural" reading is high. The overall consequence is an arbitrary interpretation: a conception of the meaning of Vichy memory was formed before exploring the reception of the memory. But in truth, we have no way to evaluate, control, and verify the importance of the evidence without a systematic study of reception, and we end up constructing the history of memory from visible signs whose significance is taken for granted. Although neither Rousso nor scholars of memory and cultural history believe that representations of the past can "speak for themselves," the result of many studies of memory that overlook reception is that representations of the past are used, in effect, as vehicles that explain perceptions of the past without intermediaries.

ONE RESULT OF THE SEPARATE NARRATIVES of evolution and reception, a result certainly unintended by Rousso, is that the evolution of memory stands like a foundational story against which reception is measured. The separate narratives thus assume levels of analysis and explanations: we must first construct the evolution of memory in order to understand its meaning as revealed in reception. But this, of course, is an artificial separation, for the meaning of memory's evolution commingles with, and is dependent on, the story of its reception.

A similar problem of narrative emerges when we attempt to write the history of memory by separating its construction from its contestation. This is the case of Yael Zerubavel's *Recovered Roots*, an excellent, thoughtful study of Zionist collective memory.[30] Zerubavel focuses on three major events in ancient and recent Jewish history: the fall of Masada in AD 73, the Bar Kokhba revolt against the Roman Empire in AD 132, and the 1920 battle of Tel Hai, in the Upper Galilee, where eight Zionist settlers died defending a small settlement.

The first parts of the book explore the evolution of these events into fundamental myths that shaped meanings of the past in the Jewish society in Palestine. Although the sources are extremely rich, Jewish society is presented as a monolith.[31] There is no differentiation in culture, society, and politics regarding who are the agents of "Zionist collective memory." The term itself takes on a life of its own, as it acts, reconstructs, and produces.[32] The result is a cultural history in a social and political void; the construction of memory here is a story bereft of its sociology and its politics.

Only in the last part of the book, "the politics of commemoration," which explores "the struggle over power and control," does Zerubavel finally discuss how

method that it "may at times seem rather circular . . . [and] is intended only as a heuristic tool." One can identify with this argument. Still, we must be clear about the consequences of writing a history of memory by separating memory's construction from its reception.

[30] Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, 1995). Among the growing Israeli discussion of memory, Zerubavel's study seems the most comprehensive and illuminating.

[31] Zerubavel makes a concerted effort, often very successful, to get to the everyday level of collective memory. Among the sources she uses are jokes, popular songs, public school textbooks, plays, poems, children's stories, and the experience of trips to Masada and Tel Hai.

[32] See, for example, Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 18, 30, 31, 96.

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the "different interpretations of those historical events presented competing claims on Israeli collective memory."[33] But are these competing claims not an integral part of the construction of memory? Why assume, even as a heuristic device, that a "Zionist collective memory" existed, when in fact many memories vied for power within Zionism? The result of analyzing the politics of memory as a separate problem from that of the evolution of memory is the omission of a key problem to understanding the construction of Zionist collective memory: how opposing Zionist groups came to believe, in spite of their political and other differences, that they shared a single, transcending national belonging. In other words, how did Zionists construct from their different interpretations of Jewish history a symbolic common denominator? The solution to these questions, in terms of narrative and method, lies in writing the history of memory's construction as commingling with that of memory's contestation, thus emphasizing simultaneously the politics of commemoration *and* how various Zionist groups came to believe they shared a unique national memory, one that overcame symbolically the real differences in Jewish society. The result of the analysis of *Recovered Roots* is a kind of master narrative of an agentless "Zionist collective memory" (described in the first part of the book) against which the different interpretations of Zionist groups are measured (in the second part). The analysis of contestation thus does not influence the story of evolution; it is not so much a part of it as an addition to it. Consequently, the impact of contestation on the construction of memory is reduced, although Zerubavel's intention in separating them was, I assume, the opposite.

One way to reflect about this problem of narratives—the separation of the construction of memory from either its reception or contestation—is in terms of the relations between text and context. The stories of the construction of Vichy and Zionist memories function in the books much like a necessary context, which describes and analyzes the general conditions within which a particular reality evolves. The foundation story is complex and multifaceted, yet it provides a single context within which, and in relation to which, people make choices about reception and contestation. It constructs one social reality within which reception and contestation must make sense.[34] But what happens when we reject this separation of memory's construction from its reception and contestation, when we break down the dichotomy of text and context? This is an invitation to reject the historian's common approach to place and explain the text in relation to a context. The result is, I believe, that we can pursue better the agenda of Rousso and Zerubavel to explore "how members of society remember and interpret [the past] . . . , how the meaning of the past is constructed, and how it is modified over time."[35] To reject the separation of narratives assumes that historical actors participate in various processes at the same time, that they simultaneously represent, receive, and contest

[33] Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, xix.

[34] Let me illuminate this argument with an example. In *The Vichy Syndrome*, the context created in Part 1 (memory from above) conditions the exploration in Part 2 (ignoring popular construction of memories). But why should we assume that people were limited to the memory delineated in Part 1? Instead of exploring how people constructed their own collective memories of Vichy, which at times concurred with and at times opposed the official memory of Vichy, Rousso investigates only how the memory constructed by politicians and intellectuals was received by the public. Thus the Vichy memory from above looks very much like a memory imposed on a public that has no agency.

[35] Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 3.

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memory. To accept that none of these processes has primacy and yet to understand the meaning of memory, we need to understand all of them as intertwined—memory as a whole that is bigger than the sum of its parts. This serves as a reminder to realize what is declared more often than practiced, namely the multiplicity of social experiences and representations, in part contradictory and ambiguous, in terms of which people construct the world and their actions.[36]

This argument, in a sense, takes us back to the classic writings of Halbwachs. The fundamental idea of *The Social Formation of Memory* is the "multiplicity of social times," as Halbwachs analyzes the collective memory of, among others, the family, the religious community, and the social class.[37] He writes: "But these various modes by which memories become associated result from the various ways in which people can become associated. We can understand each memory as it occurs in individual thought only if we locate each within the thought of the corresponding group. We cannot properly understand their relative strength and the ways in which they combine within individual thought unless we connect the individual to the *various groups of which he is simultaneously a member.*"[38]

The multiplicity of memory is useful for two reasons: in terms of method, it enables us to write the history of memory as the commingling of reception, representation, and contestation; in terms of subject matter, it makes it possible to avoid artificial distinctions, even as heuristic devices, and to explore how people were, at one and the same time, say, local and national, Zionist and religious, good parents as well as devoted Catholics and Vichy fascists who sent Jewish children to the camps. Furthermore, the multiplicity of memory is also useful in thinking about the place of a given memory within the society as a whole. It is to this topic, then, that I now turn.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE THE IDIOM OF the whole and its parts to illuminate the relationships among memories within a given society. The history of memory should place the articulation of a particular perception of the past within the context of society as a shared symbolic universe. A given memory is subsumed within a culture that is constituted by common practices and representations. National memory, for example, is constituted by different, often opposing, memories that, in spite of their rivalries, construct common denominators that overcome on the symbolic level real

[36] My thoughts on the relation between text and context owe a debt in some measure to the work of microhistorians who attempted to provide an alternative to the customary use of context as the "background" of the text. See Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist* (Chicago, 1988); and "I Pericoli del Geertzismo," *Quaderni storici* (1985): 269–77. And see also Revel, "Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social," 492–502, esp. 500–01.

[37] Jacques Le Goff discusses Halbwach's "multiplicity of social time" and its influence on Fernand Braudel in *History and Memory*, Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, trans. (New York, 1992), 135.

[38] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 53, emphasis added. I attempt to break the text/context dichotomy in my analysis of local and national identities in Germany. Instead of understanding local identity as part of national identity, and localness against the background of nationhood, I view local identity as a constituent of national identity and localness as the symbolic representation of the nation. My basic argument is that Germans imagined nationhood as a form of localness. See Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997). The present article is a product of my thoughts on memory following the completion of my empirical study.

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social and political differences to create an imagined community. We should stress the interaction between a given memory and other memories in the society and take cognizance of society and culture as global entities, where distinct memories interact.

In contrast, a result of much recent research is that we explore memory in isolation. One approach is to look at the various memories within a society without providing a view of society and identity as a whole. Gildea adopts this approach when he traces French collective memories—socialism, Bonapartism, anarchism, regionalism—and concludes that "there is no single French collective memory but parallel and competing collective memories."[39] This is true, but it is only a partial truth. It is obviously important to avoid essentialism and to reject arguments that impose cultural homogeneity on a heterogeneous society. Conflicts over memory exist. Differences are real. People are sometimes ready to die for their vision of the past, and nations sometimes break because of memory conflicts. But all this only begs the question: how, then, in spite of all these differences and difficulties, do nations hold together? What were the common denominators that bound French men and women across the dividing lines that separated them? Gildea's study is sensitive to the differences in French political culture but fails to capture representations of nationhood that create a sense of oneness among broad and diverse groups in French society. The picture he presents is of a French collective memory splintered into rival political cultures. But this is a one-dimensional picture. Was there no cultural heritage and tradition (real or invented) that united these people together as "French"? Did they not feel a sense of shared destiny?

One danger in exploring the conflicts over national representations, while avoiding the common denominators, is that the historian may read into the symbolic representations what he or she has already learned by other means. Studies of conflict tend to reproduce on the symbolic level the social and political conflicts that are familiar from previous studies. But many a national memory succeeds to represent, for a broad section of the population, a common destiny that overcomes symbolically real social and political conflicts in order to give the illusion of a community to people who in fact have very different interests. People construct representations of the nation that conceal through symbols real friction in their society. These representations should also be studied.

Another approach is to consider the whole while ignoring its component parts. This is, in part, the case of Zerubavel's *Recovered Roots*, where a "Zionist collective memory" becomes a historical agent in its own right. When Zerubavel turns to discuss the contestation of memory, she overwhelmingly focuses on recent decades, although the memories of Masada, Bar Kokhba, and Tel Hai were in the making since the first decades of the century. She argues that the *Yishuv* society before independence in 1948 was less contested than "Israeli culture today that includes a greater variety of interpretations of the past."[40] As a whole, this argument is correct, but "Zionist collective memory" of the early decades seems to be based on a hegemonic notion of hegemony. It was, according to Zerubavel, hardly contested

[39] Gildea, *Past in French History*, 340.
[40] Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 235.

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by non-Zionist Jewish memories and only partially contested from within by different Zionist groups. This seems rather improbable.[41]

Assuming for a minute that Zionist memory in the past was indeed hegemonic and largely uncontested, then Zerubavel needs to reevaluate her argument about the centrality of contestation: for "Zionist collective memory" appears to have been uniquely successful in creating a consensus among different gender, political, social, and ethnic groups in the Jewish *Yishuv*. Yet in order to understand this process, we must explore how Zionists constructed a symbolic common denominator out of different ideological beliefs and how, in essence, "Zionist collective memory" meant different things to different people: to members of the Labor Party, to right-wing Revisionists, to religious Zionists, and to left-wing Marxists. In Zerubavel's narrative, instead, "Zionist collective memory," as understood by Zionists, assumes a rather hegemonic meaning until the 1960s.

A third approach conceives the relationships among memories as dichotomous. This is the picture that emerges from John Bodnar's study of the creation of public memory in twentieth-century America as a product of a power struggle between "vernacular and official memory."[42] Bodnar's underlying assumptions are exemplified in his definition of these memories. On official memory, he writes:

> Official culture relies on "dogmatic formalism" and the restatement of reality in ideal rather than complex or ambiguous terms ... Cultural leaders [the makers of official memory], usually grounded in institutional and professional structures, envisioned a nation of dutiful and united citizens which undertook only orderly change. These officials saw the past as a device that could help them attain these goals and never tired of using commemoration to restate what they thought the social order and citizen behavior should be ... By the latter part of the twentieth century public memory remains a product of elite manipulation, symbolic interaction, and contested discourse.[43]

Conversely, vernacular memory is described in the following language:

> Defenders of [vernacular] cultures are numerous and intent on protecting values and restating views of reality derived from firsthand experience in small-scale communities rather than the "imagined" communities of a large nation ... normally vernacular expressions convey what social reality feels like rather than what it should be like. Its very existence threatens the sacred and timeless nature of official expressions ... [V]ernacular memory was derived from the lived or shared experiences of small groups. Unlike official culture which was grounded in the power of larger, long-lasting institutions.[44]

What a neat binary opposition between authentic vernacular culture and manipulative official one! Bodnar idealizes vernacular memory, which he describes in terms—shared experience, protecting values, small-scale communities—that convey in our culture authenticity and intimacy, while he describes official memory

[41] Of the three myths, only Tel Hai is presented as having a rich history of contestation reaching to the 1930s–1940s. The analysis of the contestation of the Bar Kokhba revolt focuses on the early 1980s, that of Masada on the 1960s and 1970s. Possibly, the paucity of contestation is linked more to the specific cases of Masada and Bar Kokhba than to a general attribute of Zionist's construction of the past. Other myths may reveal a different picture.

[42] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1992).

[43] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 13–14, 245, 20.

[44] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14, 247.

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in terms—large, impersonal, power hungry—that are associated with alienation, distrust, and ulterior motivation. Although Bodnar discusses ways in which vernacular and official memory could blend, this dichotomy governs his analysis, method, and conclusions. But, in the real world, things are not as neat. Not only is vernacular memory not as saintly and official memory not as brutal, but they constantly commingle.

Moreover, this inadequate dichotomy also governs Bodnar's analysis of the relations between local and national memories. According to Bodnar, "the central question for public memory will continue to be what it always has been: just how effective will vernacular interests be in containing the cultural offensive of authorities?"[45] This, in a sense, is the wrong question because the challenge is not so much to understand how vernacular and official memories opposed each other but how the nation-state came to be a vernacular memory: how did people internalize the nation and make it in a remarkably short time an everyday mental property—a memory as intimate and authentic as the local, ethnic, and family past?[46]

I HAVE PROPOSED IN THIS ESSAY A DOUBLE MOVE: that the history of memory be more rigorous theoretically in articulating the relationship between the social, the political, and the cultural and, at the same time, more anarchical and comprehensive in using the term memory as an explanatory device that links representation and social experience. I have attempted to argue, via the discussion of memory studies, that mine is really a critique of cultural history. A critique of two kinds. There exists in memory studies the danger of reducing culture to politics and ideology, instead of broadening the field from the political to the social and the experiential, to an everyday history of memory. And there exists the danger of reducing culture to some vague notion of memory, whereby memory is separated from other memories in society and from the culture around it. That a given memory exists, that it has a symbolic representation and a political significance is obvious, but in itself it explains little if we do not place this memory within a global network of social transmission and symbolic representations.

Several of my arguments, I am certain, are familiar to some. There is nothing new in pointing out the importance of a history of reception for our understanding of a cultural artifact. And this, indeed, emerges as a lesson we can draw from this essay: with regard to certain renditions of memory and cultural history, these arguments still need to be made. Certain kinds of cultural history seem to forget bodies of knowledge that one would think had already been internalized, thanks to classic social history.

[45] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 253.

[46] In fact, Bodnar does use the metaphor of the whole and its parts to explain his views on the relationship of memories. Vernacular culture represents a variety of interests that "are grounded in parts of the whole," namely the nation-state. But for Bodnar, "the component parts of the nation-state [are] its families, classes, ethnic groups, and regions [which] attracts loyalty and devotion." The nation-state thus remains an aggregation of sanctified vernacular memories, while official memory remains extraneous to it, a metaphor of " 'unitary conceptual framework.' " Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14, 16.

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There are many ways of doing memory, and while my critique raises some problems in current approaches, it simultaneously emphasizes the open-endedness of the notion. The beauty of memory is that it is imprecise enough to be appropriated by unexpected hands, to connect apparently unrelated topics, to explain anew old problems. Among the many roads open for scholars, one, I believe, is especially fruitful in the current state of the field: to write the history of memory. We have to distinguish between memory as a heuristic device and memory as part of the mental equipment of a society, of an age. It is not always clear whether "memory" is used as an imposed methodological tool to analyze how a given society constructed a past (similar to using "class" to understand seventeenth-century Europe) or whether "memory" was indeed a contemporary metaphor to understand the past (like class in twentieth-century Europe). Thus the memory, say, of World War II in a given society cannot be separated from the development after 1945 of the term "memory" itself into a leading concept used by people to understand the past, private and public, personal and national. For if the study of memory focuses creatively on how people construct a past through a process of appropriation and contestation, is the real problem not, perhaps, that people construct the past by using the term "memory" at all?

To write a history of memory, we need to draw the mental horizon of an age. When and why did memory become a habit of mind shared by people to give meaning to the past? One can imagine that it is the kind of historical problem Warburg and Bloch would have been delighted to pose, and perhaps to begin to answer. And so, perhaps the first task of the history of memory is to historicize memory.

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AHR Forum

Meatpackers, Peronists, and Collective Memory: A View from the South

DANIEL JAMES

MEMORY, IT SEEMS, IS EVERYWHERE NOWADAYS. As both Alon Confino and Susan Crane remind us, we are in the midst of a boom in the academy, centered on the production of texts about memory, commemoration, and forgetting. The scope of this phenomenon has been impressive both in terms of the range of its subject matter and the extent of its disciplinary reach. Nor, of course, is the phenomenon limited to academic texts. The *fin-de-siècle* world of the North Atlantic has been increasingly characterized by what the cultural critic Andreas Huyssen has called "mnemonic convulsions" expressed in cultural artifacts and experiences ranging from "museummania" and monumental art to personal memoirs, TV mini-series, and the nostalgia-laden products of retro fashion.[1] At the very least, this convergence between the thematics of the academy and the wider popular culture should alert us to the fact that the issues at stake in any debate on memory go far beyond the limits of particular disciplinary polemics.

Within the disciplinary confines of history, both Crane and Confino issue a salutary warning to historians who would invoke the notion of collective memory: be aware of the potential conceptual pitfalls inherent in its under-theorized use. I find Confino's methodological warnings about the need to contextualize memory studies in the broadest possible sense irreproachable (although I do not share his evaluation of all the texts he analyzes). We clearly need to avoid the functionalist reduction of the cultural to the political, to pay attention to issues of reception, and to be aware of the complex process by which different public discourses of memory are interpellated. It seems to me, too, that Confino's final call to historicize memory, to analyze its genealogy as a discursive category, is an important reminder to scholars tempted to invoke its use in overly simplistic ways by what he defines as the very "open-endedness of the notion." Crane's concerns are rather different: her examination of the epistemological status of collective memory raises a number of important issues regarding the relationship between collective and historical memory, the role of the remembering individual, and the nature of historical representation. Her attempt "to imagine a new form for historical consciousness"

[1] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York, 1995), 7. The most developed analysis and cataloging of such "mnemonic convulsions" in a particular society is that provided by Raphael Samuel in *Theatres of Memory*, Volume 1: *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994–).

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implicitly raises issues related to the stakes involved in memory work, both within and outside the academy.

In this essay, I will address some of the issues these essays and other recent work on memory raise. My analysis will draw on my own field work as a labor and oral historian in Argentina. This will, of course, involve a change in register. This does not imply any critique of more theoretical analysis. Rather, it reflects my own concern to move from the more abstract style of Confino's and Crane's essays and to think through some of the concrete issues raised in the context of research practices and experiences like my own.[2] The oral historian confronts very specific dilemmas involving contemporary memory and the relationship between the collective and the individual, while the labor historian deals with issues of power and the specific nature of working-class social memory.

LET ME START BY OFFERING THREE STORIES culled from my own work in the Argentine meatpacking community of Berisso, all of which revolve around issues of collective memory and its problems. I offer them not as finished analyses but rather as research anecdotes whose profounder meanings I am still struggling to understand.

Berisso was at one time one of Argentina's principal meatpacking centers. Lying some fifty miles south of Buenos Aires on the shores of the Rio de la Plata, it was a community dependent on two U.S.-owned packing plants founded in the first decades of the century. The Swift and Armour plants in their heyday during World War II employed almost 20,000 workers. The community was defined in its early stages by the arrival of thousands of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe and the Levant. To this day, its immigrant heritage is powerfully present in the many ethnic clubs and in its official designation as the "Capital of the Immigrant." The other powerful element present in the make-up of its communal identity is Berisso's Peronist heritage, symbolized in its claim to be *la cuna del peronismo* (the birthplace of Peronism). The packing-plant workers were one of the first groups among whom Juan Domingo Perón established a support base in the period 1943–1946. Berisso workers played a crucial role in the mobilization of October 17, 1945, which rescued Perón from prison and set him on his path to the presidency. Berisso would remain a stronghold of Peronist unionism and militancy in the following decades. In 1995, it overwhelmingly voted for Peronist presidential candidate Carlos Menem. Berisso's recent history has been a troubled one. With the closing of the two packing houses by the early 1980s, it has entered a period of prolonged deindustrialization, with high rates of unemployment and growing indices of poverty. However, in spite of

[2] As a Latin Americanist, I have access to a growing body of region-specific work informed by a subtle and sensitive engagement with issues of memory. For those who share Confino's methodological concerns, see Jeffrey Gould, *Memories of Mestizaje* (Durham, N.C., forthcoming); Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Eclea Bosi, *Memoria e sociedade: Lembranca de velhos* (São Paulo, 1973). Anthropologists such as Joanne Rappaport have also made us aware of the colonial and neo-colonial dimensions of ethnic memory and the specificity of indigenous ways of remembering, both collectively and individually, and the different histories of memory to which non-European peoples have access: Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Cambridge, 1990).

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limited employment opportunities, in recent years it has continued to receive new groups of immigrants arriving largely from Paraguay and Bolivia.

I have been working in Berisso for almost ten years, engaged in research on the history of the community from its foundation until the present.[3] The first anecdote I wish to recount takes place in 1995 with the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the October 17th mobilization. My presence in Berisso at that particular time provided me with the opportunity to research the specific memory of that event. I had been struck by what seemed to me to be the surprising fragility of the communal memory of the events and the problematic status of the various commemorative ceremonies being prepared for the anniversary. While the generation that participated clearly remembered the event, that memory had become formulaic and heavily conventionalized, and, in spite of its status as the quintessentially Peronist community, it was difficult to judge how meaningful a memory it was in contemporary Berisso's sense of identity.

On the day of the anniversary, a full-page report appeared in a major Buenos Aires newspaper featuring four Berisso veterans of the 1945 mobilization. The journalist who wrote the article had come to Berisso, shown up at the town hall, and asked to interview four participants in the original events. She had then driven them in her car on a trip that had recreated the route taken by the contingent of Berisso workers, who, like hundreds of thousands of other workers, had converged that day on the Plaza de Mayo, in downtown Buenos Aires, to demand Perón's release from detention. The journalist duly recorded the detailed memories the car journey had evoked in the four veterans.

My own reaction when I read the story that day in Berisso was one of surprise and puzzlement. I knew two of the veterans at the center of the newspaper report. I had met with them during the previous week at a local Peronist party branch, where I had asked specific questions about their memories of the 1945 events. Neither had mentioned to me a journey to Buenos Aires. I had interviewed one of the men, in particular, in some depth. This man, whom I will call Juan D, had assured me that as a boy of sixteen he had joined the column of Berisso workers who had marched to the nearby city of La Plata on that day where a rally had taken place in the late afternoon. Fearing his father's response to his unexplained absence from home, he had returned to Berisso in the early evening. I was also puzzled by the fact that in the newspaper account three of the four veterans recalled clashes between pro-Perón and anti-Perón groups in La Plata as having occurred on October 16, whereas my own research and other records indicated that such clashes and the consequent destruction of much property in the center of La Plata had occurred after the rally of the 17th.[4] I was immediately faced with the problem of accounting for these discrepancies. Beyond that, they clearly raised broader questions concerning the relationship of collective and individual memory, between communal narratives and historical consciousness.

[3] The project entitled "Berisso Obrero: Class, Ethnicity and the Construction of Identity in an Argentine Meatpacking Community, 1900–1990," is a collaborative one under the joint direction of Mirta Zaida Lobato and myself, with the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

[4] Daniel James, "October 17th and 18th, 1945: Mass Protest, Peronism and the Argentine Working Class," *Journal of Social History* 21 (Spring 1988): 441–61.

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A year later, during another research trip to Berisso, I received a call from the mayor saying that he needed to see me urgently, to discuss a matter of history. On my arrival at the town hall, I discovered that the matter of history concerned a historical pageant some local children and a few adults were writing and producing. This effort was part of a larger national project designed to encourage children to uncover the history of their communities, to act, in Crane's terms, as "historically conscious individuals claiming their historical knowledge as part of personal, lived experience." The dilemma facing the mayor and the participants in the project had arisen at the dress rehearsal the previous evening. One of the pageant's most emotional scenes involved the representation of the sexual harassment of women working in the plants by foremen and supervisors. The scene clearly implied that the woman pictured was forced, after some struggle, to give in to the foreman's sexual overtures in order to keep her job. The actors had invited their families to the rehearsal, and many of the mothers and grandmothers, who had themselves worked in the plants, were not amused by the scene. There was, instead, considerable outrage at what they took to be a slur on the sexual morality of women working in the plants. Was it true, the mayor wanted to know? What did history—or, rather, myself as the best embodiment of history on hand—say on the matter? In my confusion at that moment, I mumbled some generality about the existence of sexual harassment but of the need to keep it in perspective, while trying to make it clear that I did not want to be the final arbiter on what went in the pageant. Recognizing, I suspect, the panic in my eyes, the mayor thanked me and went off to fashion a compromise. The scene played out in the mayor's office has continued to puzzle me since. It raises the issue of the role of the professional historian in memory work very explicitly. It also speaks to the presence of conflicting local historical narratives played out in the process of collective remembering and forgetting.

As my final anecdote bearing on these issues, I want to refer to an event that I did not personally witness. It took place in Berisso in the mid-1980s. Several years before, in 1980, a local photographer, hearing that the Armour plant—which had been closed since 1969—was to be torn down, secretly entered the site and took a series of photos of the abandoned buildings. After the return of democracy to Argentina in 1983, he and a friend, one of Berisso's best-known poets, put together a slide show with a script to commemorate the plant and its workers. The commemorative event took place in the local union hall, which was crowded with former workers. The slides depicted the different sections of the plant, much of which had begun to fall apart after more than a decade of abandonment. The script both drew on and helped construct a narrative of an immigrant working-class community confronting the hardships of industrial labor to build modest lives of decency and dignity against powerful odds. All the testimony of those who were present at the showing emphasizes the emotional impact of the commemoration. Many were openly weeping; others seemed dumbfounded, staring silently at the stark images.

I have since seen the show in the house of its creator. I have also spoken with many of the old-timers who were present. It would be tempting to attribute the impact of the event to nostalgia for a lost time. Yet this seems to evade the important issues. Nostalgia for what? It was certainly no elegiac reminiscence for a

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golden age. Many of these same old-timers would refer to the packing plant with epithets such as "black hellhole," or "that monster," which was often said to have sucked in/swallowed (*chupar*) those who entered it. At the very least, this is a profoundly ambivalent nostalgia. What needs to be addressed is the question of the emotional intensity with which the episode is charged. Collective and individual memory is powerfully linked to affect and emotion. Why was the memory evoked by the Armour commemoration such a profound emotional experience in comparison with the fragile, problematic status of October 17th?

LET ME BEGIN TENTATIVELY TO UNPACK some of the possible meanings of these anecdotes and their relevance to questions raised in this Forum. We should start by being specific: these stories do not speak to collective memory in the abstract; they refer to the particular problems associated with memory and working-class communities in the contemporary world. Above all, they should remind us of the complexity of working-class culture, a complexity that, as James Fentress and Chris Wickham point out, is often missing in current discussions, which "fail to do justice to the kaleidoscope of difference"[5] present in working-class communities. The implications of such a kaleidoscope and the difficulties it implies for historical research are evident in the story of the memory of October 17th in Berisso.

The list of factors that any comprehensive study of this memory in Berisso would have to examine is daunting. At the level of the particular anecdote I recounted, several explanations may be offered for the discrepancies observed in the testimonies of the veterans. The events in La Plata may have been pushed back to the previous day, October 16, in order to keep unsullied the pristine image of the mythical day of harmony when a leader and his people were brought together. Such an analysis parallels the sort of temporal shift analyzed by Alessandro Portelli in his study of the memory of the death of Luigi Trastulli.[6] It is also possible that such a displacement is a way of accounting for a presence that never was in the great events of that day in Buenos Aires. They may have displaced the events of the 17th in La Plata, in which they truly did take place, in order to give themselves a presence in the far more legitimate events of the 17th in Buenos Aires. The issues here should not be reduced to truth telling or the foibles of memory. When Juan D gave his detailed account to the journalist of his journey to Buenos Aires that day, he was not deliberately lying. I suspect that the group interview reinforced the tendency—one might say the contagion—of competing with one another for presence. Caught up in the moment, faced with an outsider avidly thirsting for authentic copy, they remembered according to other criteria. Much of the story they assumed was, after all, part of the common collective memory of their generation of Berisso workers, which had been reinforced by the ceremonies and celebrations of the weeks leading up to the 17th. The lines between personal remembrance, individual memory, and the memory of the group were therefore easy to cross in order to tell a communal story that they had assumed as their own.

[5] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992), 126.
[6] Alessandro Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli: Memory and Event," in Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, N.Y., 1991).

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This story also has a bearing on the issue of the problematic relationship between collective memory and historical consciousness that Susan Crane raises. Ultimately, she suggests that the dichotomy, which is fundamental to many studies of collective memory, can be resolved through the reinstatement of the individual as the bearer of memory and history. This still leaves us, however, with the question of what sort of specific memory are we speaking of, charged with what qualities and characteristics, subject to what broader constraints and influences. When the veterans of 1945 displace the events of October the 17th to the 16th, it is not because they do not have access to "historical consciousness," on the contrary, it is readily available at a variety of sites within the local and national context. Rather, they would seem to be acting very much as one might assume the agents of Crane's "new historical practice" might act. Yet their memories are both individual—in that they are rooted in personal recall and the need to establish personal identity and life-story coherence—and also profoundly shaped by criteria drawn from the needs and desires of their particular collectivity. In a similar way, the actors involved in the historical pageant know the "historical facts." The children who wrote the play learned of sexual harassment from stories their mothers and grandmothers had told. The mayor also knew the facts from the same source. I was called in as a legitimizing external arbiter, not to impart "historical consciousness." (Although such a legitimizing role for the professional historian does not cease to be of great interest.) What was at stake was a conflict between these "facts" and other narratives, other communal and affective needs, that had to do with profoundly rooted, gendered notions of propriety and respect in a working-class community.

If we move beyond the specific anecdote, we are also faced with the issue of the survival and transmission of collective memory, an issue largely untouched by Confino and Crane, though of immediate salience to any oral historian. As I have suggested, October 17th seems to have an increasingly tenuous hold on collective memory in Berisso. The younger generation of Berissenses was largely absent from the commemorative events. Even for many of the older generations, its status is, I think, an increasingly problematic one. Once again, possible explanations are kaleidoscopic, nuanced, and multiple and take us beyond the purely local context. We might start with the political, ideological content of the memory. While Berisso is a strongly Peronist community, it is by no means exclusively Peronist. The memory of October 17th increasingly has had to compete with other discourses, such as that centered on the ethnic heritage, that are far less threatening to community cohesion.

Beyond this, we might argue that, as a collective memory, it has been increasingly decontextualized, robbed of its *raison d'être*. October 17th may well be problematic as a memory in part because of the pain it evokes among certain generations of Peronist workers. There is an implied clash between the values of a Peronist government committed to the logic of global capitalism with its concomitant social and economic policies and those meanings and values traditionally taken to inhere in the events of October 1945.[7] The memory of those events had first spoken to an

[7] This was certainly perceived by the Peronist government of Carlos Menem, which did everything possible to deprive the commemoration of any significance at a national level.

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experience of mobilization and agency; later, in the period after 1955, the memory was sustained in communities like Berisso by social practices of resistance, which may have functioned as the ritual ceremonies and performances Paul Connerton argues are crucial to sustaining and conveying knowledge of the past.[8] Such social practices and their accompanying memories were centered above all in the workplace. In the era of deindustrialization and its accompanying social and economic marginalization, it may well be that the memory of October 17, 1945, is not only a painful one but is fast becoming an irrelevancy for Berissenses.[9]

In contrast, the Armour commemoration would seem to have embodied a far more vibrant, emotion-laden collective memory. In part, this may be because it is rooted in a daily experience of labor shared by the community rather than in a more political/ideological sphere. As such, it would draw on a level of consciousness and experience that was profoundly emotionally charged. The photos of the Armour plant enabled each viewer to draw on personal memories but within a framework of shared public experience, solidarity, and mourning. Mourning, I think, is key to understanding the emotional impact of the memory, although I can only speculate as to the content of that mourning.[10] It would have been mourning for lives wasted in the plants, lives enjoyed, friendships, solidarities, jokes, loves, hates, an identity and experience that was gone forever and could never be recovered and that was symbolized in representations of a particular physical and social space now equally lost. The closing of the packing houses, the destruction of the physical site of the Armour plant, was a wound "in the fabric of memory" that had rarely been addressed in any collective, public setting. For a brief moment that night in the union local, such a wound could be expressed and mourned in the unimpeded play of remembrance and commemoration. All this was aided, I would suggest, by the principal vehicle of commemoration that evening, the photograph, whose link with death, mourning, and remembrance has often been asserted.

I WOULD LIKE TO END BY RETURNING again to the question of the transmission of collective memory and asking the question, what would the concrete social and cultural conditions be that might support the new "practice of history" invoked by Crane? One does not have to follow the pessimistic jeremiads of Pierre Nora to recognize the problematic status of modern memory. As Andreas Huyssen notes, a central paradox of the postmodern West is that the society of "mnemonic convulsions" is also a society permeated by a "culture of amnesia."[11] If the worst

[8] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989).

[9] The issue of the relationship between collective memory, political context, and the intervention of professional historians has recently been raised in an insightful debate sparked by Gerald M. Sider's article "Cleansing History: Lawrence, Massachusetts, the Strike for Four Loaves of Bread and No Roses, and the Anthropology of Working-Class Consciousness," *Radical History Review* 65 (1966): 48–83.

[10] The classic statement of the relationship is Freud's essay "Memory and Melancholia." See Rebecca Comay, "Mourning Work and Play," *Research in Phenomenology* 23 (1993).

[11] See Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*.

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prognostications of the theorists of a globalized hybrid culture are correct, this perspective may not look all that different from the periphery. Certainly, the burden of my Berisso anecdotes might be interpreted in that direction. Even the emotional, vibrant memory of the lives of labor centered on the *lieux de mémoire* of the packing house have a very tenuous purchase on contemporary memory as the generations of packing-house workers rapidly dwindle in number.

Thus, in the light of my own research, reflections, and field experience, I find Crane's proposal for a reenergized individualist historical subjectivity tantalizing, yet vague and abstract. I am left intrigued rather than convinced. How would the status of this new historical practitioner be defined and guaranteed? It seems difficult to glean what the contours of this new practice and the nature of its practitioners might be. Is it a product of individual will manifesting itself through a form of autopoesis? What happens when the sites of collective memory do *not* act as the "heuristic devices" for the transmission of collective memory—the intermediaries between individual and collective memory that Crane envisions? Ultimately, it seems to me, any discussion of a new historical practice based on a reconfigured relationship of collective and individual memory must be a political one. Memory has an intrinsically political dimension deriving from its relationship to structures of economic, social, and political power. Walter Benjamin, whose critique of the impoverished nature of modern memory prefigured much of the current postmodern discussion, clearly rooted such impoverishment in a particular social structure, modern consumer capitalism, and its attendant modes of experience. As John McCole notes, for Benjamin the crisis of collective and individual memory was related to the decay of experience in the modern world, which could not be countered by palliatives for the solitary individual but rather required new structures of collective experience.[12]

Finally, this raises the question of the role of the professional historian. While Crane's warnings concerning the pitfalls of historical representation are admirable, as is her call for a democratization of memory practices, I am unclear as to what the concrete alternatives might be. One path might be to follow those within cultural studies who, inspired by Benjamin, have analyzed the potential of modern cultural forms to express and embody alternative historical traditions and memories.[13] Another might be to direct our attention, in the current absence of the reconfiguration of the field of historical practice and the power relations that sustain them, to an examination of the criteria and research practices that oral historians, ethnographers, and other professional memory workers might adopt in order to become more adequate listeners and witnesses.[14] In the field of labor history and the study of subaltern memories at least, E. P. Thompson's, albeit resolutely non-postmodernist, call for historians to

[12] John McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 253–80.

[13] See, for example, George Lipsitz, *Time Passages, Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1990); Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*.

[14] Here, the work of anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff seems crucial. See Myerhoff, *Remembered Lives: The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992).

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rescue the oppressed from the overwhelming condescension of history might still serve as a usable ethical framework for historical practice.

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Review Essay

No More Language Games: Words, Beliefs, and the Political Culture of Early Modern France

JAY M. SMITH

AMONG HISTORIANS OF FRENCH POLITICAL CULTURE in the early modern period, analysis of language has become a central preoccupation. Recent work on two traditionally distinct problems within the larger field—the nature of patron-client relations, on the one hand, and the relationship between the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, on the other hand—illustrates the tendency.[1] Specialists in both areas have recently examined words, discourses, vocabularies, and rhetorical strategies in an attempt to shed light on the dynamics of political action. Having accepted the axiom that politics is experienced culturally, historians of early modern France, like historians in other fields, seek increasingly to recover the experience of politics through analysis of contemporary language.

The benefits of this shift in orientation are many. Especially in eighteenth-century studies, where the revisionist insistence on the political causes of the French

For their generosity in reading and criticizing earlier versions of this essay, I wish to thank my colleagues Melissa Meriam Bullard, John Headley, Lloyd Kramer, and Donald Reid. David Bien of the University of Michigan provided helpful feedback, as always, and discussions of a preliminary version of the second part of the essay at the Society for French Historical Studies conference in Wilmington, Delaware, and the University of North Carolina Renaissance Workshop in 1994 supplied needed encouragement. The excellent suggestions and criticisms of the *AHR*'s referees and Board members enabled me to clarify the thrust of my argument and sharpen my language. Finally, I want to include a general note of thanks to the graduate students in my Fall 1996 seminar on the Old Regime and the French Revolution at UNC. Their lively and intelligent reactions to the assigned readings helped me to approach in new ways problems that had puzzled me for many months. Those problems are not yet solved, but I hope at least that they are now more clearly defined.

[1] Especially representative of the linguistic emphasis in recent work on revolutionary politics are the essays comprising the four-volume opus *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, Keith Michael Baker, Colin Lucas, François Furet, and Mona Ozouf, eds. (Oxford, 1987–94). From Vol. 1, *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, Keith Michael Baker, ed. (Oxford, 1987), readers should consult Dale Van Kley, "The Jansenist Constitutional Legacy in the French Prerevolution" (169–201); Lynn Hunt, "The 'National Assembly'" (403–15); Mona Ozouf, "L'opinion publique" (419–34); Marina Valensise, "La constitution française" (441–67); Keith M. Baker, "Representation" (469–92); Lucien Jaume, "Citoyenneté et souveraineté: Le poids de l'absolutisme" (515–34). From Vol. 2, *The Political Culture of the French Revolution*, Colin Lucas, ed. (Oxford, 1988), see Diego Venturino, "La naissance de l' 'Ancien Régime'" (11–40); Keith M. Baker, "Revolution" (41–62); Maurice Cranston, "The Sovereignty of the Nation" (97–104); Norman Hampson, "La patrie" (125–37). Other seminal works on the subject of language and revolutionary politics include Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); and Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), a work discussed in this article. In the analysis of early modern French patronage, the linguistic emphasis is more recent and the standard points of reference are few. Representative of the trend,

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Revolution has led to a fuller exploration of the nature of political conflict, close analysis of words and their contexts has yielded thicker descriptions of the field of political action. By examining the elasticity of words and meanings, historians of both the *ancien régime* and the revolution have shown how various professional, popular, religious, psychosexual, philosophical, and juridical discourses converged and mutated in the cauldron of political debate.[2] Emphasis on the malleability of language has revealed the extent to which early modern political developments were conditioned by culture, and it has helped as well to restore human creative power to accounts of political process.

The basic assumption underlying most of the recent work on early modern French political culture—the assumption that language is constitutive of social reality—has not been accepted wholeheartedly in all quarters of the historical profession.[3] Bryan Palmer, for example, resents the subversion of historical

however, is the forum "Patronage, Language, and Political Culture," *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992), with contributions by Sharon Kettering ("Patronage in Early Modern France," 839–62), J. Russell Major ("Vertical Ties through Time," 863–71), and Arlette Jouanna ("Réflexions sur les relations internobilaires en France aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles," 872–81). See also Kristen B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Sharon Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2 (1988): 131–51; and Arthur L. Herman, Jr., "The Language of Fidelity in Early Modern France," *Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995): 1–24, a work discussed in this article.

[2] For analysis of professional discourses, see, for example, David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (Oxford, 1994); and David D. Bien, "The Army in the French Enlightenment: Reform, Reaction, and Revolution," *Past and Present* 85 (1979): 68–98. On "popular" discourse, see Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Rosemary Morris, trans. (University Park, Pa., 1995); and Roger Chartier, "Culture populaire et culture politique dans l'Ancien Régime: Quelques réflexions," in Baker, *Political Culture of the Old Regime*, 243–58. On the religious, see Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), esp. chap. 4; and Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), chaps. 3–4. On the psychosexual, see Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); on the philosophical, see Carol Blum, *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1986); on the juridical, see, in addition to Bell and Van Kley, Bailey Stone, *The French Parlements and the Crisis of the Old Regime* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981). The analyses in two recent books cut across professional, philosophical, and juridical discourses to produce impressive synthetic treatments: Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics, and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades* (Cambridge, 1989); and Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1993).

[3] Many useful exchanges in the recent debate about the merits of the linguistic turn can be found in the pages of *Past and Present* and *Social History*. Discussion in the former was initiated by a skeptical Lawrence Stone, "History and Post-Modernism," *Past and Present* 131 (1991): 217–18. Stone's opening volley elicited further commentary by Patrick Joyce, "History and Post-Modernism I," *Past and Present* 133 (1991): 204–09; Catriona Kelly, "History and Post-Modernism II," *Past and Present* 133 (1991): 209–13; Stone again, "History and Post-Modernism III," *Past and Present* 135 (1992): 189–94; and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History and Post-Modernism IV," *Past and Present* 135 (1992): 194–208. The lengthy debate in *Social History* was initiated by David Mayfield and Susan Thorne, "Social History and Its Discontents: Gareth Stedman Jones and the Politics of Language," *Social History* 17 (1992): 165–88. In rapid succession came Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, "The Poverty of Protest: Gareth Stedman Jones and the Politics of Language—A Reply," *Social History* 18 (1993): 1–15; Patrick Joyce, "The Imaginary Discontents of Social History: A Note of Response to Mayfield and Thorne, and Lawrence and Taylor," *Social History* 18 (1993): 81–85; David Mayfield and Susan Thorne, "Reply to 'The Poverty of Protest' and 'The Imaginary Discontents,'" *Social History* 18 (1993): 219–33; Neville Kirk, "History, Language, Ideas, and Post-Modernism: A Materialist View," *Social History* 19 (1994): 221–40; Patrick Joyce, "The End of Social History?" *Social History* 20 (1995): 73–91; Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, "Starting Over: The Present, the Post-Modern and the Moment of Social History," *Social History* 20 (1995): 355–64.

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materialism and the post-structuralist denial of "class as the site of political transformation."[4] Instead of focusing on "economically generated and politically situated relations and struggles," which formerly had pride of place in the practice of social history, historians are now content to analyze "the expression those struggles take in culture, ideas, sexuality—in *discourses*."[5] David Mayfield and Susan Thorne, though they do not share Palmer's utter contempt for discourse analysis, similarly lament the "shift away from social determination" in historical studies and decry the new "reductionist tendencies" that the linguistic turn seems to have entailed. The "revisionist project" in British historiography, they note, "questions the material referent of political motivation altogether."[6] They therefore insist on the need to situate political language within the context of "prevailing social relations." Calling for a return to a Thompsonian approach to cultural change, they remind students of political discourse that language is inevitably embedded in "social relations of unequal power and authority," and that people use language in political contests in order "to alter or maintain" those relations.[7]

Gabrielle Spiegel and Theda Skocpol, in their own attempts to define a "world exterior to" linguistic codes, have presented arguments tellingly similar to that of Mayfield and Thorne.[8] Spiegel, in search of the "social logic" responsible for the production of discourses, has urged historians to pay greater attention to the "social sites" in which language is deployed. The meaning of any set of representations, she asserts, derives from its "social context" and, more specifically, from "its relation to the social and political networks in which it is elaborated."[9] Skocpol, writing in response to William H. Sewell, Jr.'s emphasis on the determinative power of cultural idioms in political transformations, urged greater sensitivity to the exigencies of "political struggle itself." She acknowledged that the ideas and motivations of political actors may be influenced by prevailing linguistic idioms, but she also insisted that people articulate new ideologies for "action-related purposes" and in response to "the tasks they need to accomplish in relation to one another."[10]

This article offers a critical reassessment of what Keith Michael Baker has called the "linguistic" approach to political culture.[11] The argument developed here differs in important ways, however, from what might be called the materialist critique of the linguistic turn. Even the most subtle and conciliatory advocates of a "social context" approach to the use of language seek to anchor historical analysis in some stable and non-linguistic domain. The definition of that domain varies

[4] Bryan Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990), 205.

[5] Palmer, *Descent into Discourse*, 203.

[6] Mayfield and Thorne, "Social History and Its Discontents," 168.

[7] Mayfield and Thorne, "Social History and Its Discontents," 188, 187.

[8] The phrase comes from Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59–86, see 62.

[9] Spiegel, "History and Post-Modernism IV," 203; the argument is developed fully in "History, Historicism."

[10] Theda Skocpol, "Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell," in T. C. W. Blanning, ed., *The Rise and Fall of the French Revolution* (Chicago, 1996), 319. Skocpol's piece, together with William H. Sewell's "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," appeared originally in the *Journal of Modern History* 57 (1985).

[11] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 4.

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according to the chosen vocabulary of the historian—social relations of unequal power, political struggle, class struggle, power relations, economic relations, and so on—but all of these terms invoke forms of experience that are thought to be beyond culture and somehow determinative of both political and linguistic change. The purpose of analyzing political culture, according to this perspective, is to correlate linguistic action and innovation with the purportedly non-linguistic or material context that drives the use of language. Unfortunately, in seeking to capture the "referential" character of language, the advocates of these various approaches manage only to refer readers to activities and experiences (power, class, struggles, interests, inequality, and relationships of all kinds) that are inevitably construed through a cultural/linguistic lens.[12]

To find the proper referent for political language—the referent that can explain how and why discourses evolve as they do—I propose looking more closely at the words themselves. Embedded in the meanings of words are traces of the values, assumptions, and operating principles, in short, the beliefs, of those who employ political language. Changes in language do not provide unmediated evidence of the evolving material circumstances that underlie politics; rather, they reveal political agents' changing beliefs *about* the material world in which they maneuver. To locate the sources of political motivation and linguistic action, the historian should look not toward some putatively non-linguistic realm of experience but rather toward the semantic histories of the words contemporaries used to understand their experience. The beliefs concealed in those semantic histories contain both emotional and ideological dimensions; they are open to change at both the individual and collective levels; and, although they are articulated through and perpetuated by idiomatic language, they are also sensitive to the material environment. Only by analyzing the beliefs that impel the use of language can historians articulate connections between those changes conventionally understood as "social," on the one hand, and those changes understood as "cultural," on the other hand.

The weakness of the linguistic approach to political culture, as it is now generally practiced, is its failure to integrate systems of belief into the analysis of language use. The propensity to delimit discursive fields and to scrutinize linguistic structures has drawn historical attention away from ideas and shared meanings and toward the tactical and semiotic functions performed by words in their immediate dialogical context. I think that this growing emphasis on the tactical and semiotic character of language stems from an inadequately theorized conception of human agency. Ironically, the expositors of the linguistic approach to political culture assume implicitly that linguistic actions can be explained by reference to some version of the clash of "interests" or to the natural competition for "power"; by default, that is, they tend to rely on explanatory devices used more self-consciously and deliberately by their materialist critics. I argue, in the historiographical discussion that opens this article, that reliance on these devices ultimately dehistoricizes the

[12] Spiegel, for example, naturalizes the thirst for "power" and suggests that linguistic innovations represent historically concrete variations on the quest to gain or maintain power. Following Levi-Strauss, she writes that "language games . . . are essentially power games, and it follows that disputes over language domains and usage are contests for power" ("History, Historicism," 82). Her explanation of the Franco-Flemish aristocracy's new taste for vernacular prose historiography in the thirteenth century is intended to serve as a proof of that assumption.

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problem of human motivation and therefore flattens out the historical dimensions of linguistic exchange. Words mediate competition and conflict, and individuals certainly use rhetorical strategies as they attempt to persuade their interlocutors and achieve or enhance a position of political advantage. But all discursive options—regardless of the extent to which they are tactically or semiotically determined—reflect and are made possible by political agents' immersion in a value-laden linguistic context. Collectively recognized beliefs and values determine the organizing principles of a political culture and shape the meanings of the words commonly used in the culture. The elusive correlation that needs to be pursued in linguistic analysis is that between word and belief.

Central to any political culture are the prevailing beliefs that structure both personal and social obligations. By probing one of the terms that regulated the formation and articulation of obligations in early modern France—*crédit*—I intend to outline in the second half of the essay the transformation of the basic values underlying French politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Analysis of the meaning of *crédit* focuses attention on the long-term shift from a personal to an impersonal frame of reference in the definition of political/civic relationships in France. More important, exploration of the values implied by the term also illustrates the need to look beyond immediate discursive contexts to explain the cultural and historical significance always inherent in the use of a given word or phrase.[13] Admittedly, my treatment of the early modern French political vocabulary is narrow in scope, and the conclusions I derive may strike specialists as too overarching. But the methodological implications of the approach taken here should be clear. By giving priority to the search for implied meanings in political discourse—a search that requires taking seriously the evolving beliefs and values of political agents—I hope to indicate how students of political language might circumvent the frustrating and ultimately false choice between "social" or "linguistic" determinism.[14]

THE RATIONALE FOR SEPARATING WORDS FROM BELIEFS in analysis of political language has been articulated most clearly by proponents of the new cultural history. In an

[13] Among current practitioners of the "linguistic" approach to political culture, J. G. A. Pocock is perhaps the most sensitive to the weight of historical experience in shaping political discourses. The language of the moment, he writes, does not simply "denote" the experience of the moment. "Rather, it interacts with experience; it supplies the categories, grammar, and mentality through which experience has to be recognized and articulated. In studying it the historian learns how the inhabitants of a society were capable of cognizing experience, what experiences they were capable of cognizing, and what responses to experience they were capable of articulating and consequently performing." Pocock, *Virture, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 28–29. Pocock therefore urges the historian of discourse to move back and forth between the "context of language" and the "context of experience" (16). My only objection to this method of framing the possibility of linguistic agency is that it leaves out the most important "context" of all—the context of values and beliefs that impels the individual to pronounce on his or her experience in the first place. Experience, after all, is simply another word for life itself, and I argue in the following pages that "experience" is actually construed through and interacts with the values to which language inevitably corresponds.

[14] Few would admit to being strict "determinists" of any kind, but recent debates about history and language have nevertheless been carried out in these polarizing terms. See the useful discussion by Kirk, "History, Language, Ideas," 226–28.

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important article that distilled structuralist, post-structuralist, and Foucauldian influences into a powerful programmatic statement, Roger Chartier urged cultural historians in 1989 to focus on the strategic, semiotic, and synchronic aspects of language.[15] In place of the old-fashioned "ideological reductionism" that falsely enabled analysts to cull from their texts discrete and coherent "ideas" or "mentalities," historians should pay attention to "the devices of discourse itself, its rhetorical and narrative articulations, its persuasive and demonstrative strategies." Discursive structures, he emphasized, "have their own internal logic," and each must therefore be understood as "a specific object with its own production sites (and milieus) and distinctive preconditions; it must be judged in the light of its own organizational and critical principles and questioned as to its modes of accreditation and truthfulness."[16]

Discourses, as objects of analysis, "cannot be reduced to the ideas they state or the themes they convey." The historian must not regard language or other symbolic expressions as part of a "worldview" rooted in a stable and specific social identity. Instead, argued Chartier, one should assume that individuals and groups deploy language strategically in order to project chosen "representations" of identity that are continually contested or confirmed by the "representations" emitted by others. Identity is formed through the playing out of multiple and overlapping discursive contests, where "the representations of those who have the power to classify and name" confront the definitions "that each community then produces of itself, whether docile or resistant to the imposed representation." To study social identity is to study "the symbolic strategies that determine positions and relations and construct for each class, group or milieu a perceived-being constitutive of its identity."[17] "Symbolic strategies" define individual as well as collective identities, moreover, for "the 'objective' position of each individual [is taken] to be a function of the credence attached to that individual's self-representation by those from whom he or she hopes to receive recognition."[18]

A fine example of the kind of cultural history envisioned in Chartier's article is Mario Biagioli's engaging and provocative *Galileo, Courtier*.[19] The author argues that Galileo's efforts to define and enhance his socioprofessional identity, in a world shaped by patronage and status-consciousness, go far toward explaining his embrace of the Copernican system. The mathematics professor-turned-courtier shattered the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic paradigm not because he found Copernicus convincing and therefore set out to validate his predecessor's physical theories but because "the dynamics of identity development and maintenance" propelled him in the Copernican direction.[20] Both to attract and to impress his patrons, argues

[15] Roger Chartier, "Le monde comme représentation," *Annales* 44 (1989): 1505–20. The version cited here is the English translation, "The World as Representation," from Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Histories: French Constructions of the Past* (New York, 1995), 544–58. For incisive discussion of the influence of structural linguistics on both the "new cultural history" and the literary "new historicism," see Spiegel, "History, Historicism," esp. 56–72.

[16] Chartier, "World as Representation," 555–56.

[17] Chartier, "World as Representation," 556, 552.

[18] Chartier, "World as Representation," 554.

[19] Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, 1993).

[20] Biagioli notes Galileo's "initial conceptual sympathies" for Copernican astronomy, and he admits

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Biagioli, Galileo showed off his unusual "bilingualism." Because he spoke the Aristotelian language of his detractors as well as his preferred language of mathematics, Galileo was able to "delegitimize his adversaries" while he "represented himself as a producer of novelties."[21] These "tactics for the legitimation of his new socioprofessional identity" can be separated neither from the culture of patronage in which Galileo thrived nor from the ideas he developed and the science he practiced.[22] The communication of Galileo's ideas, the formation of his novel identity, and the reinforcement of that identity by others went hand in hand: "Copernicus provided Galileo with the resources he needed to represent himself not as a mathematician but as a philosopher (and a nonpedantic one) while the court allowed him actually to obtain that title."[23]

Chartier thus postulated, and Biagioli applied in his study of Galileo, two important assumptions about the relationship between historical subjects and the language they employ. Both deny the cognitive autonomy of the individual. Discourses produce individuals as much as, even more than, individuals produce discourse; the self, in fact, is largely determined by the cultural and representational matrix in which it inevitably finds its being. This assumption, which I propose to qualify only slightly, will be reevaluated later in this article. My commentary on the current linguistic approach to political culture may be seen, however, as a response to the second of the key assumptions expressed in the works of Biagioli and Chartier—the assumption that language users invoke, deploy, or appropriate words, languages, and representations in order to serve strategic purposes.

The new sensitivity to the "strategies," "tactics," and social posturing of language users is in part a result of the now pervasive influence of Norbert Elias, to whom both Chartier and Biagioli acknowledge a debt.[24] The analyses of Elias, recovered and translated in the 1970s and 1980s, proved useful to the many revisionists who wished to demonstrate that long-term and anonymous social and cultural processes—and not simply great kings and modern ideas—lay behind the emergence of absolutism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[25] In his sensitive analysis of elites and their relationship to the monarchy in early modern France, Elias showed that state centralization, the formation of court society, and the "civilization" of etiquette and manners called forth networks of "interdependencies" that altered interpersonal behavior and increased individual self-consciousness at the same time that they transformed structures of power.[26] Chartier, in his focus on "struggles of

that Galileo was already a "Copernican sympathizer" in 1597, years before his involvement in public debates. But he argues that "it is one thing to be conceptually attracted to the Copernican system and another to be a committed supporter of the Copernican cause." A "patronage-laden process" made Galileo into a "full Copernican." "Copernicanism, patronage, and philosophical self-fashioning went hand in hand." See *Galileo, Courtier*, 100–01.

[21] Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, 235, 237.

[22] Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, 131.

[23] Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, 226.

[24] Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, 10; Chartier, "World as Representation," 556.

[25] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Edmund Jephcott, trans., 2 vols. in 1 (Oxford, 1994); Elias, *The Court Society*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (New York, 1983).

[26] I cite here the French translation of Elias's *Die Höfische Gesellschaft*: *La société de cour* (Brussels, 1984), 150.

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representation," "forms of symbolic domination," and the "positions and relations" of discrete interlocutors in discursive fields, clearly finds his inspiration in Elias's approach to the relations that characterized court life.[27]

Unfortunately, however, the explicit adoption of Elias's subject matter and sociological perspective has also brought the implicit integration of his mechanical approach to causation. That approach fixed the relationship between historical agents and language in a way that encouraged and even required a "strategic" theory of language use. "The competitive relationship," Elias asserted, is a "general and all-encompassing social fact"; he saw a "continuous, general competition for limited opportunities pervading the whole of society."[28] The competitive instinct serves as the motor of political and social change in Elias's picture of the historical process, and this meant that the "figurational dynamics" responsible for monarchical absolutism and its web of interdependencies could be traced to a medieval "power struggle between various princely houses and dominions."[29] The "inherent tendency" toward monopoly made it likely that "sooner or later one of the rival warrior houses would gain predominance and finally a monopoly position." The Capetians eventually "emerged as victors" from the centuries-long "elimination struggles," and thus became the "executors of the monopoly mechanism."[30]

Elias's analysis of the "royal mechanism" that maintained "equilibrium" between competing forces in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France enhanced historical understanding of political power. Anticipating Michel Foucault, he showed that power is never simply controlled and exercised by freestanding individuals and institutions but is always constrained by the reciprocal relations in which it is necessarily embedded. Moreover, in demonstrating that political power is diffused and mediated through the language and practices of social relations, Elias seemed to suggest that the key to understanding the distinctiveness of a political culture lies in the way contemporaries articulate the "figurations" and "ratios" that determine their respective positions in the world. One can easily see the attraction of Elias's model for those inclined to study what Chartier calls the "devices of discourse itself." From Elias's perspective, words (or representations) directly determine hierarchical relations and therefore serve an inherently strategic function. It is important to recognize, though, that Elias was drawn to the strategies lurking beneath the use of "civilized" discourse because he simply took for granted a generic and determinative desire for power and position. Within his analytical

[27] Chartier, "World as Representation," 552, 554. Chartier's fascination with Elias also leaves its mark on the argument he presents in *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1991), esp. 184–86, 193. For direct insight into Chartier's uses of Elias, and extensive discussion of Elias's utility for cultural historians, see Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), chap. 3.

[28] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 2: 381–82.

[29] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 2: 393–94.

[30] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 2: 355. Elias's reliance on the motor of competition is clearly illustrated by the titles of the subchapters that trace the "sociogenesis" of the state in the second volume of *The Civilizing Process*: "On the monopoly mechanism"; "Early struggles within the framework of the kingdom"; "The last stages of the free competitive struggle and the final monopoly position of the victor"; "The resurgence of centrifugal tendencies: the figuration of the competing princes"; "The distribution of power ratios within the unit of rule—their significance for the central authority: the formation of the 'royal mechanism.'"

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framework, the larger objectives for which "symbolic strategies" are employed require no explanation. Language became an instrument in Elias's eyes precisely because he assumed the existence of a goal exogenous to language, which all human agents could be expected to pursue with the resources at hand.

Despite his growing influence, Elias is not solely responsible for the instrumentalization of language in studies of political culture. The tendency to stress the instrumental use of language has also been reinforced by the increasing reliance on the language-game analogy in historical analysis. Invented by Ludwig Wittgenstein, modified by precepts borrowed from J. L. Austin's speech-act theory (1961–1962), and first introduced into historical studies by Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock in the 1960s and 1970s, the language-game analogy has recently been used to place emphasis on the rhetorical functions of the words that comprise political discourse.[31] Like Chartier, who wishes to make "representations" the proper subject matter for cultural historians, the advocates of a "language game" approach to political discourse define their methods in opposition to a traditional history of ideas, deemed insufficiently sensitive to the complex relationship between text and context. To avoid the distortions that arise from the historian's search for coherent and disembodied ideas or principles, Skinner, in an important article, urged students of political thought to abandon the assumption that there is an "essential meaning" to be found in the ideas expressed in political discussion. "[We] can only study an idea by seeing the nature of all the occasions and activities—the language games—within which it might appear." Invoking a formula familiar to philosophers of language, Skinner declared that "we should study not the meanings of words, but their use."[32]

The language-game analogy is meant to shift attention away from the relationship between words and meanings and to highlight instead the relationship between interlocutors and the fields of discourse in which they operate. Ideas are not "causal, individual agents of motivation and determination," Keith Michael Baker has recently written. One should aim therefore "not to write the history of particular unit ideas, but to identify a field of political discourse, a set of linguistic patterns and relationships that defined possible actions and utterances and gave them meaning."[33] Political agents can be said to resemble the participants in a game because all interlocutors, in order to engage in political conversation, must be aware of the linguistic "patterns and relationships"—the informal rules, one might say—that make one's words potentially meaningful to others. Baker emphasizes, in

[31] For Wittgenstein's exploration of the analogy of the "language game," see *Philosophical Investigations*, G. E. M. Anscomble, trans. (Oxford, 1958), esp. 2e–43e. For the uses of this analogy by Skinner and Pocock, see Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 3–53, esp. 37; J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (New York, 1971), 12; Pocock; *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 29. For Austin's speech-act theory, see J. L. Austin, *Philosophical Papers* (Oxford, 1961); *Sense and Sensibilia* (Oxford, 1962); and *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). For more recent uses of the game analogy, see Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, 16, 241; Spiegel, "History, Historicism," 82; Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 5, 6, 16; and Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 6–7.

[32] Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 37. This and other seminal articles by Skinner are gathered, together with important critical commentary, in James Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Cambridge, 1988).

[33] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 19, 24.

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his study of the cultural/linguistic origins of the French Revolution, that no individual agent can ever fully and consciously master the multiplicity of patterns and relationships that define "discursive possibility." There will always be more than one language game operative in a given society, and "these language games are not insulated from one another in any strict manner. They overlap in social practice, as well as in the consciousness of the individuals who participate in them. Individual acts and utterances may therefore take on meanings within several fields of discourse simultaneously, redounding upon one another in often unpredictable ways."[34] Elements from several discourses can come together unexpectedly "to define new domains of experience and social action."[35] In order to recover "the competing representations of social and political existence from which the revolutionary language ultimately emerged," Baker therefore proposed to study the contemporary language games, whose "constant elaboration and development" led finally to a redefinition of discursive hierarchies and a political revolution.[36]

Baker has been criticized by other historians of the *ancien régime* for his tendency to reduce the social to the linguistic and for turning discourse into a virtually independent actor responsible for historical change.[37] What requires more sustained attention, though, is the paradox that lies at the heart of Baker's elegant theoretical formulations. At the same time that he asserts the linguistic nature of all social phenomena ("social and political changes are themselves linguistic"), Baker, like Elias and Chartier, also stresses the instrumental character of language. Language is "deployed as an instrument" to effect social and political changes, which are themselves "linguistically constituted in any society."[38] To account for the motive force behind political change, he invokes the "competing claims" that individuals "make upon one another and upon the whole."[39] People pursue "purposes," "projects," and "claims," and thereby force political and discursive revisions of their world. But to preempt the inevitable criticism that he treats discourse as a mere smoke screen for group interests, Baker also asserts that individuals have their purposes "defined" by the language games they play and the symbolic fields in which they maneuver.[40] The identities of relevant social groups, and the nature of the claims they press, "are continually being defined (and redefined)" in accord with the "logic of political debate."[41] The interaction involved

[34] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 6–7.

[35] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 16.

[36] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 23, 16.

[37] On the relationship between the social and the linguistic, see William H. Sewell, Jr., *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyes and What Is the Third Estate?* (Durham, N.C., 1994), 32–33; on the independence of discourse, see Vivian Gruder, "Whither Revisionism? Political Perspectives on the Ancien Régime," *French Historical Studies* 20 (1997): 245–85, esp. 247–48.

[38] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 9.

[39] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 4.

[40] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 16. The passage in which Baker asserts most explicitly that the purposes of language users are defined by the language games they play should be quoted in its entirety. Recognizing the need to explain diachronic development, Baker emphasizes that "the multiplicity of discourses we have been considering are not dead remnants, the archaeological remains of some vanished constructions. On the contrary, they are fields of social action symbolically constituted, social practices, 'language games' each subject to constant elaboration and development through the activities of the individual agents whose purposes they define."

[41] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 6.

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in the framing of political claims, says Baker, is necessarily "constrained" by the "common discourse" that binds a community.[42]

Baker makes an important point about the intersection of language and interests—an issue to which we will return—but in the context of his wider argument, the point actually brings him to an interpretive impasse. If political change derives not from ideas but from the use of language, and if the personal motivations behind the use of language are already inscribed in the discourses available to political agents, this means that human agency consists in the accidental transformation of discourses that individuals ceaselessly "work on," "play at," and "extend."[43] Even if one accepts this perspective on human agency—a perspective that makes it difficult to connect historical development to purposeful thought and action—one is forced either to confront or suppress a new set of questions. Baker contends that the essence of political action is the struggle for "linguistic authority." Political agents wish to uphold or revise "authoritative definitions" of terms; they seek to "order or reorder the world through the articulation and deployment of competing systems of meaning."[44] But how and why do individuals determine that some words, definitions, and meanings are better than others? To assume that individuals have the capacity to act on "discourse" is also to assume that they themselves determine the need for discursive adjustments. Against what standard are the deficiencies of discourse measured? It is not enough to say that the claims of interlocutors are "defined" by the "logic of political debate," because people who wish to "reorder the world" through language obviously feel compelled to overturn the prevailing logic(s).

The paradox in Baker's presentation lies hidden, then, in the language-game analogy that holds out such an irresistible lure to students of political rhetoric. Despite Baker's explicit rejection of the distinction between discursive and non-discursive realities, the language-game approach implicitly reserves, out of necessity, a non-linguistic cognitive space from which agents may calculate their interests, intentions, and linguistic actions.[45] Implicit in Baker's otherwise carefully theorized methodology is the assumption that agents use words because language is the medium through which they can pursue what they want. To use the helpfully direct terms of Quentin Skinner, the language games bequeathed by history and culture provide the individual agent the linguistic materials and strategies needed to bring "untoward actions in line with some accepted principle . . . thereby legitimating what he does while still gaining what he wants."[46] Within this framework, the assumptions that guided Elias and Chartier simply resurface in a

[42] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 17.
[43] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 6.
[44] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 5, 17.
[45] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 5. "[Claims] to delimit the field of discourse in relation to non-discursive realities that lie beyond it invariably point to a domain of action that is itself discursively constituted."
[46] Skinner, "Some Problems in the Analysis of Political Thought and Action," in Tully, *Meaning and Context*, 117. The best example of this phenomenon, as described in Skinner's own work, is found in "The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole," in *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb*, Neil McKendrick, ed. (London, 1974), 93–128.

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new form, for language is still understood to be a strategic instrument used to obtain "other" objectives that necessarily remain unexamined and taken for granted.

For Arthur L. Herman, Jr., who has written recently about the language of patron-client relationships in early modern France, the language-game approach seemed to provide a way around the "nagging problem" of having always to assess the sincerity of individuals immersed in the delicate relationships forged by patronage.[47] Although patrons and clients invariably described the goods and services they exchanged as "benefits willingly and lovingly given," their actions seem to have been "dictated by self-interested concerns that contradicted the altruistic principles contemporaries used to described them."[48] Inspired by the writings of Skinner and Austin, Herman hoped to solve this interpretive dilemma by studying "the use of political language as a meaningful activity in its own right." Instead of asking first whether contemporaries genuinely meant what they said, argued Herman, the historian of patronage should learn to take into account the rules governing the production of language in specific social contexts. All "speech-act situations" impose "semiotic requirements" on interlocutors. These requirements define and limit the range of rational, and hence possible, verbal exchanges. In early modern France, the linguistic conventions "regarding fidelity and obligation . . . defined what it was to be a rational agent."[49] Individuals could qualify as "participants" in the language game only by following its conventions, rules, and procedures—"quite apart from whether they meant what they said or not."[50]

Herman derives the rules and vocabulary of the language game of fidelity from a traditional political culture overlaid by Christian ethics. From Augustine in the fourth century to J. F. Senault in the seventeenth, he explains, Christian moralists had maintained that "bonds of love" suffused all of society. In the context of the Christian *pactum societatis*, all social and political relationships were construed also as "affective relationships."[51] This meant that, despite the political functions of the ties linking patrons to clients, the participants themselves found it natural to describe those ties as manifestations of mutual personal affection. The "semiology of this affective politics" placed special emphasis on the signs of "benefits"

[47] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 1.
[48] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 2–3.
[49] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 8.
[50] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 7. Herman's substitution of "context" for "ideology" as the determining circumstance of speech acts ignores the deeper process of interpretation underlying all verbal communication. Jacques Derrida, in an exchange with John R. Searle that elaborated an important critique of speech-act theory, argued that the meanings transmitted by oral or written communication cannot be deduced from linguistic or other contexts which, in any case, are never "absolutely determinable." See Derrida, "Signature Event Context," *Glyph* 1 (1977): 172–97, p. 74. Stanley Fish, in an article that spelled out the implications of the Derrida-Searle exchange, noted that all attempts to "fix meaning" are inevitably shaped by "assumptions and beliefs." The meanings of words and the intentions of the agent who produced them are ultimately determined—or interpreted—by an interlocutor who uses as the critical frame of reference past experiences and his/her beliefs about "what kind of person" the agent happens to be. See Fish, "With the Compliments of the Author: Reflections on Austin and Derrida," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1982): 693–721, pp. 700, 699. Even when they expressed their intentions in the most conventional and acceptable terms, early modern patrons and clients were implicitly but inevitably subjected to assessments of their general moral worth. Participants in patron-client conversations had to interpret the meanings that lay behind the words.
[51] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 9.

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bestowed and "gratitude" incurred. Gifts and the expressions of gratitude they inevitably elicited signaled the all-important "good will" of both parties to the relationship, thereby establishing the basis for mutual obligation. The "language of fidelity," writes Herman, was largely "a language about signs."[52]

Herman's account of the religious-moral underpinnings of the seventeenth century's political vocabulary is informed, insightful, and generally consistent with the findings of other specialists.[53] What distinguishes his analysis is his insistence that the "traditional affective political culture and its assumptions" must be understood "in strategic, rather than ideological, terms."[54] Elaborating Skinner's point that language can legitimate the pursuit of what one "wants," Herman claims that the vital issue is not "whether early modern patrons and clients actually believed what they were saying."[55] The terms that made up the language of fidelity were "powerful coercive instruments," and patrons and clients wisely "employed," "select[ed]," and "invoked" them in order to impart a "moral sanction" to their actions and intentions.[56] Herman argues this point boldly and consistently. The language of fidelity cannot be seen as reflecting some "underlying belief system or political theology." The language represented no "set of beliefs," no "thought system," no "deep ideological commitment." Its users, quite possibly, "did not believe a word of what they said."[57]

Herman's attempt to discount the "intrinsic meaning" of contemporary words, though understandable in light of his focus on the structural unity of a discourse, throws into sharp relief the blind spot afflicting the current linguistic approach to political culture.[58] Like those who seek to minimize or deny the importance of "unit ideas," "essential meanings," "worldviews," and "mentalities," Herman endows his subjects with political agency by separating them from the beliefs and values that necessarily infuse the language with which they think. He is obviously aware of the "affective political culture" that provided the framework for political activity in seventeenth-century France, but for him that culture stands out as a set of words, conventions, and sanctions that the fully self-conscious and rational agent is able to negotiate, arrange, and deploy for his or her own secret and presumably pre-linguistic purposes.[59] In a manner reminiscent of Biagioli, Herman even extends to

[52] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 10.

[53] See, for example, Arlette Jouanna, *Ordre Social: Mythes et hiérarchies dans la France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1977), chap. 8; Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789*, Vol. 1: *Society and the State*, Brian Pearce, trans. (Chicago, 1979), chaps. 3–4; and Jay M. Smith, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), chap. 1.

[54] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 10.

[55] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 6.

[56] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 21; for examples of "using," "selecting," "invoking," and "mobilizing," see 10, 16, 17, 19, 20.

[57] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 9, 16, 24.

[58] Herman subordinates "intrinsic" meanings to "illocutionary" meanings that are largely dependent on "context and circumstance" (p. 7). Like other historians of early modern France in recent years, Herman also specifically criticizes Roland Mousnier's influential and idealized interpretation of the so-called "society of fidelities." The greatest weakness of Mousnier's interpretation, he observes, is that it accepts the "face value" of contemporary rhetoric (p. 3).

[59] Herman makes this assumption explicit on pages 13–14. The rules of the language game of fidelity, he writes, "provided a means of making an individual's actions recognizable and praiseworthy to others. Participating in the language game of fidelity ... located the agent in a realm of legitimate and

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his agents the useful option of multilingualism. He asserts that "other political languages" were "mobilized" when necessity required it. Cardinal Richelieu, for example, occasionally used "the Lipsian Neostoic vocabulary on reason of state" as a "strategic counter" to opponents who wielded the terms of the language game of fidelity.[60] Cardinal Mazarin, working similarly toward some "larger strategic purpose," also turned to the logic of "Neostoic language" when he had to justify his abandonment of an ungrateful patron.[61]

What gets repeatedly overlooked, as a result of this emphasis on strategic intent and the tactical functions of language, is that both words *and* the people who vocalize them are inevitably embedded in a culture where a dominant set of beliefs and values holds sway. The use of conventional language in political conversation signals tacit acceptance of the scale of values according to which society is ordered and individual claims and interests are understood and justified. If and when individuals frame their arguments and demands within a distinctly new or different vocabulary, they are not obeying the self-evident dictates of "strategy"—from what point outside the language could they determine this strategy?—nor are they simply mobilizing another of the languages that supposedly lie waiting to be appropriated in their culture. Rather, they are consciously or semi-consciously challenging an existing constellation of values and thus modifying the idiom within which all agents speak, act, and understand their own interests and position in the world. What may appear to be an individual's self-interested acquisition and display of bilingualism or multilingualism instead represents a protracted historical negotiation—unlikely to be fully resolved in the mind of the individual—over the terminology and hierarchy of values through which the social and political order is to be perceived and maintained.

To get access to the negotiation of values implicit in political conversation, one needs to analyze closely the meanings of words. Of course, one cannot assume that words embody single, fixed meanings recognizable to all who speak the language; polyvalence, ambiguity, and contestation must be taken into account and sometimes emphasized. But in contrast to the semiotic and synchronic approach now shaping analysis of political language, the study of historical semantics makes it possible to uncover connections between political thought and action, on the one hand, and the values that saturate a culture, on the other hand. Meanings disclose the basic beliefs and assumptions of political actors, they reveal that the purposes of human agency are conceived through and validated by shared beliefs, and they show that changes in political thought and practice are contingent on the rearrangement of the value systems through which agents construe their world. Chartier, Baker, and Skinner are certainly right to dismiss facile reconstructions of contemporary "worldviews." But the myriad social implications built into the meanings of words suggest that linguistic analysis of political culture must lead inevitably back to the beliefs and values that words convey.

justifiable intentions and actions. From the point of view of self-interest, then, there were powerful advantages to using the language game of fidelity."

[60] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 16.

[61] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 21.

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IN THE REMAINDER OF THIS ESSAY, I want to demonstrate that one can grasp the beliefs and values conveyed through early modern French political discourse by reading closely the semantic history of a word firmly rooted in the traditional language of patronage—*crédit* (credit).[62] The evolution of *crédit* evokes a long-term cultural process that transformed the assessment of value in early modern France. In the course of this process—one that points to the evolution of economic, political, and other interpersonal structures—collective but generally unstated beliefs about the primacy of personal ties gave way to the newly held belief that society cohered, and its stability could be preserved, only through impersonal mechanisms. The transformation of the cluster of values that defined political obligation in France registered its effects in conventional political language.

Crédit actually operated in two registers of meaning, aptly labeled the "personal/subjective" and the "material" by the editors of one modern etymological dictionary.[63] In the "material" register, *crédit* served as a kind of substitute for specie. In specific financial and economic contexts, the word referred either to the extension of a loan or to the privilege of making a purchase without immediate payment.[64] This financial connotation, apparent in the early sixteenth century, grew out of the influence on Renaissance France of Italian banking houses and the highly specialized vocabulary the Italians had developed and imported. The semantic field of the French *crédit* broadened as it absorbed the attributes of the Italian *credito*, a term that had grown, in turn, from the Latin *creditum*, signifying "trust."[65]

What needs to be emphasized is that the financial/economic meaning of *crédit* represented at first only a limited variation on the word's original and primary signification. When *crédit* first entered the French lexicon in the fifteenth century, the word's meaning was closer to its roots in the French *croire* and the Latin *credere* ("to believe.") To have *crédit* meant that one had the confidence, trust, and good will of others.[66] The concept referred directly, that is, to the moral bearing of the person as a whole. From the beginning, the moral and economic connotations of

[62] For Herman's account of the meaning of *crédit*, see "Language of Fidelity," 20–21. The specific relevance of the word *crédit* in analysis of the aristocratic mind has been widely noted by students of the early modern nobility. See Arlette Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte: La noblesse française et la gestation de l'état moderne (1559–1661)* (Paris, 1989), 34–39; and Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1580–1715* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 154–58, 171–73. Kristen Neuschel provides a particularly valuable discussion of "the language of credit and debit" in *Word of Honor*, 69–77, 93–94.

[63] *Trésor de la langue française: Dictionnaire de la langue du 19^e^ et du 20^e^ siècle*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1981), 448–49.

[64] As the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* explained it in 1694: "On dit 'Faire crédit,' pour dire, Donner des marchandises, des denrées, sans en exiger le payement que dans un certain temps."

[65] See Oscar Bloch, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* 2 vols. (Paris, 1932), 1: 189; and Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1938), 218.

[66] *Ibid.* See also Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1932), 632. That personal obligations, and reciprocal assessments of good will, underlay discussions of credit and debt in the fifteenth century is shown by Philippe de Commynes' recollections of a 1474 conversation in which Louis XI reflected on court relations: "Furthermore, the king told me that in his opinion, in order to be in a good position at court, it is to a man's advantage if his prince has granted him a favor in return for very little, for in that case he remains the prince's debtor; the opposite is true if he has performed such a great service that it is the prince who is very obligated to him. And princes naturally like their debtors more than their creditors." *The Memoirs of Philippe de Commynes*, Samuel Kinser, ed., Isabelle Cazeaux, trans., 2 vols. (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 1: 245.

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crédit overlapped in obvious ways. After all, reputation and the ability to generate confidence in one's word were implicit conditions for the extension of financial credit, as Edmond Huguet's analysis of the phrase *à crédit* indicates clearly.[67] Despite the common roots of the two meanings, however, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries semantic weight shifted unmistakably toward *crédit*'s economic significations. One can follow the phenomenon both through the appearance of specifically economic locutions in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the shifting hierarchy of definitions found in dictionaries ranging from the 1680s to the 1770s.

In each of the three great dictionaries of the late seventeenth century—those of César-Pierre Richelet (1680), Antoine Furetière (1690), and the Académie Française (1694)—*crédit* is listed as having two basic significations, and the links between the two meanings are evident. Furetière provides as his first definition of *crédit* "the good will [*croyance*] and esteem that one acquires in public by one's virtue, probity, good faith, and merit." The word stood also for "the resources [*puissance*], the authority, the riches that one accrues as a result of this acquired reputation." Furetière evokes the esteem, or *croyance*, attached to one's name when he elaborates on *crédit*'s more specialized function: "*Crédit* more commonly applies to commerce, where it refers to the mutual lending of money and merchandise, based on a merchant's reputation for probity and solvency."[68] For Richelet, too, reputation that merited the confidence of others lay at the heart of financial credit. "*Crédit*: what one lends to another in the belief [*créance*] that he will repay [the loan] in good time." *Créance* underlay the extension of any loan, and Richelet counted among his definitions of this key word "public reputation [*opinion*], faith," and, appropriately enough, "*crédit*." His second definition of *crédit* simply completed the circle: "Power, authority, reputation, favor."[69] The compilers of the dictionary of the Académie Française distinguished more sharply between the twin definitions of *crédit*, but they still made explicit the common threads of *reputation* and *créance*. "*Crédit*: The reputation for paying in good time, which enables one to borrow more easily." *Crédit* also "figuratively" signified "reputation, high esteem that inspires trust [*créance*] and the consideration of others."[70]

New derivations of *crédit* began to appear in the second half of the seventeenth century. This may have been due to the Bourbon monarchy's articulation of intricate lending mechanisms and the development of a system of crown finance woven ever more tightly into the social fabric.[71] *Créditer* is used as early as 1671,

[67] See the examples of sixteenth-century usage in *Dictionnaire de la langue française* and Huguet's short essay on *crédit* in *L'évolution du sens des mots depuis le XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1934), 337–38.

[68] Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (The Hague, Rotterdam, 1690).

[69] Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois* (Geneva, 1680).

[70] *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 1st edn. (Paris, 1694).

[71] On the development of crown finance in the seventeenth century, see especially Daniel Dessert, *Argent, pouvoir et société au grand siècle* (Paris, 1984); Françoise Bayard, *Le monde des financiers au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1988); James Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989). On the eighteenth century's elaboration and transformation of the system of credit developed in the previous century, see David D. Bien, "Offices, Corps, and a System of State Credit: The Uses of Privilege under the Ancien Régime," in *French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, Vol. 1: *Political Culture of the Old Regime*, Baker, ed., 89–114; and Gail Bossenga, *The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and Revolution in Lille* (Cambridge, 1991).

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though the contemporary dictionaries made no mention of it, and the term *créditeur* appeared in Jacques Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* in 1723.[72] By the 1730s, as the dictionaries indicate, the traditional two-part summary of the meaning of *crédit* no longer represented satisfactorily its multiple commercial functions. New definitions and examples had to be added to encompass its expanding economic domain. The second edition of Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois* (1732) offers particularly clear proof of this semantic shift. It includes new entries for the credit ledger of an accounting book, for letters of credit, and for the public confidence and salability attested by a company's *billets de commerce*. The second edition repeated word for word the "moral" connotation of *crédit* first articulated in 1680, but its location in the semantic hierarchy had shifted dramatically. It now stood ninth and last among the conventional meanings of *crédit*; seven of the eight leading definitions had a specifically financial resonance.

The new representations of *crédit* signified more than changing frequency of use. As the dictionaries registered new facets of *crédit*'s economic connotation, the word's traditional moral signification receded from the surface. Already in 1718, for example, the Académie Française had altered its "moral" definition of *crédit* in a subtle but notable way. *Crédit* now "signifies figuratively, Authority, power, consideration." Explicit reference to the *reputation* that inspires *créance*—the reference that established the link between *crédit*'s two significations in the 1694 edition—had been jettisoned. Meanwhile, the reputation that stood implicitly behind all financial transactions was represented in more precise terms as a reputation for solvency.[73]

The successive eighteenth-century editions of the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* delineate clearly the inversion of *crédit*'s semantic hierarchy. In its inaugural edition of 1704, the *Trévoux* followed Furetière in defining first the moral signification of *crédit*. Only after pointing to the word's associations with "reputation," "good faith," "merit," and the power that one accrues as a result of these qualities did the dictionary proceed to specify its commercial function.[74] This order was retained, with no changes in wording, in the editions of 1721 and 1732. In 1752, the editors responded belatedly to the evolution of the term by explicating new financial usages and by adding words that had derived from *crédit* (for example, *créditeur*). The long-term transformation of meaning is not fully registered, however, until the fifth edition of 1771.

In that work, the editors prefaced their definitions of the word by noting that "*crédit* signifies in general the ability to make use of the resources of others [*la puissance d'autrui*]." There immediately followed an explication of *crédit*'s multiple commercial functions. This sequencing of definitions is noteworthy in itself because it reversed the order observed since 1704. But the changing fortunes of the word

[72] See Bloch, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, and Jacques Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1723). The second edition of Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois* (1732) defined *créditeur* as follows: "Terme de négociants qui signifie un créancier, ou comme ils disent, celui qui doit avoir."

[73] "Crédit. Reputation où l'on est d'estre solvable et de bien payer, qui est cause qu'on trouve aisément à emprunter."

[74] *Dictionnaire universel françois et latin*, better known simply as the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (Paris, 1704). The definitions found here are in fact identical to those found in Furetière.

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crédit are revealed most clearly by the phrasing that characterized what was now obviously considered the secondary meaning of the term. "In a metaphorical sense, this word is used as a synonym for consideration, power . . . [It refers to] a personal relationship founded on knowledge of one's merit or on inclination, the effect of which is to enable one to draw upon the resources of a superior." Finally, "one uses it in a broader sense to signify consideration, reputation, and the authority that one acquires in public by one's virtue, probity, good faith, merit."

Although one hears echoes of earlier, more traditional, meanings in the 1771 entries, the editors' intent to represent *crédit* chiefly as a tool permitting access to resources is evident throughout their listing for the term. Even more striking is the relegation of the traditional moral connotation of *crédit* to the realm of the metaphorical. The "personal relationship" that had grounded the meaning of *crédit* in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries now elicited the individual's *crédit* only in a "metaphorical" or "broader" sense. The financial had apparently overtaken the moral connotations of the word so completely in everyday usage that distinctly economic relations had supplanted the personal as the normative model against which others were to be compared and measured. One need not look far to see this cultural change manifested in other events. When Louis XVI's chief minister and controller-general, Charles-Alexandre de Calonne, declared with unintended irony in 1787 that "the most perfect fidelity in meeting all obligations has given [the king's] *crédit* the kind of strength that arises only from well-merited confidence," he sought to reestablish royal credit not in the eyes of the king's willing and affectionate servitors but to an anonymous public demanding guarantees that the crown could pay its debts.[75]

The purpose of this excursion through the entries of contemporary dictionaries is simply to show that analysis of the "use" of a political vocabulary can never be detached from analysis of the premises and shared assumptions embedded in the meanings of the words "used." The semantic history of *crédit* suggests that the most important story concealed in the lexicon of early modern French politics is the long-term transformation of values that occurred between roughly 1500 and 1750. The evolution of the meaning of *crédit*—if corroborated and paralleled by other linguistic evidence—invites analysis of the process whereby an abstract or "material" frame of reference gradually supplanted the "personal/subjective" frame as the primary context for assessing social and political relationships in France.

[75] Calonne's address to the Assembly of Notables, February, 1787, M. J. Mavidal and M. E. Laurent, eds., *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860, première série (1787–1799)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1867), 189. Thomas Kaiser has helpfully reinterpreted the monarchy's fitful efforts, earlier in the century, to establish regular and reliable fiscal practices that would inspire public trust. John Law had sought to establish a new basis for royal *crédit* by amalgamating the king's personal funds with those of a public bank. But his constant manipulations of specie/livre ratios ultimately had an effect opposite from that intended by the backers of his system. See "Money, Despotism, and Public Opinion in Early Eighteenth-Century France: John Law and the Debate on Royal Credit," *Journal of Modern History* 63 (1991): 1–28. Calonne's remarks in 1787 reflected the monarchy's ever-growing sensitivity to the impersonal power of public opinion in financial matters, a sensitivity inculcated in part through the experience of the fiscal chaos of 1720. As Kaiser notes, "Law's experiments helped generate a wide, strong eighteenth-century consensus . . . in support of the Paris Parlement's notion that money derived its real exchange value from the intrinsic value of its metal as determined by market forces, not from the extrinsic value placed on it by the prince" (p. 24).

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If one revisits Arthur Herman's "language of fidelity" with this long-term process in mind, one is struck not so much by the "strategies" inherent in words as by the preponderance of linguistic evidence attesting to one widespread and sincerely held belief—that all relationships are personal. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, all who exercised power still took it for granted that relationships of one individual to another formed the basis of order in every community. Political agents recognized and "believed in" the imperative to form and maintain close personal relations with men or women who controlled and could offer valuable services and assets.[76] Their discourse often involved reciprocal pledges of love and devotion, but patrons and clients neither needed nor intended to express a taste for unconditional commitment or blind subservience. Instead, their language projected the individual's *capacity* for making personal sacrifices when appropriate, for behaving selflessly in demanding circumstances, and for demonstrating loyalty and gratitude in the service of another. These qualities made up the currency that facilitated personal exchanges of all kinds.

The force of the "personal" frame of reference in the definition of political relationships is present, not surprisingly, in the personal inflections that continued to mark the use of the word *crédit* in the seventeenth century. Like the bankers and financiers whose professional activities eventually transformed the word, patrons and clients accumulated, invested, and distributed resources through *crédit*. But patrons employed their credit, or drew on the credit of others, not merely to secure needed money or materials; they aimed also, and at the same time, to form or strengthen personal relations while demonstrating the value of their good will and partnership. Consider, for example, how one unexceptional noble put his credit to use after Louis XIII's death in 1643. Pierre de La Porte, an officer in Anne of Austria's entourage, casually mentioned in his memoirs that during the turbulent months that saw the intrigues of the "Importants" and the formation of the Regency council, Mazarin once asked La Porte to use his influence to persuade the queen mother to demand more respect from her domestic officers. In broaching this topic, wrote La Porte, Mazarin had merely wanted "to test whether I had enough *crédit* to be of service to him." La Porte neglected to report his response to Mazarin, but, to demonstrate for the reader the extent of his credit, he immediately went on to show the other effects of his standing and influence. "During that interval I was in a position to render service to my friends; I had M. de La Berchère recalled, as I had promised I would, I had Gaboury appointed to the post I had formerly occupied near the queen, I obtained for M. le comte de Montignac . . . the office of Capitaine Lieutenant des Gendarmes de Monsieur, and I had Mme. de la Moussardière appointed 'lady of the queen's bedchamber.'"[77] La Porte clearly assumed that his credit—that is, the honor and reputation he enjoyed in the eyes of the queen mother—also translated into the "resources, the authority, [and] the riches that one accrues as a result of" one's reputation (Furetière). He deployed that credit in the

[76] The biographer of the duc de Rohan noted typically in 1666 that "the great must learn, above all things . . . to win men." See *Histoire de Henry, duc de Rohan* (Paris, 1666), 27.

[77] Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires de M. de La Porte, premier valet de chambre de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1757), 221.

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form of personal services and favors and thereby indebted others. In return, he undoubtedly expected to receive expressions of loyalty and gratitude, tangible signs of the personal obligation his debtors now felt toward him.[78]

La Porte surely knew, however, that such investments of the self always carried risks. Louis de Pontis, for example, saw his belated promotion to a captaincy in the king's guards as a meager reward for the time, energy, and affection he had invested in the king's service. "It seems that after the long service I had tried to render the king, I might have hoped to receive the same recompense earlier . . . [Others] less faithful than I . . . were building considerable fortunes; and for me the inviolable attachment I had displayed all my life . . . toward the service of the king, quite far from procuring me any advantage, was on the contrary an obstacle."[79] The *maréchal* de Bassompierre, by contrast, found that the signs of personal attachment he had so often evinced through his generous services to the king were well reciprocated in the end. After Bassompierre's elevation to the dignity of *maréchal*, the court poet François de Malherbe noted in a congratulatory letter that "your actions made [the king] aware long ago that he owed you extraordinary rewards . . . The services, fraught with so many perils, that you rendered the king . . . [were such that] he had to acquit himself of this debt without further delay."[80]

These scattered clues to the meaning of political obligation in the early seventeenth century suggest a new approach to the interpretive problem addressed by Herman. The recollections of contemporary nobles especially show why it is misleading to assume that political agents "use" the vocabulary of their culture in the conscious pursuit of extra-linguistic objectives. La Porte, Pontis, and Bassompierre had their own interests, to be sure. And their repeated references to "debts," "fortunes," and "rewards" reveal that they pursued those interests consciously. But the meanings carried by these and related words show that the interests themselves were also entangled in the web of beliefs to which the language of fidelity gave expression. *Debts* were moral as much as they were monetary; *obligations* found expression through proofs of selflessness; *rewards* took the form of coin but also of honors, status, and other marks of respect; *credit* stood for all of the moral and financial resources one's reputation could command. All of the linguistic indices of "interest," in other words, marked the exchange and accumulation of what Karl Polanyi fittingly called "social assets"—the assets that enabled patrons and clients to prosper in the personalized political culture to which they were naturally and instinctively attached.[81]

[78] This deliberate juxtaposition of personal *crédit* with the distribution of tangible benefits to others also appears in an account of the relationship between another queen mother, Marie de Medicis, and Richelieu. Favreaux de Chizay, in seeking to expose the cardinal's own shameful "ingratitude" toward a patron, informed readers of his memoirs that "while Her Majesty enjoyed *crédit*" with the king between 1619 and 1629, Richelieu received from her liberal hand "three million *livres* in cash, in addition to a chapel worth one million *livres*, all the vacant benefices filled by nomination of Her Majesty, and almost all the others for his relatives and friends." Favreaux de Chizay, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1914), 128. Marie's liberality toward Richelieu is analyzed in detail in Joseph Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu: Power and the Pursuit of Wealth* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 73–77.

[79] Louis de Pontis, *Mémoires*, in M. Petitot, ed., *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1824), ser. 2, vol. 32, p. 13.

[80] François de Malherbe, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1862–69), 4: 86.

[81] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York, 1944), 46. Polanyi believed that in "primitive" societies, including that of Europe before the emergence of the free market in the nineteenth century,

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To resolve the dilemma posed by the seventeenth-century language of fidelity—what Herman calls the disparity between "artificial rhetoric" and "actual political behavior"—one must therefore resist the temptation to assume that personal intentions are hidden behind language and can be conveniently deduced from "interests."[82] The pursuit of interest is not a surreptitious deviation from the ethical standards of a culture; it is an implicit and universal activity subsumed and legitimized by culture. Elites, who are acculturated to believe that their superior social position is both natural and well deserved, inevitably see the defense of their own interests as moral, explicable, and compatible with the social good. Nor can discrepancies between word and deed in the seventeenth century be attributed to the structural characteristics of the existing political language. Patrons and clients did not obey the logic of a discourse or comply with the rules of a familiar language game simply to satisfy semiotic requirements. For the reasons just discussed, their own motivations neither pushed nor enabled them to step outside the language and manipulate it in so self-conscious a way.

The frequent breakdown of relationships formed on such effusive and ritualized promises of mutual commitment can actually be explained in two ways. The simplest way to account for a sudden betrayal, the evasion of an obligation, or the rescission of a pledge of loyalty is to recall that the sense of morality ingrained in the community of honor was based on the essential premise of self-respect. Insults or imagined slights, insufficient marks of appreciation, inattentiveness that could be construed as disrespect: in the mind of the individual patron or client, these offenses made it permissible, justifiable, and sensible to sever or manipulate relationships that might eventually have become emotionally compelling and permanent.[83] Herman's argument that contemporaries "invoked" the language of fidelity to place themselves "in a realm of legitimate and justifiable intentions" and to locate their relationships "in a moral universe" is therefore misleading.[84] Patrons

"man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interests in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets." Polanyi has been criticized for constructing a rigid dichotomy between his two social/economic models, but the contrast he invoked is undoubtedly useful. The gradual subordination of the moral and social inflections of the French word *crédit* indeed suggests a long-term process of "disembedding." For appreciative discussions of Polanyi's contributions to the social sciences, see S. C. Humphreys, "History, Economics, Anthropology: The Work of Karl Polanyi," *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 166–212; see also Fred Block and Margaret Somers, "Beyond the Economistic Fallacy: The Holistic Social Science of Karl Polanyi," in Theda Skocpol, ed., *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1984), 47–84. For more critical discussions, see Michael Hechter, "Karl Polanyi's Social Theory: A Critique," *Politics and Society* 10 (1981): 399–430; and John Lie, "Embedding Polanyi's Market Society," *Sociological Perspectives* 34 (1991): 219–35.

[82] This assumption, present only implicitly in Herman's analysis, is expressed much more explicitly in Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," 131–51. There the language of gift-giving and courtesy is described variously as a "disguise," a "euphemism," a "polite fiction," "hyperbole," and a set of "code words" (131, 132, 142, 143). The words disguised what was really going on: "The euphemism of gift-giving made a patron's bestowal of benefits seem voluntary and disinterested, but in reality it was obligatory and self-interested" (132). The personal bond ostensibly formed by a gift exchange "masked its reality" (151).

[83] The nobility's innate sense of both honor and personal autonomy, and the hypersensitivity to which these convictions gave rise, are demonstrated clearly by Neuschel, *Word of Honor*, chap. 3.

[84] Herman, "Language of Fidelity," 14, 21.

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and clients actually *resided* in the moral universe that Herman believes they used for cover. They could certainly choose among several rhetorical strategies when explaining their actions to others, but the act of "representation" does not belie the fact that patrons and clients, before uttering a word, had already conceived and carried out their actions in the value-laden terms that expressed the fundamental beliefs of the culture.

The appearance of new words and phrases in the political terminology of the seventeenth century is a sure indication, however, of shifting cultural ground. For many political actors, the experience of the Wars of Religion and their aftermath—an experience that included mass murder, regicide, wanton cruelty, and the desecration of holy places—called for more than a vigorous affirmation of traditional assumptions. To push back the threat of anarchy, and to reestablish a basis for mutually convenient political order, they elaborated a set of values that paralleled but ultimately superseded those of the "personal" political culture to which they belonged. The crises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries initiated a powerful and collective, though only partly intelligible, desire to reformulate and revise the beliefs that structured the "personal" frame of reference in political affairs. The new perspective substituted an ostensibly more "objective" lens for the "subjective" lens that had always been used to assess political relationships. Through this lens, relationships that had been transitory and negotiable were to be regarded as abstract and permanent, with the monarchy serving as a fixed point at the center of the political matrix. The exchange of goods and services that underlay and signified political obligation would be routinized and rendered predictable. The value of the assets exchanged in political life would be determined less by the status and character of the person who bore them and more by the ease with which they could be transferred and exchanged for other useful assets. The frequent and increasingly self-conscious use of terms that extended the horizons of political agents and forced abstract conceptualization—*raison d'état*, *considérations d'état*—gave expression to an emergent and alternative set of political assumptions in the seventeenth century. The subtly depersonalizing frame of reference formed by those assumptions defined political allegiances and civic relations from a point deliberately placed outside the normative context of personal relations.

New lexical combinations marked the French political vocabulary at the close of the religious wars. But, in the seventeenth century, the long and ambivalent migration away from "personal" points of reference is equally evident in the semantic negotiations that weighed on the most familiar terms. The search for political stability increasingly pushed the language of obligation and exchange toward a different register of meaning, one that filtered out signifiers of personal dignity and moral worth and fixed on the more readily measurable signs of value. Richelieu himself, for example, supplied indirect but unmistakable evidence of the shifting meanings of debt and obligation in his *Political Testament*. Composed in the 1630s, it laments a time when "the treasury of the heart [*le trésor des coeurs*] was the only one kept in the realm." Richelieu remarked nostalgically that "the treasury of hearts would not alone suffice now," when kings had to rely on a treasury of "gold

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and silver" to meet their varied expenses.[85] The apparently growing problem of insincerity in patron-client relations is also explained, then, by the rising ambiguity that destabilized the terms comprising the language of fidelity. In the wider conceptual context in which political relationships were formed, the meaning of personal commitments, exchanges, and promises inevitably grew confused and left more room for individual interpretation. The moral significance attached to personal fidelities, though still superficially attested by the conventional language of political conversation, was actually disputed by the ambiguous value system underlying that language.

Pierre Le Moyne provided a commentary on this growing lexical ambiguity in 1665, as he sought to bring back into focus the value of obligations formed through generous investments of the self. In his *De l'art de régner*, a treatise written both to instruct and to celebrate the young king Louis XIV, he underscored for the monarch the continued importance of personal bonds. His chapter devoted to the proposition "That Service and Merit must have first claim to the bounty of the Prince" tellingly evoked the traditional significations of *crédit*. In dispensing *graces*, asserted Le Moyne, the prince "must begin with his obligations, which top the list headed gifts [*bienfaits*] just as they top the list headed debts [*dettes*]."

> On this list [of obligations, the prince] will find his faithful servitors, more remarkable for the fidelity of their services than for the revenue they provide: old officers and captains who have accumulated little more than white hair and infirmities acquired while carrying arms; *gentilshommes* who can count the rivers of blood they have lost [in battle] but who count not so much as an *écu* received as gratification. The equitable prince will be liberal toward these men: he will consider them his creditors [*créanciers*] and he will regard any *graces* he bestows upon them as payment for debt.[86]

Just as the royal treasury had always contained hearts in addition to gold, so the king must recall his obligation to repay personal sacrifices born of the fidelity and generosity of his *gentilshommes*. In his sensitive exploration of this issue, however, Le Moyne apparently mistook the symptom for the cause of the problem he identified. Fidelity and generosity sometimes went unrewarded in the evolving world of monarchical absolutism, but this apparent injustice did not result from lack of will or neglect of responsibility; instead, it reflected changing beliefs about the very nature of service and recompense in political life. Fidelity, generosity, and the other qualities that underlay personal obligations declined in value as a new, more impersonal frame of reference gradually supplanted the personal frame in monarchical assessments of service rendered. The direction of change around the turn of the seventeenth century is perhaps shown best by the significations ascribed to another word important to Le Moyne's perspective and central to the traditional language of fidelity: merit.

In the early seventeenth century, the French nobility still found it possible to believe that merit could be properly validated only through personal relations.[87]

[85] Armand Jean du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu, *Testament politique*, Louis André, ed. (Paris, 1947), 450.

[86] Pierre Le Moyne, *De l'art de régner* (Paris, 1665), 499.

[87] The following discussion of merit in the early seventeenth century is kept brief because it draws on ideas already developed elsewhere. See Smith, *Culture of Merit*, 20–56.

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The essence of merit lay in the performance of generous actions that attested one's magnanimous inclinations and the possession of other vital qualities: courage, fidelity, selflessness. The meaning of merit paralleled so closely the contemporary assumptions about the personal nature of political relations that nobles who served the king sought to display merit in the presence of the monarch whenever possible. Le Moyne, whose chapter on the dispensation of royal bounty associated merit with fidelity, self-sacrifice, and the "rivers of blood" spilled by soldiers, showed the enduring force of this perspective in the second half of the century.

By the early eighteenth century, observers of monarchical politics were ready to articulate a different vision of merit and to propose new methods for detecting and judging it. A work by the abbé de Saint-Pierre is especially useful because it throws light both on the semantic evolution of the concept of merit and on the transformation of values that lay behind that evolution. Owner of a minor court office in the 1690s, the abbé had observed firsthand the operation of royal government in the last years of Louis XIV's reign. In his *Nouveau plan de gouvernement des états souverains* (1738), where he elaborated ideas first introduced in the *Discours sur la polysynodie* (1719), Saint-Pierre pointed out that, although subordinates of the king now did most of the work involved in the governing of the state, the monarchy made little effort to form and educate future *hommes politiques*. The "science" of government would progress rapidly, he predicted, once kings devised a "sure method" of correlating service and recompense, of ensuring that advancement in the king's service always came in recognition of true merit.[88] Saint-Pierre acknowledged that "there are several kinds of merit among men," and to clarify his own meaning he added a qualifier to the term, thereby creating a new locution: *mérite national*.[89] As the words clearly suggest, Saint-Pierre sought definitively to remove the concept of merit from the context of personal relations and to connect its meaning to an awareness of a more abstract public interest. "I call national merit that which serves directly the interest of the king and of the nation; great zeal for the public utility, and the talents necessary to promote it."[90]

As if to underscore the cultural reordering implicit in his new definition of merit, Saint-Pierre emphasized repeatedly that the king himself must refrain from judging and rewarding the merit of his servants. The new plan required the king's passivity for two reasons. First, kings had to ensure that their own "whims," "inclinations," and "passions" had no influence on the distribution of rewards. Restating a theme found also in Richelieu's *Political Testament*, Saint-Pierre declared that "public offices," "public pensions," and other forms of "state recompense" must be granted strictly in accord with "justice."[91] Second, the insertion of the king's own subjectivity into the process of identifying and measuring merit invariably left some individuals dissatisfied, disgruntled, and offended. Saint-Pierre expressed confidence that his

[88] Abbé de Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan de gouvernement des états souverains* (Rotterdam, 1738), 1–3.

[89] Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan*, 143. The recognition of "several kinds" of merit appears in Saint-Pierre's discussion of military officers.

[90] Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan*, 31. Saint-Pierre's original and rather awkward prose: "J'appelle mérite national, celui qui regarde particulièrement l'intérêt du Roi et de la Nation; un grand zèle pour la plus grande utilité publique, et de grand talens pour y réussir."

[91] Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan*, 308. For Richelieu's similar views, see *Testament politique*, 330–33, 357–64.

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new plan would prove more economical and more satisfying to all concerned. The king would find himself "loved and adored by everyone," wrote the abbé, as long as he abstained from "judging anything for himself."[92]

Saint-Pierre's proposed mechanism of promotion represents a striking early example of that putatively objective and supra-personal space that political observers sought in an autonomous "public sphere" in the second half of the eighteenth century.[93] Each of three royal ministers (of finance, internal affairs, and foreign affairs) would now be placed in charge of a bureau responsible for "establishing in each of the state's separate orders different classes of state officers." To ensure the smooth operation of the system, each class of officers—financial, military, and so on—would be divided into "companies of thirty equals [*pareils*]," that is, companies of men of comparable ability and equal rank. Agents of the ministerial bureaus, called *commissaires*, would maintain regular contact with each company and frequently ask the men to give their opinions of the others. (The thirty "electors" would first have to swear to the *commissaires* that favoritism had not corrupted their opinions in any way.) Only after surveying opinion in this fashion would the *commissaires* designate the company's three leading candidates for promotion to higher grades. The company itself then would gather to rank the three whose names were sent to the king for his consideration.[94]

After providing examples based on the model of the military class, Saint-Pierre explained the chief advantages of the new system: "[The men] will compare each other's merits even more frequently when they realize that they shall be asked [to name] the three among them whom they rate as the best officers . . . They will study each other with greater care, and will measure with greater equity and attention the talents of mind and the qualities of soul [found] in the worthiest men of their company." The method of peer review benefited the king's servants because it guaranteed detection of their *mérite national*. But according to Saint-Pierre, the king himself would reap the greatest advantages from this innovation. "If the king chooses the one . . . with the most votes, and appoints him to the vacant place in the superior class, he can be sure of having used the best method . . . of promoting the one among the thirty considered as having the most talents useful to the state."[95] The exchange of service and recompense, no longer complicated by subjective and personal negotiations over the weight and meaning of an individual's merit, would now redound to the benefit of the polity.

The *Nouveau plan* does not represent a "strategic" deployment of words or concepts expected to induce desirable semiotic results. Nor do Saint-Pierre's words gain their meaning from the "play of discursivity" marking the immediate political context.[96] For the historian of political culture, Saint-Pierre's intervention derives its meaning from the long-term negotiation of values which it reflected and to which

[92] Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan*, 318.

[93] Works tracing various aspects of the development of the public sphere in eighteenth-century France are now too numerous to list. The foundational text, however, is Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

[94] Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan*, 155–56.

[95] Saint-Pierre, *Nouveau plan*, 144–45.

[96] Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 7.

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it contributed. Elaborating one aspect of a process that could be traced back a century or more, Saint-Pierre removed the king's authority to determine merit and invested it in a collective entity charged with developing and promoting specific skills. Ensuring an anonymous and efficient exercise of judgment, he sought to eliminate all subjective traces from relationships now understood to be preeminently professional. He unequivocally articulated, with a degree of self-consciousness unimaginable in 1630, an impersonal frame of reference that he believed should be used in the definition and evaluation of service relations. The "language of fidelity," because it no longer corresponded to common assumptions and desires concerning the basic composition of political life, had clearly lost its relevance and its efficacy as a political language. Saint-Pierre, working with and against that traditional frame of reference, proposed for his readers new linguistic possibilities. In so doing, he gave expression to an underlying cluster of beliefs that would dominate the eighteenth century and eventually force unanticipated institutional adjustments.

THE LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO POLITICAL CULTURE has incorporated a two-dimensional model of human agency, a model that is unable to account adequately for linguistic innovation or cultural change. Recent work has been guided by the assumption that political action is grounded in codes, discourses, games, representations, or other linguistic constructions outside of which no meaningful words or deeds can be conceived and performed. From this perspective, meanings are not rooted in ideas or definable mentalities; they are encoded by a web of semiotic relationships in which the words of interlocutors are always already implicated. These assumptions force the historian to explain the motivations of political agents in one of two ways. Either the individual agent is motivated to use language by a desire to execute the semiotic logic that envelops him/her or by a form of experience that lies beyond the semiotic circle, has no historically specific meaning, and therefore requires no analysis (such as the quest for power, the protection of interest, the pursuit of gain, want, and desire). The latter form of explanation—more readily associated with historical studies focused on class conflict—has proved attractive to some students of language because it allows one to see the use, manipulation, and transformation of discourses as a function of "strategic" purposes articulated somewhere outside the available linguistic codes. Unfortunately, because it fails to situate motivations within an evolving political language, this perspective cannot yield a historically satisfying account of a changing political culture.

To exploit the full analytical value of words, historians of political language need to adhere even more strictly to the principle that all experience is cultural. It must be taken for granted that none of the thoughts, experiences, or desires that inspire political action is formed in a cultural vacuum. The constraining effects of language must extend even to the conceptualization and articulation of the goals pursued through and by language. This means, of course, that the evolution or mutation of discourses cannot be attributed to the force of new motivations detached from those discourses—such as self-interests, competition, or a will to power.

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How and why, then, do political agents effect discursive changes while acting and thinking always within established linguistic boundaries? For students of political change, this is the question that defines the purpose of cultural analysis. To answer it, I argue, the historian must seek to uncover and explore the realm of experience where language and material existence inevitably converge: the realm of beliefs. Language expresses meanings that are determined not only by semiotic context but also by the collective and value-laden assumptions of the people who constitute society. Although these beliefs and values are themselves expressed through established linguistic conventions, they are not fully determined by them. Alterations to the physical environment, the depletion or amelioration of resources, the occurrence of inexplicable phenomena, dysfunctional processes of distribution and exchange: these and other changes to the social material interpreted through the human intellect may eventually modify beliefs about the organizing principles of the polity. The scale of values according to which power is distributed, justice is defined, resources are created and allocated, hierarchy is maintained, and order is preserved may then undergo revision. These modifications of belief will inevitably be thought out, resisted, compromised, and implemented through the terms of the existing language, as agents justify and explain to themselves and others what they seek to do. But by pushing semantic weight from one register of meaning to another, by juxtaposing, merging, or rearranging families of political terms, and by laying greater emphasis on under-used words, connotations, and phrases, they will gradually transform their political language. They will create a new discourse that corresponds more closely to the beliefs they hold about their changing material world.

Beliefs are not fixed entities, and they never unite all the members of a community. Close contextual analysis of the meanings of key words in the political vocabulary nevertheless discloses what can fairly be called the dominant perspective in a given political culture. I have suggested in this article that the semantic history of *crédit* delineates for historians of early modern France a transformation of the dominant perspective that shaped political life between the Wars of Religion and the revolution. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a "personal" frame of reference was used to assess the meaning and value of all the goods and services exchanged in the political arena. By the first decades of the eighteenth century, an impersonal frame of reference had been crafted to take the place of the older personal lens. Analysis of the meanings of words in early modern political discourse can help to reveal how contemporaries interpreted and experienced—and what they believed about—this slow attenuation of personal bonds in political and social life.

Several years before the French Revolution, the courtier and ministerial adviser Joseph Alphonse de Véri made passing reference to what he perceived as the recent depersonalization of the discourse of royal service. "Today," he observed, "hardly anyone would dare to say in Parisian circles 'I serve the king.' That would go over only among the *grands valets* at Versailles. 'I serve the state,' 'I have served the state,' those are the often-used expressions." Véri suspected and feared that the choice of terms was part of a growing "distaste" for service in the king's armies. "The difference in expressions," he remarked anxiously, "surely denotes a differ-

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ence in sentiments."[97] Words can indeed provide historians access to the shifting sentiments that underlay the evolving political culture of early modern France. To make those sentiments central to our analysis, however, we need to keep in mind that the use of language always represents much more than a game.

[97] Joseph Alphonse de Véri, *Journal de l'abbé de Véri*, Jehan de Witte, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1928–30), 2: 195. The excerpt comes from Veri's observations on the year 1779.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

ROXANN PRAZNIAK. *Dialogues across Civilizations: Sketches in World History from the Chinese and European Experiences*. (Essays in World History.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xii, 212. Cloth $59.00, paper $14.95.

JACK GOODY. *The East in the West*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 295. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

Everyone interested in the subdiscipline of world history should read these two books, though they may be moved to disagreement and even dismay. In one respect, they contrast. Roxann Prazniak is a comparative newcomer. She is a Jane Austen: elegant, percipient, a purveyor of vignettes in universal microhistory in the line of Theodore Zeldin. Jack Goody is a master of those who know, who has taught a generation most of what they understand about literacy, orality, and the interface thereof. He is an exponent of what Sir Walter Scott called the big bow-wow: macrohistory, in this case the debate about the uniqueness of the West. Goody is a philosopher. Prazniak is an artist. Both are beguiling authors.

There is more theory in Prazniak than appears on the surface. Her series of juxtapositions, from Kungzi and Socrates to Monet and Qi Baishi, is more than a catalogue of similarities and dissimilarities. It aims to find a higher viewpoint from which both sides will look different. It is assumed, what relativists deny, that such dialogue, as Prazniak calls it, is possible: that universes of discourse, divided by time and space, are not island galaxies between which communication cannot take place. Prazniak reaffirms the Hellenistic discovery of translation. Such is the program. Is it matched by the performance? Some of the dialogues are more successful than others: Ban Zhao and Christine de Pisan, the two landscapists, and Otto von Bismarck and Sun Yat-sen, unpromising at first sight but raised to a new, post-nationalist intelligibility. On the other hand, Socrates cannot be defined as the author of the *Phaedo* and the *Republic*, there is more to Aquinas than accommodation to Aristotle, and Taiping ideology is underrated and its sociology misconceived. Nevertheless, even in these chapters, Prazniak has interesting things to say, and overall her enterprise must be pronounced a success.

Goody's book is essentially skeptical. He doubts the extent of the uniqueness of the West. He sees it as conjunctural rather than structural: a preeminence produced by an almost fortuitous constellation of information and technologies in the fifteenth century. He is even more skeptical of the supposed explanations of this uniqueness, whether in formal logic, double entry bookkeeping, business acumen, or nuclear families. These were either equally present in the East or of marginal significance in development. Impressed by current economic developments in coastal Asia, he is doubtful of Western uniqueness as permanent or irreversible. Rather, there have been alternations of preeminence within a common Eurasian substratum founded in the Bronze Age. An advance here generated potentially fruitful backwardness there, later activated by constellations of information, such as that of the fifteenth century then and perhaps the Pacific rim now. Although skepticism is an easy philosophy and no doubt counter-attacks will be launched at Goody's assaults, most of his arguments are highly convincing, especially those against Max Weber. If criticism is due, it might be that at one point skepticism could be pressed further. Though Goody warns against binary thinking, he perhaps accepts too easily the ancient dichotomy of Europe and Asia. A more real dichotomy, if one is to go back to the Bronze Age, and indeed even earlier to the constitution of our present language families and population proportions, is that between a multiple Western Eurasia and a single East Asia. Such a perspective, where Europe and India are consanguines while China is an affinal, might provide a better backdrop for the contingencies and alternations so well analyzed by Goody. There are really two kinds of alternation to be considered: those within Western Eurasia (as extended to parts of Africa and the Americas) and those between Western Eurasia and East Asia. It should be the uniqueness of Western Eurasia that is in question.

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ROGER BOESCHE. *Theories of Tyranny from Plato to Arendt*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 494. Cloth $65.00, paper $25.00.

In this broad-ranging work, Roger Boesche promises us "neither the history of an idea nor conceptual history," but rather "the story of a perennial problem in our history," tyranny (p. 18). He presents the analyses of this problem developed by a number of significant figures in the history of European political thought: Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, Niccolò Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Max Weber, Erich Fromm, Franz Neumann, and Hannah Arendt. Boesche goes to some lengths to justify his inclusion of Fromm and Neumann because of their insights into Nazi tyranny. Both have too often been ignored in recent years and amply deserve the attention.

The strength of Boesche's book is in the lucid outlines of each writer's political theory. His exposition is always clear and concise, although necessarily making no claims to originality in analyzing such a broad spectrum of thinkers. Nevertheless, his comparative format does lead him to original insights. For example, he sees the postmodern aspect of much of Tocqueville's thinking by comparing him not merely to Weber but to Michel Foucault (p. 236). He also notes the many ways in which Freud, *pace* Carl E. Schorske (*Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* [1980]), remained a liberal (pp. 288–89). These various expositions serve as the context for discussing individual treatments of the problem of tyranny, which Boesche does with equal clarity.

The potential weakness of the book lies in the question of whether tyranny is in fact a "perennial problem," a political situation that recurs over two millennia in European political life. To his credit, Boesche addresses this question directly: "the first and most obvious question to ask is, What is a tyranny? This straightforward question is exasperatingly difficult to answer" (p. 455). Boesche recognizes the modern historicist tendency to "emphasize discontinuity and novelty" but argues instead for "considerable continuity amidst obvious historical change" (p. 456). He goes on to note that the definition of tyranny is remarkably similar from Plato through Machiavelli but that, from the time of Montesquieu, the word "tyranny" began to disappear in favor of "despotism"; thereafter, both vocabulary and definition become increasingly varied. Weber's rationalist bureaucracy and Tocqueville's tyranny of the majority seem far removed from the fears of Tacitus and Plato.

Boesche's chief evidence in favor of continuity is that "Tyrannies have in fact oppressed men and women in strikingly similar ways in any century one chooses to examine" (p. 456). Although government-sponsored murder and torture are recurring features of human political life, this does not seem enough to substantiate his claim. The tyrannies Tocqueville and Weber feared and analyzed could exist without murder and torture. If the depoliticization of the governed is the hallmark of tyranny, as Boesche also suggests (pp. 462–63), then we must contend with the problem that most political systems have depolitieized slaves, serfs, and women. Perhaps they were all tyrannies, but Plato and Aristotle certainly would not have recognized them as such.

Nevertheless, this book can be useful to historians and their students if read against the grain. If we consider the problem of tyranny not as a case of continuity but rather as an example of change, as the clarity of Boesche's exposition allows us to do, this work can serve as a useful demonstration of the shifting concerns of European political thought across time, a change made perceptible through the superficially common problem of tyranny. Boesche is particularly good at pointing out issues thinkers differ over. Rather than letting issues raised by one author slip under the rug and slide out of the reader's view, he repeatedly confronts Tocqueville with Tacitus, Weber with Aristotle. Every biographical section ends with a series of such confrontations. Boesche consistently constructs these encounters in a provocative and interesting fashion; in so doing, he has created a provocative and interesting book.

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M. L. BUSH, editor. *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage*. New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. vi, 358.

This book is a collection of seventeen scholarly essays on the topic of human servitude over a span of almost three millennia, from the beginning of slavery in Homeric Greece *ca.* 700 B.C. to contemporary survivals of slavery and peonage in the twentieth century. They include discussions of slavery and/or serfdom in ancient Rome, Carthage, Byzantium, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Islamic world, India, and medieval and modern Europe, and of the late florescence of slavery in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States. The result of a conference held at the University of Manchester in 1994, the volume brings together the expertise of eight British and seven U.S. historians, with Boris N. Mironov contributing an informative study on the end of serfdom in Russia.

As M. L. Bush, the editor, observes in his introduction, both serfdom and slavery were forms of coerced wageless labor, and yet they were different in fundamental ways. Slaves, for example, were accountable to their masters alone, whereas serfs were responsible not only to their lords, but also to the state in the form of taxes and military service. Broadly speaking, slaves were legally "things," whereas serfs were "persons." In many societies, slaves were also aliens, that is, racially and ethnically different from their masters, a condition reinforced by a persistent excess of deaths over births requiring constant replenishment from abroad. Serfs, on the other hand, were "home-grown," self-reproducing, and racially and ethnically homogeneous members

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of their societies. They often owned land and other property and could assume greater independence and control over their own labor. In contrast, slaves, with few belongings, had little access to land other than small plots granted by their masters to produce their own food, a practice perhaps benefiting masters more than slaves.

It is hardly possible in a short review to discuss all these contributions separately, but brief comments on some of the authors' aims and conclusions will suggest the nature of the book. Essays by Bush, Wendy Davies, Robert Brenner, Christopher Dyer, and William Hagen deal specifically with serfdom in medieval Europe (including England, Brandenburg-Prussia, Poland, and Russia), and, although diverse, they seem to confirm the editor's generalities on the nature of serfdom. In a comparison of slavery and serfdom, Stanley Engerman also indicates that serfs had important advantages over slaves. The legality of marriage among serfs and the comparative viability of serf families (compared to the frequent separations of slave families) are obvious examples.

William D. Phillips calls attention to the continuity between Roman slavery and the peonage and slavery of medieval Europe, demonstrating how the latter served as a prelude to slavery in the Americas. An important precondition of slavery in the Americas, he writes, was Europe's access to Roman law, which was easily applied to New World plantation economies once they were established. A significant difference between Roman slavery and the slave systems of the Americas, Phillips argues, was that Roman slaves were largely involved in producing grains for feeding Rome's population. In the Americas, captives more often produced export commodities such as coffee, tobacco, and sugar, one of many causes of the demographic deficits common to Brazil, Cuba, and other Caribbean colonies.

Robin Blackburn brilliantly analyzes many aspects of slavery, one of which was the harsh practice of denying or restricting natural reproduction among slaves as a way to increase their productivity. Referring to the work of Claude Meillassoux, Blackburn reveals that reducing childbirth was accomplished in several ways: by acquiring mainly male slaves, by segregating slaves by gender, and by overworking them to the point that child-bearing was all but impossible. Such practices have been documented for Greece, Rome, Sicily, Italy, Brazil, and Caribbean colonies.

Peter Kolchin compares the causes, implementation, and consequences of emancipation in Russia and the U. S. South. He observes that in both countries abolition came from above: in the United States abruptly, violently, and without compensation to masters; in Russia peacefully and by means of a gradual process that included compensation. Despite these differences, however, the effects of abolition in the two countries were much alike. For the newly freed, slavery and serfdom were ultimately replaced by dependence, poverty, and oppression, and yet the ending of legal servitude brought substantial changes to both societies. David Turley also analyzes modern slave emancipations, notably the campaigns against the institution in the British West Indies, the United States, Cuba, Brazil, India, and Africa, with some emphasis on the various ways that slaves contributed to their own liberation. He concludes correctly that the consequences of slave emancipations differed, "though few of them fulfilled the best hopes of those who advocated or experienced them" (p. 181).

This is an important book, revealing as it does the tenacity and universality of human servitude, from a slave regime in ancient Greece that, according to Tracey Rihill, was widespread and penetrated every sector of society, until 1965, when, in the words of Howard Temperley, the African state of Chad "not only confessed to having slavery but declined to do anything about it, on the grounds that it was traditional in that part of Africa" (p. 146). In a similar vein, Turley ends his essay with the somber acknowledgment that, although chattel slavery is much reduced in the contemporary consciousness, millions of people in various parts of the world still suffer debt peonage and other types of forced labor. Slavery in human history, states Blackburn, has been pervasive but also marginal because of the difficulties associated with it and the existence of safer and more profitable ways to acquire labor. We might conclude that slavery's persistence under such circumstances tells us much about the fallacies, predilections, and baseness of a large part of the human family.

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A. C. CROMBIE. *Science, Art and Nature in Medieval and Modern Thought*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 516. $65.00.

A. C. Crombie's death in 1996 marked the passing of an era in the history of medieval and early modern science. The core of Crombie's work centered on the period 1200–1700, with contributions to natural philosophy, methodology, and optics as well as music, linear perspective, and art. This collection of essays spans thirty years of his scholarly life, covering these topics and more.

One of the keys to Crombie's interests is the little-known fact that his publishing career began with eleven scientific papers (not included here) in ecology, evolutionary biology, and insect physiology whose titles shed a revealing light on Crombie's emphases in his later work in the history of science. Notable among the latter are his famous monograph, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science, 1100–1700* (1953), which traced the experimental method back to the thirteenth century, and his work on Galileo and his background (represented here by six papers). The emphasis on sense perception in Crombie's early scientific papers also reverberates in his later work,

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hinting but faintly, however, at his wide-ranging interests. Finally, his early scientific work helps one to understand Crombie's essays on "The Public and Private Faces of Charles Darwin" and (in French) Maupertuis, "précurseur du transformisme." Rounding out the surprises in this collection are a paper on the history of disease contributed to a conference on AIDS, and several book reviews.

Crombie first discovered the history of science through studies in philosophy and the philosophy of science at Cambridge (under R. C. Collingwood and C. D. Broad), which will surprise no one familiar with his interest in method, experimentation, and mathematics and his concern with the roles of concepts and argumentation in scientific thought.

Two traits help this volume to live up to its self-description as a "coherent set of studies." Like the shingles of a tight roof, each essay overlaps several others. Even when approached with precipitation, the table of contents evinces a nearly seamless flow from beginning to end. More fundamentally, however, the coherence of the volume comes from Crombie's insistence on seeing the history of Western science as "the history of a vision and an argument initiated by the ancient Greeks in their search for principles at once of nature and of argument itself" (p. xi). Although Crombie does not hesitate to speak of the "essence of the Western scientific tradition" (p. 9), his outlook is not monolithic. This vision and this argument are expressed in a variety of styles, which account for sometimes striking differences in approach to the natural world, the study of it, and the arguments about it. Crombie's outlook, which is suffused by a sense of both the importance and the goodness of the Western scientific tradition in world history, has left its mark on almost every essay in the volume.

The problem of greatest concern to Crombie was that of scientific change and continuity between 1200 and 1700. As the essays in this collection show, Crombie's position was a complex one; he at once recognized the great originality of seventeenth-century science and claimed forcefully that it was not completely unprecedented. Crombie's later work pointed to the Renaissance concept of *virtù*, which "embodied a program for relating man to the world as perceiver and knower and agent in the context of his integral moral, social and cosmological existence" (p. 90), as the hinge between the medieval and early modern worlds.

Most of this work first appeared elsewhere: the chapters are photo-offsets of the originals, interspersed by telling or sharp epigraphs and supplemented by updated bibliographical references. Among the material presented for the first time are Crombie's final contribution to the long dispute about priority, citation practices, and Galileo scholarship that put him at odds with William A. Wallace and also four essays, originally published in French or Italian and now translated into English.

In addition to its adventitious status as a memorial to the author, this sampling of Crombie's work demonstrates how much scholars stand to gain in historical and historiographical understanding by roaming beyond the reified periodizations of their discipline.

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JO ANN KAY MCNAMARA. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 751. $35.00.

In this ambitious history of women religious (contrary to the subtitle, this is not a history of nuns but of all women religious, of which nuns compose the largest group) written for the educated public, Jo Ann Kay McNamara starts in apostolic times and slowly works her way up to the 1990s. She proceeds anecdotally, narrating the history through various models and illustrating her argument with historical examples. The chapters progress chronologically, but within each chapter the material is organized thematically. Little-known facts from often-ignored sources are brought to light, especially in chapters dealing with the early Middle Ages, where McNamara is at her strongest. The book is sparsely documented with an adequate bibliography and index. Its physical appearance is impressive, and it is remarkably free of editorial and typographical errors.

McNamara is not shy about her bias. She readily admits that the titular metaphor is not historical but constructed to articulate her interpretation of women religious' history as that of a continual, bitter conflict with males for survival. McNamara is not alone in this interpretation, for it dominates current historiography, but it is a thesis that could benefit from renewed debate. I do not believe that the history of women religious is one of antagonism and struggle with the hierarchy. To the contray, the sources tell a different story: women religious have continously occupied positions of respect, power, and influence, and the church has steadfastly supported an alternative life for women that for centuries provided them with the means to rise above the confines of their societies. Yes, there were periods when misplaced social values contaminated religious life, but if the sources are allowed to speak for themselves rather than forced into an ahistorical metaphor, we see that these are exceptions, not the rule. McNamara disagrees; she believes conflict is the norm and that all strife is rooted in misogyny. Poorly trained confessors, immoral clergy, and limits on the reception of the eucharist are problems peculiar only to nuns; responsible hierarchical questions about mysticism are persecutions of women; Protestantism attacks prayer and sacrifice because women practice both; and when clergy celebrate three masses daily, McNamara is sure it increases disdain for women, who could not even say one. She lumps together violence against nuns in 1820s Latin America and 1930s Spain and says that both happened because "men who were once [nuns'] pupils apparently need to exorcise the

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fantasies of childhood through the eviction, humiliation, rape, or murder of nuns" (pp. 570–71). Specific cultural contexts, colonialism, and fascism are not considered.

Because of my fundamental disagreement with McNamara's thesis, aspects of the book that others may see as strengths I see as weaknesses. Her use of conflictual models, particularly syneisactism, is an example. She offers a broad definition of syneisactism as "women and men living together chastely" (p. 12) and then proceeds to contradict her own definition by identifying all sorts of situations—spiritual friendships, apostolic life, faith communities, spiritual direction, mendicant orders, double monasteries—as syneisactic, when they quite obviously are not. As it was practiced (cohabitation to test one's chastity) syneisactism was rightfully curtailed by the church. McNamara uses this disapproval and her misidentification of non-syneisactic relationships as syneisactic to argue that there was blanket hatred for syneisactic groups because they constituted a female invasion of male space.

McNamara's employment of such models also means that instead of the women themselves dominating the pages of her history, the conflict does. Many accomplished women are reduced to secondary roles, present in McNamara's book primarily to illustrate her thesis. This is evident in discussions of the modern era, the weakest part of the book. McNamara promises to write about modern nuns' "spectacular achievements" (p. 574), but she never does. Instead, clerical disapproval and non-cooperation are emphasized, no matter how insignificant; Margaret Cusack's complaint about some priest monopolizing conversation during recreation hour is presented as evidence of clerical mistreatment. In such a driven narrative, the reader is hard pressed to discern the actual contributions women religious made to modern society.

I know that, at present, mine is a minority interpretation; McNamara's persuasive presentation will help keep it so. I only hope that before this becomes the definitive history McNamara hopes it will be, scholars will go back to the sources one more time and judge for themselves. We need a history of women religious, not a history of men religious who thwarted them.

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Hugh McLeod. *Piety and Poverty: Working-Class Religion in Berlin, London and New York 1870–1914.* (Europe Past and Present Series.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 1996. Pp. xxx, 264. $45.00.

The late nineteenth century was rife with clerical conferences devoted to examinations of working-class distrust for organized religion. Pulpit perceptions aside, empty pews did not necessarily denote an irreligious proletariat. As Hugh McLeod is aware, there is a difference between religion and religiosity, that is, between loyalty to an institution and actual beliefs and practices. His study seeks to correct and historicize sociological models like those of Max Weber, Karl Marx, Talcott Parsons, and Rodney Stark. He also attempts to globalize working-class religious expression by comparing experiences in London, New York, and Berlin, the world's first, second, and fourth largest cities. Some scholars assert correlations between industrialization, urbanization, politicization, and secularization. McLeod is rightfully dubious of such claims.

He scrutinizes workers in the world's three most advanced industrial nations by supplementing sociological data with oral history caches. What emerges is a more complex picture than most social science models can embody. McLeod opens with portraits of each city before seeking to cross-analyze them. Berlin emerges as the city in which laborers were the most overtly hostile to churches and synagogues. McLeod attributes this as much to conscious decisions by German elites to use the church as a social distancing tool as to working-class conversions to Social Democracy and trade unionism. This was especially true of the city's Lutherans, but it also held for Catholics and Jews. By contrast, London was divided more by precinct than by class, with locale separating workers into the pious, the irreligious, and the ambivalent. Most of the irreligious were trade unionists, but everywhere workers preferred a pragmatic version of religion to the pomp of established institutions. New York was divided along ethnic lines. Old-line Yankee elites supported the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, and Irish immigrants the Catholic church. Germans split into camps of Lutherans, secular Jewish radicals, marginalized Orthodox Jews, and emergent Conservative Jews.

McLeod concludes that New York was the most religious city, Berlin the least, and London the one in which religion and employment were most closely linked. In all, he argues, the clearest connection between urbanization and religion is pluralism, not secularism. He disputes Marx's dictum that churches succeeded in passing as the "heart of a heartless world" (p. 131). McLeod unearths a strong link between poverty, religious skepticism, and irreligious behavior. He also correlates declining religious commitment with trade unionism and socialism. But McLeod deftly discusses the enduring role of religion in societies that became only "half secular." Among working-class families, this left room for unionism and bar mitzvahs, socialism and baptisms, politics and occasional masses. According to McLeod, full secularization is a complex process that only Berlin approached.

McLeod's work contains meticulous detail, annotations, and statistical references. It is not, however, without fault. McLeod is strongest when he remembers his opening religion vs. religiosity schema; he falters when he equates piety with church membership or attendance. McLeod notes a "tendency for socialist and labour organizations to become a complete way of life, which simply crowded out any other commitment" (p. 145). E. P. Thompson, Herbert Gutman, Gregory

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Kealey, and others have convincingly argued that working-class organizations often were imbued with so much religious symbolism as to constitute alternatives to organized churches. McLeod too frequently adopts an institutional framework that defines workers vis-à-vis their relationships to elites. He also spends an inordinate amount of time refuting sociological models historians have long criticized and not enough mining the rich oral history troves at his disposal. Much of the interpretive debate could have been relegated to footnotes.

Had McLeod spent more time listening to worker voices, I sincerely doubt he would have claimed that New York City Catholic clerics were "relatively classless" (p. 117), or that popular anticlericalism was absent in America (p. 119). I appreciate McLeod's effort to engender his study, but it seems contrived, and I doubt his conclusion that only in Berlin did the feminization of religion cause men to leave religious institutions. His assertion that women's roles in churches were simply "complementary forms of religiosity" (p. 173) is contradicted by studies showing conscious efforts to make fraternal organizations and union lodges all-male preserves in response to the engendering of nineteenth century religion.

These reservations aside—as well as a wish for more judicious editing for flow and style—I strongly recommend McLeod's book for its rich detail, its examination of under-utilized sources, its fascinating cross-cultural approach, and its provocative challenges to prevailing theories of working-class religion.

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JOHN F. HUTCHINSON. *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xxii, 448. $35.00.

The title of John F. Hutchinson's introduction, "The Sacred Cow and the Skeptical Historian," heralds both tone and trajectory of this first rigorously historical account of the rise of the Red Cross. Past studies of the founders and evolution of this revered organization have been largely self-serving and uncritical. Evidently, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) prefers it that way. Hutchinson faced "courteous stonewalling" (p. 3) in his effort to gain uncensored access to the ICRC Archives. Fortunately, unlike the ICRC Archive staff, the ICRC Library staff cooperated with him. Their holdings, combined with those of selected national Red Cross societies and private manuscript collections, provide primary documents for his original and independent-minded study. Additionally, a remarkably full and informative bibliography and the inclusion of sixty-nine photographs, as well as a pictorial essay on twenty-five reproductions of postcards, posters, portraits, and periodical covers, enrich Hutchinson's inquiry into where the history of national governments, philanthropy, war, and medicine intersect with the rise of the Red Cross.

Hutchinson contends that though the development of the Red Cross from its precarious birth in Geneva in the early 1860s to the magnitude of its Tenth Conference in 1921, attended by hundreds of delegates from six continents, would appear to signal the success of an internationalist humanitarian vision of charity and peacemaking, such a conclusion is mistaken. Despite its founders' utilitarian and religious ideals, the international Red Cross's increasing dependence upon national governments and militaries subverted its goal of inspiring huge numbers of internationally organized neutral volunteers to minister to wounded soldiers. National Red Cross branches became unashamed partisan promoters of nationalist military aims, reducing international Red Cross conferences into mere social events. Worse, as Florence Nightingale warned, the Red Cross, by relieving governments from the responsibility for the medical care of their own and captive soldiers, rendered warmaking easier. The Red Cross even promoted a "culture of militarism" (p. 351), whereby volunteers were subordinated to centralized, hierarchical military and governmental authorities. Prussia and, later, Japan became models for efficient scientific coordination of volunteers and professionals in the service of military wellbeing.

Hutchinson further argues that the claim that Red Cross activities caused improvement in the conditions of the sick and wounded in the period between the Crimean War and World War I ignores the pivotal role of military and medical innovations. He concludes that Red Cross volunteers were "useful supernumeraries of the bacteriological revolution" (p. 349). Attention to the key role of historical timing also shapes Hutchinson's explanation for mid-nineteenth-century governmental and popular support for the Red Cross movement. Since most of the Red Cross founders' ideas had antecedents in decades preceding the organization's birth, the success of the Red Cross in the 1860s was due to concurrent influences: the communications revolution, which aroused public concern for wartime suffering; the Prussian military revolution, with its prescient awareness that state-supervised voluntary aid to allied and enemy soldiers advanced diplomatic and military (alongside humanitarian) objectives; the introduction of conscription, which altered the relationship between nations and armies; the emerging European peace movement; and the crusading of the founders themselves, who made the plight of the wounded a fashionable cause among certain European elites. Basically a political history, Hutchinson's study offers arresting discussion of Red Cross ideology and policy development, of its complex political maneuvering, of intra and interorganizational squabbles, rivalries, and personality conflicts, and national differences and similarities in the formation of national branches.

Hutchinson acknowledges various deficiencies in his account. Lacking expertise in international law, he chose to exclude the no less important history of the Geneva Convention, which set legal protection for prisoners of war. He regrets, too, that his comparative

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analysis of national branches is highly selective. At various points he observes that particular matters warrant far more study.

Pathbreaking as it is, this study suffers from serious deficiencies that Hutchinson does not acknowledge. Assuming that the views and decisions of the Red Cross, state medical leaders, and military officers determine the organization's nature and historical signficance, Hutchinson ignores the objective and subjective experiences of Red Cross volunteers. Were Hutchinson to explore the writings of volunteers, the autobiographies of Vera Brittain and Edith Stein to name but two nurses from opposing warfronts, he would find many of his conclusions both supported and challenged. During World War I, resistance within the Red Cross to military medical authority and to the decline in international consciousness was much wider and more vocal than Hutchinson realizes, rendering suspect his conclusive pessimism. His failure to examine volunteers' writings and scholars' accounts of women during World War I contributes as well to his inadequate gender analysis. If, as he asserts, the Red Cross opposed feminism and suffrage, then what explains the fact that many British, American, and German female volunteers found their wartime service empowering, guiding them toward feminist ideas? Had Hutchinson considered the remasculinization of culture in the late nineteenth century, as he had the Eurocentric and racist biases of leading philanthropists, he would have discerned how male anxieties, gender stereotypes, and misogyny disposed Red Cross and state leaders to join forces in militarizing charity. Yet, despite Hutchinson's incomplete framework, his account of the evolution of the development of the Red Cross constitutes a brilliant start to filling a scholarly void.

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STEPHEN M. WALT. *Revolution and War.* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 365. $35.00.

The first sentence in the last chapter of this book sums up Stephen M. Walt's achievement admirably: "This book . . . explore[s] some of the ways that revolutions affect international politics, focusing primarily on the relationship between revolution and war" (p. 331). Walt uses extended case studies of the French, Russian, and Iranian Revolutions to examine a set of propositions about revolution and war. First, the existence of a revolutionary state will increase "security competition" among nations and thereby increase the danger of war. It does this through the "balance of threat" it helps to create. How do competing states perceive it? How does it perceive them? What is the "offense-defense balance"; that is, does it appear that the revolution might be easily crushed or, conversely, do revolutionaries see good prospects for exporting revolution? A third proposition posits uncertainty about both international and domestic situations after a revolution comes to power, an uncertainty compounded by the difficulty of obtaining accurate information. This may well produce, as Walt's fourth proposition holds, a "spiral of suspicion" leading to crisis and, possibly, to war.

These propositions are used as a template against which to place several major revolutions. Walt spends little time discussing the revolutions themselves. The focus is the international scene once the revolutionary state makes its appearance. The case studies are mainly discussions of the diplomatic and military history of particular eras with an emphasis on the revolutionary states. Nonetheless, even those who know the history of, say, Soviet Russia will appreciate the usefulness of Walt's propositions for organizing and analyzing the welter of information. Certain broad patterns emerge: balances of power and balances of threat change after revolutions. Uncertainty, misperception, and miscalculation prevail. A spiral of suspicion takes shape, producing crisis and, occasionally, war.

Chapter six is the most interesting chapter of the book and an indication of Walt's ability to take a much more explicitly comparative approach to questions of revolution and war. It offers brief examinations of the American, Mexican, Turkish, and Chinese Revolutions. Walt shows how the American, Mexican, and Turkish experiences largely support his contentions but simultaneously modify them in the sense that these revolutions did not produce the same intensity of crisis or lead to war as is the case with the French, Russian, Iranian, and Chinese Revolutions. Walt successfully explains this by reference to the nature of the ideology guiding the revolutions, the relative size and strength of the countries, and their location in time and space. He also compares revolutions in an extended way, something he does not do much of in the major case studies.

For the historian, Walt's book is somewhat frustrating. It does what it sets out to do quite well, demonstrating in the seven case studies that Walt's propositions about the revolutionary state and international relations do help make sense of the historical data. It leads to interesting larger propositions about such matters as the difficulty of either exporting a revolution or sponsoring a successful counter-revolution from the outside. Additionally, it suggests useful ways of thinking about how important ideology is to the revolutionary state and to its opponents as compared with the exigencies of power politics. It offers a piece of the puzzle, a careful look at one way the international context of a revolution can be important. In this sense, Walt's book helps explicate Theda Skocpol's emphasis on the international arena in *States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (1979). But what about other ways the international context may play a role? Very much in passing (cf. pp. 329–30), Walt notes that war and international crisis may shape a revolution's development in important ways. This very rich theme is

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virtually unexplored and, of course, the book was never meant to explore it. Nor was it meant to tackle ways in which war may help to produce revolution. In fact, Walt's discussions assume a revolutionary state already in place. Can one justify the book's title, certainly eye-catching, which promises much more than the book was ever meant to deliver?

Taken on its own terms, this is a fine piece of scholarship. The historian, perhaps anticipating something on the order of the large-scale, sweeping studies by Crane Brinton, Barrington Moore, Jr., and Skocpol, must, of course, accept the book as it aspires to be and is and be satisfied with the good things it has to offer.

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JOHN ALBERT WHITE. *Transition to Global Rivalry: Alliance Diplomacy and the Quadruple Entente, 1895–1907*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 344. $59.95.

This is certainly an outstanding addition to the literature on pre-World War I international history. Although the field has been covered extensively, it has not yet been dealt with from this point of view, nor in the contemporary historico-geographical context. One perhaps unexpected consequence is a curiously familiar, but very distant, resonance: at the end of the twentieth century, the wheel has come full circle, and we are once again listening to the voice of the old diplomatic history. This book could have been written by William Langer, had he known what John Albert White has been able to discover; it is rather as if A. J. P. Taylor had not existed. This means that, refreshing as it is, this book will not be welcome or used in circles where unvarnished international history is not allowed to contribute to the study of the history of international relations. Yet this kind of accurate, exact account of how international relations have actually been conducted, by those who did the work, is of crucial significance.

This is particularly so because White has places his work firmly in the global context that has become so significant a feature of the contemporary international environment. This is an excellent and highly original account of what the author calls the "Quadruple Entente": the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894, the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. The originality here is not so much in the actual material that is offered—though there is a good deal, particularly on Russia and Japan—but in the juxtapositions. White proposes, wholly convincingly, that it was the Japanese element that was crucial in the evolution of alliance systems in international affairs after 1895, and Russo-Japanese relations that became the determinant of events in Europe. His work in Japanese and Russian sources is exemplary. His account of Anglo-Russian negotiations for an agreement before the Russo-Japanese war and Franco-Japanese negotiations in 1906 for a loan add a new element to the previously available materials of great importance. Having myself previously urged a more global view of the events leading up to 1914 than the preoccupation with war guilt has generally allowed (in *The Collapse of the Concert of Europe* [1981]), it is easy to salute a work that provides nuts-and-bolts proof of the crucial importance of the non-European element in the creation of the alliance system.

There are some relatively minor blemishes, including slightly weak copyediting and odd, occasionally mildly comic errors arising from unfamiliarity with Edwardian England. Tenses are very occasionally inconsistent. The bibliography lacks reference to Keith Wilson's *The Policy of the Entente* (1985), and there is no specific reference to David Sweet's chapter on the Anglo-Russian Convention in *British Foreign Policy under Edward Grey* (1977), edited by Harry Hinsley.

It is a natural tendency not to want to lose material acquired by painstaking research; but it is not always necessary to use it all. There is a small element of overkill in what is otherwise a very sagely paced account. In a book rather than a thesis, it should not be necessary to field quite so much evidence for any one particular point. One occasionally feels the presence of the proverbial kitchen sink.

These are minor cavils about what is a most welcome book. For the historians of the period and anybody interested in the causes of World War I, it should be compulsory reading; for those willing to use it for the study of diplomatic method, for the construction of alliances, for the techniques of negotiation, and for the relationship between internal and external policy, it will be both enlightening and highly profitable.

RICHARD LANGHORNE
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MATTHEW JONES. *Britain, the United States and the Mediterranean War, 1942–44*. (St. Antony's/Macmillan Series.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford. 1996. Pp. x, 293. $65.00.

Sir Robin Renwick, London's ambassador to Washington a few years ago, has entitled his recent history of the British-American relationship *Fighting Allies* (1996). One can hardly imagine a more suitable title for Matthew Jones's new study of Anglo-American relations in the Mediterranean theater during World War II. By emphasizing the discord within the British-American alliance, Jones's book falls solidly within the historiographical tradition of the past two decades.

This intra-allied friction arose in part from the very different interests the two nations had in the Mediterranean region. For the British, the Mediterranean formed a vital link to the Suez Canal, India, and British holdings in the Far East. To most Americans, on the other hand, it was geographically peripheral, strategically negligible, and politically dangerous; military operations there constituted an unnecessary drain

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on allied resources better directed against the main body of the German forces. Winston Churchill persuaded a reluctant Franklin D. Roosevelt to approve landings in French North Africa in 1942, but the U.S. commitment to the theater was always half-hearted. If the British were unwilling to agree to an early cross-channel invasion of northwest Europe, many American military officials were prepared, even eager, to redirect the bulk of their strength to the Pacific. This argument over the relative priorities to be accorded operations in France, the Mediterranean, and the Far East roiled U.S.-British ties nearly up to the moment of Germany's surrender.

Jones's account is neither straight military nor political nor diplomatic history. The business of fighting, the conduct of actual military operations, occupies very little space in this book. Neither Adolf Hitler nor Benito Mussolini nor Joseph Stalin plays a prominent role in these pages. (Hitler is not even listed in the index.) Instead, the emphasis is on the creation and performance of an integrated Anglo-American command structure in the Mediterranean and the ways by which Washington and London each sought to influence events in the theater for its own national ends.

While giving ample coverage to divisions within the United States and Britain (the rivalry between Anthony Eden and Harold Macmillan is especially noted), Jones casts his story largely in terms of the shifting power balance within the Anglo-American alliance. And while the British voice frequently prevailed on operational matters in the Mediterranean, in the longer run London was at a disadvantage it could not overcome. Given its economic decrepitude, which the war laid bare, Britain could not hope to prevail against its enemies without the full involvement of the United States. Yet this U.S. participation thwarted wartime British plans in the Mediterranean and threatened to undermine Britain's predominance in the postwar world. London was never to resolve this dilemma, which forms a central strand in Jones's story, as it inevitably must in any account of the World War II partnership.

In reading Jones, one sometimes forgets that much of the discord that he highlights occurred only because the two nations were collaborating to an extent totally unprecedented in the annals of coalition warfare. By emphasizing the frustrations of alliance politics, Jones is in danger of obscuring the far more salient fact: that the military coalition succeeded.

His story is, after half a century, an old and well-known one, but Jones brings to his tale lively details and fresh insights, drawn from extensive mining of archival materials. The publisher is to be applauded for the very helpful lists of acronyms and codenames that accompany the text. A map of the Mediterranean theater would have been equally welcome in this commendable book.

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OMER BARTOV. *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 251. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

Reading this book conjures up in my mind the experience of listening to a brilliant friend declaim late into the night on a subject of compelling interest: he has much to say and little concern to put his thoughts into a formal, easily followed structure. Omer Bartov, author of two important books on the German military involvement in the Holocaust and other atrocities, has original, searching, urgent things to tell us about how people have thought about the Holocaust and, more important, about how we should think about it. Notwithstanding his insistence that the essays that make up this volume have been reworked to address a single theme, this collection lurches from one subject to the next, just as one would expect from a passionate, late-night monologue, and it ends without a conclusion, as if to signal that all must be taken up again—soon. Even if lacking coherence, however, this book is well worth reading, both for its originality and its capacity to provoke thought on a compelling subject.

Bartov's stated theme is "industrial killing," a process of mass slaughter that he understands as being inherent in the experience of modernity itself. "Modernity" remains undefined. Industrial killing involves the "mechanized, rational, impersonal, and sustained mass destruction of human beings, organized and administered by states, legitimized and set into motion by scientists and jurists, sanctioned and popularized by academics and intellectuals" (pp. 3–4). With insufficient background or argumentation, for my taste at least, Bartov points to World War I for the "emergence" of industrial killing, neglecting an obvious precedent in the American Civil War and much of the intellectual and institutional histories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a complicated argument, he contends that the 1914–1918 fighting "completely shattered the image of war as an exercise in chivalry" (p. 20) while at the same time promoting a new elite, a military knighthood, a "community of warriors" whose image of war combined "ancient notions of heroism and chivalry with modern technology, methodical planning with irrational aspirations, outright nihilism with sensual passion" (p. 30). Uncertain about whether the main point is the shattering or the continuity, the reader seeking to situate these ideas in a clear historical progression may be further confused to read that "the heroic image of war has remained unchanged in content and purpose" (p. 30).

So was there a new image, or was the old one just reshaped? When the reality of war clashed with the (refashioned?) chivalric ideal, was the resulting synthesis (which presumably inclined *some* to "industrial killing") shared by the Allies as well as the Germans? Clearly some of this points to genocide and to the Holocaust, and few would dispute Bartov's contention that war not only provided the occasion for genocide

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but helped make it thinkable. But he is less persuasive in contending that modern warfare prompted mass killing as an *escape* from the consequences of warfare. As suggested in these examples, there are more questions raised than answered.

In other essays, Bartov looks at aspects of the historiography of the Holocaust, particularly Andreas Hillgruber's book on the Eastern Front at the very end of the war, which was at the center of the *Historikerstreit* of a decade ago. Perhaps because so much ink has already flowed on the latter subject, this rambling but intensely critical essay seems particularly dated and ill-fitted to the volume. Much more suggestive, to my reading, are Bartov's challenge to much received wisdom of Holocaust history and his refusal to accept many well-meaning platitudes, especially those that prompt hopeful conclusions. Considering memoirs of survivors, for example, Bartov concludes "that the event lacks all coherence ... that it has signified nothing, taught us nothing, brought us no profound truth or clarity. It has left a gaping, black, empty hole" (p. 107).

Insisting that the Holocaust is "a core event of the twentieth century," Bartov seems uncertain about the difficult problem he raises in the last third of the book, how this past should be represented. An acute and learned critic of cinematic representations, he seems most at home in pointing out the shortcomings of popular portrayals, whether on the screen or, as is recently the case throughout North America, in Holocaust-related museums. He offers devastating and, to my mind, fully justified criticisms of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* and the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, both for their interpretative distortions and for their historically unjustified optimistic, comforting conclusions that overlook the sinister theme at the heart of most of these essays. Throughout, Bartov is the enemy of the reassuring solution, the banal representation, or the uplifting message—from whatever quarter, and no matter how sincerely advanced.

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ELAZAR BARKAN and RONALD BUSH, editors. *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*. (Cultural Sitings.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 449. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.95.

This is the best collection yet of the several like it that, since the early 1980s, have probed the relation of interest in the primitive and tribal to late nineteenth and early twentieth century modernist movements in art and literature. Although some of the essays have more to offer than others in the way of developing an original argument, they are all of a high standard of scholarship. Most importantly, they add complexity and nuance to the by now obvious and influential critical argument that takes severely and morally to task the diverse appropriations and representations of tribal peoples during the high periods of both colonialism and modernism in Europe and America. The volume ends with two sharp essays that criticize the postmodernist context in which arguments about primitivism (and the simplistically damning relationship of modernism to colonial domination) have been made: one by Marjorie Perloff that tries to expose just such circulating pieties in Marianna Torgovnick's *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (1990), and the other by Frank Kermode, in which he shows that there is nothing in postmodernism that was not also featured or possible in the work of important modernist writers such as Ludwig Wittgenstein. Most interestingly, Kermode indicates that the trope of the primitive in modernist writing and art defined emblematically where the most unruly, least conventionally rational ideas were to be explored. This marking of radicality in modernism by an ethnographic interest is further exemplified in Marie-Denise Shelton's essay on Michel Leiris.

Two excellent essays by Robert Nye and Elazar Barkan explore the figure of the primitive in relation to anxieties about crowds—and the violent potential in modern life that they stood for (here the connections of primitivism to futurist writers are established)—and complex Victorian orientations to sexuality. These essays locate an ancestry or genealogy as well as an orientation to futurism for the interest in the primitive that was constructed at the time by ethnography and travel writing. An essay by Joss Lutz Marsh on Victorian photography makes the connection well between the primitive and the premodern in the Victorian sense of the horrible.

A number of the essays find material for analysis in the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, in which tribal peoples were on display, and which had a profound impact on writers such as T. S. Eliot. Ronald Bush explores these associations well. There are an interesting set of essays by Virginia Lee-Webb, Christopher Steiner, Nancy Perloff, and Michael North that deal with images of the primitive in modernism and show how these images from photography and painting represent a complex traffic in negotiation and translation of the experience of tribal peoples and their artifacts, on one hand, and purely European discontents, on the other.

Race is specifically addressed in an engaging piece by Robert Dawidoff on the song "Alexander's Ragtime Band," which played a key role in the crossover influence of African-American music on white performers. Wendy Martin explores the fame and profit that Josephine Baker reaped from serving parodically the French fondness for including the primitive African in their entertainments.

I found a set of essays on intellectual history the most original work in the volume: a piece by Julia Liss on Franz Boas; a piece by Vincent Crapanzano on Emile Durkheim's and Marcel Mauss's writing on magic, in which Crapanzano ingeniously relates the

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distinctly exotic quality of these writings to deep problems of referentiality in language; and a piece by Christopher Herbert that attempts to resurrect the writing of James Frazer through an equally ingenious association of the latter's style of writing with Albert Einstein's reflections on his theory of relativity, licensing cognitive modes of knowing by free play.

The introduction by Barkan and Bush is not a mere summary discussion but a skillful appropriation of the diverse essays to make their central point that "for a hundred years, the West has used the non-Western world to contemplate the prehistories of its future, and that the contradictory results have shaped a multitude of social discourses worldwide" (p. 19). All in all, this volume marks a very satisfying turning in the vibrant, yet increasingly predictable path of study set by Edward Said's *Orientalism* twenty years ago.

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RICHARD A. ETLIN. *In Defense of Humanism: Value in the Arts and Letters*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 283. $39.95.

Can humanism be defended? Now that theory has claimed great swaths of the arts and letters, a reigning professional skepticism has put inverted commas around the humanist tradition's most cherished notions. Creative genius is a cultural construction, we are told, arbitrary, unstable, and best understood ideologically. To call a work great is a political act masquerading as taste. And disinterested aesthetic experience is a romantic fiction: art's true calling is to critique and call into question. In the new order, all is impermanent save criticism itself. What is at stake in the current climate of theory-driven doubt? For Richard A. Etlin the answer is "reason and awe, mind and heart," qualities once nourished by the humanist's project and now, Etlin argues, under sustained assault by poststructuralists in literature, history, and the arts. Etlin's is a passionate and engaged defense of humanism, an unembarrassed *parti pris*. In remarkable contrast to the polemics and willful obfuscation that mark so much of the debate, his writing is at once lucid and deeply literate. This book shows us that between radical skepticism and reactionary manifestos there is still room for serious reflection on value and meaning in the arts and letters.

Etlin begins his study by countering two fundamental criticisms of humanism: that the aesthetic is necessarily ideological and that Western art and letters in particular embody elitism and oppression. Etlin responds by proposing a set of ideologically neutral categories that he believes typify creative works and the artistic impulse. The examples he provides, drawn from architecture, dance, contemporary art, and the novel, constitute some of the book's richest passages. Yet the categories Etlin derives from them seem partial and unspecific: creativity involves imitative genius, artistic will, simplicity, radical conjunction, humor and wit, and so on. Well, yes, of course. But are these enough to establish an autonomous sphere of value? Here Etlin has the good sense not to insist. "If we falter in our ability to define it as precisely as we might desire, the failure is in our own abilities of ratiocination and not because value is arbitrary, elitist, and repressive" (p. 36).

This rather fragile reliance on the indefinable guides Etlin through much of his book. His fundamental position is that poststructuralists have erred in equating the impossibility of full certainty with the certainty of total uncertainty. Against the relativizing claim that differing evaluations of art or literature demonstrate the arbitrary nature of value, Etlin responds that valuation, which is indeed changeable, is not the same as value, which remains and is permanent. He offers a similar distinction between the sociology of art, which narrates the history of art in the service of power, and enduring aesthetic elements, which can be considered apart from their use. Etlin is incisive in his criticism of the rather confused notion of elitism that labels all hierarchies antidemocratic: "When elitism means unfair advantage it is wrong; when elitism means the recognition of superior achievement, it is ennobling . . . The humanist studies genius to appreciate better the workings of the human mind, to understand better how value is achieved in art, and to marvel at the splendor of artistic creation that far exceeds anything that we can explain" (p. 102).

This book includes what Etlin intends to be a critical reading of some fifteen major thinkers who have questioned elements of the humanist enterprise, an ambitious task for a book twice as long. At their best, these brief summaries provide a clear if tendentious overview of such schools as critical theory, deconstructionism, post-colonial studies, reader-response theory, "tropological" analysis, and Foucauldian discourse analysis. They also contain astonishing examples of hubris, misrepresentation, and artistic blindness among theorists. But these sections, however commendable for treating the ideas on their own terms, do not—and cannot, really—constitute a refutation of the thinkers Etlin addresses. In Etlin's view, the eminently defensible relies ultimately on intuition and the self-evident truths of the human spirit, qualities that can hardly be used to answer critics who deny their very existence. Unfashionably and improbably, Etlin recovers Pascal's reason, the voice of the heart that reason does not know, and reminds us why it is a voice well worth listening to.

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LEE ANN BANASZAK. *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth $49.50, paper $19.95.

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Women in the United States won the vote in 1920, while Swiss women were not enfranchised until 1971. In this comparative analysis, Lee Ann Banaszak explores why woman suffrage came to Switzerland so much later than the United States. The book opens with brief narratives of the campaigns in both countries. An analytical chapter then reviews several theoretical perspectives. The remaining substantive chapters address factors that contributed to the success or failure of each movement. These include the effects of organization, resources, coalitions, lobbying, confrontation, and beliefs. The book concludes with a brief summary and several methodological appendixes.

The answer to the question of differential success is complex. The U. S. movement succeeded because it had powerful role models and allies like abolitionism, temperance, populism, and progressivism. It also rested on strong personal ties and dense activist networks. This fostered strategic and tactical decisions that took advantage of available resources and opportunities to challenge the state. A federated political structure also permitted different states to function as strategic laboratories, with some becoming trailblazers toward national enfranchisement.

In the Swiss case, a strong tradition of local autonomy and the idealization of Switzerland's federal structure precluded effective national organizing and inhibited direct challenges to the state. The Swiss movement lacked effective role models, significant alliances, and strong networks; it also focused on education and consciousness-raising rather than direct lobbying and confrontational tactics. In the final analysis, the relative failure of the Swiss movement is attributed to values, beliefs, and tactical choices that handicapped the movement. Through cross-national and intra-national comparisons, Banaszak argues that even when resources and opportunities were available, the values and beliefs of Swiss activists prevented their utilization.

This is a theory-driven argument. Banaszak critiques resource mobilization theory and questions the utility of political opportunity structure theory because there were cross-national similarities in opportunity structures but vastly different outcomes. This leaves her arguing for a social constructionist alternative in which values, beliefs, and preferences become the main causal factors by virtue of how they inform strategies and tactics that lead to success or failure. Her discussion of social constructionism is rather unsatisfying, however, as it vaguely equates frames, culture, discourse, values, beliefs, and preferences.

This theory-driven argument is short on empirical fuel. The evidence that the values of Swiss suffragists limited tactics and inhibited success is indirect. While some interview data are quoted, the role of values is asserted more than demonstrated (especially in the U. S. case). In some ways, her position recalls the relative deprivation argument that subjective perceptions are crucial but nontheless inferred from objective conditions because they could not be directly documented. Banaszak overstates the case for social constructionist factors and understates support for competing perspectives that stress resources and opportunities.

Two examples illustrate these difficulties. The U. S. movement had information about how to be successful based on ties with other movements, but whether to conceptualize this information as a "resource" or a "frame" is an open question. Similarly, other movements can be seen as providing effective frames, but they can also be construed as a distinctive political opportunity structure that facilitated success. Without an extended discussion of these theoretical issues. the argument for social constructionism seems forced.

The differing historical periods of these movements are also problematic. While both originated in the mid-nineteenth century, the Swiss movement did not become an active force until the early twentieth century when the U. S. movement succeeded. The broad comparison is thus between a U. S. movement from 1850 to 1920 and a Swiss movement from 1910 to 1971; this stretches the assumption of *ceteris paribus* to the limit. Moreover, the focus on the U. S. movement is from 1900 to 1920 because data are more plentiful from these decades. But it is only from the perspective of these decades that this movement can even be regarded as a success. Before that, it spent five decades agitating for suffrage with very little to show for it. (Ironically, it took both movements fifty to sixty years from their first serious organizational efforts to the winning of suffrage.) Like many concepts discussed here, those of success and failure are not easily defined.

Despite these theoretical questions, Banaszak's book provides a wealth of information organized by a keen analytical mind and informed by strong theoretical preferences. Even those who may not be convinced by all her theoretical claims will recognize this book as an important contribution to the literatures on women's activism and social movements.

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WILLIAM BEINART and PETER COATES. *Environment and History: The Taming of Nature in the USA and South Africa*. (Historical Connections.) New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. ix, 120. $12.95.

William Beinart and Peter Coates collaborate here on a comparative study of the environmental history of South Africa and the United States. An admirably concise yet insightful account, the work provides an introduction to the potential of comparative environmental history, and it may find considerable use in college courses on environmental or world history.

As lands somewhat similar in their geographical diversity and resources, with aboriginal populations overwhelmed by the multi-pronged frontier expansion of European capitalist societies and with imported slave populations and hierarchical racial systems, the

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two countries offer much grist for comparison. There are crucial demographic differences, however. South Africa never attracted the numbers of European colonists that North America did, and its indigenous population (except for the Khoisan) had not been as isolated as the Native Americans were and hence did not experience a dramatic decline due to disease. As a result, South Africa has a black majority of over seventy-five percent, while the United States has a white majority of similar magnitude. From the point of view of South African blacks, conservation has been a struggle not so much for scientific resource management as for social control of access to resources, a point that is easily escaped in much writing about the United States.

But Beinart and Coates's brief account is curiously weak in demographic analysis, except for a few sentences buried here and there; the environmental implications of the demographic distinctions between the two countries are often submerged in a sea of similarities. The authors' perhaps unintended emphasis on similarities probably also reflects the white origins of most of the secondary literature on which they perforce rely. This emphasis is strengthened by their decision to focus primarily on the years 1850–1950, when whites exerted their greatest impact on the environment and when white ideas about conservation took root in both countries, and by the decision to build chapters around people's relationships with animals, trees, agriculture, and parks rather than with the urban environment. In a strange way, even the extremely close collaboration between Beinart and Coates, in which comparisons between the two countries occur in nearly every paragraph, lends itself to a focus on similarities and minor distinctions rather than to analysis of major divergences. It is only in the concluding chapter on the rise of "social justice environmentalism" that we begin to see the outlines of a broader comparative analysis that places social, racial, and urban issues at center stage.

The upshot is a fascinating account of often parallel developments in the two countries, with just enough hints of significant differences to spur discussion and, we may hope, further research. The American reader is left with the sense that South Africa has a great deal to offer the United States and the world as it comes to a deeper understanding of its environmental past in order to deal better with the present and the future.

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Joseph L. Love. *Crafting the Third World: Theorizing Underdevelopment in Rumania and Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 348. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

During the early 1960s, I delved into the roots of Portuguese corporatism and fascism and immediately became familiar with Mihail Manoilescu, whose work, available in Portuguese, clearly was influential on the Salazar regime. For Joseph L. Love, Manoilescu becomes a link in his comparative study of development and underdevelopment in Romanian (1880–1945) and Brazilian (1930–1980) thinking. Love selects these countries because both contributed to the theoretical discourse on these themes; both used languages derived from Latin and shared assumptions from Roman law; both experienced systems of coerced labor; and both assimilated ideologies of corporatism. Differences between them were apparent, however, including contrasting cultures and geographical situation along with various interpretations and understandings of backwardness and development.

This book is a useful and a serious contribution to the development literature for several reasons. It comparatively studies two once backward but later developing countries, delves into concepts and theoretical ideas dating to the early twentieth century to comprehend some of the underlying premises of contemporary development theory, and comprehensively surveys these historical and theoretical advances. Love analyzes the contributions of three corporate economists—Manoilescu, Werner Sombart, and François Perroux—along with major Romanian and Brazilian development theorists.

The initial discussion on Romania identifies major thinkers of liberalism, populism, and Marxism, doctrines with origins in the industrial West that penetrated the country in the nineteenth century. Early debates revolved around whether Romania was semicapitalist or had adhered to lines of modern capitalist development. By the 1930s, Romanian development was seen in terms of a dual economy, a modern urban and industrial sphere tied to foreign trade and finance, and a largely passive peasant sector that had been unable to adapt to changing international conditions. The ensuing discussion devotes considerable attention to the thought and contributions of Manoilescu, focusing at first on his theory of unequal exchange and ideas banned by the Communists after the World War II that, according to Love, "anticipated many Third World claims, aspirations, and indictments . . . as an important Rumanian contribution to the analysis of underdevelopment" (p. 78). A second focus examines Manoilescu's model of internal colonialism, comprised of four elements (the urban, industrialized city; the agricultural hinterland; the foreign trade sector; and the state) and described by Love as "possibly the first in the world that attempted to measure the process" (p. 87). Manoilescu was also known for his theory of corporatism, "an ideology that had its roots in the organicist social theory of medieval Europe" (p. 95), and his writings were influential in Iberia and Latin America. His basic thesis revolved around four objectives of the corporate state: organization, national solidarity, peace and international collaboration, and "decapitalization" in favor of the public interest. Love feels that were it not for his adherence to fascism, Manoilescu might well have been remembered not

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only for his elaboration of a theory of corporatism but also for his effort in theorizing about unequal exchange and a model of internal colonialism.

Turning to Latin America and Brazil, in particular, Love speculates on possible influences of Manoilescu on Raúl Prebisch and the early roots of thinking that led to the inward-oriented development approach of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). He delves into the early contributions of Sombart, especially his views on capitalism and dualism, and Perroux, who in the late 1930s taught in Brazil. One chapter looks closely at Prebisch and structuralism and the evolution of his theory of unequal exchange, which Love believes he began to formulate as early as 1937. By 1946, he was using the dichotomy of center-periphery that became central to his theses on the deterioration of trade and the early studies elaborated by the ECLA after 1949. Love identifies some of the early sources for the center-periphery terminology, including writing by Ernst Wagermann, Jacob Viner, Celso Furtado, and Hans Singer. He links Manoilescu to the Brazilian writers, especially Roberto Simonsen, and the rise of professional economics in the country, led by Furtado, one of the first Brazilians to earn a doctorate, completed in Paris in 1948. Another chapter is devoted to Furtado, his involvement with ECLA and his work, *The Economic Growth of Brazil* (1953), a historical analysis of the rise and decline of Brazilian exported commodities in response to changing world demand. According to Love, "Furtado's structuralism provided a heterodox but non-Marxist path to dependency" (p. 174). A further chapter delineates the work of Brazilian economic historiarn Caio Prado, Jr. and the Marxist current of thinkers that influenced dependency theory.

The final chapters take up the paths to dependency and efforts to transcend dependency. The major personalities in Brazil and Latin America are identified, their ideas mentioned, and there is an effort to distinguish Marxist from non-Marxist currents. Love correctly shows how many thinkers employed dependency as a perspective from the periphery, an effort to explore the consequences of imperialism on the internal structures of a local economy. He attributes its decline to the criticisms of the orthodox Marxist thinkers, but, in fact, the weakness of most dependency writers was their general failure to ground their ideas in classical writers such as Marx and Lenin, and for that reason it is difficult to support the assumption that most dependency theory was Marxist-inspired. A brief final chapter reflects on modes of production and late neopopulism that transcended the dependency debates. Love identifies the major Latin American influences but overlooks the important contributions by British and French anthropologists that inspired the Latin American work.

Despite its exhaustive inquiry and my belief that this book is a major scholarly contribution, there are areas for further inquiry. Love emphasizes Manoilescu and Prebisch as important precursors to later development theory, but he overlooks the influence of classical Marxists, especially Leon Trotsky, in the elaboration of the theory of combined and uneven development, and he ignores the early work of other Argentine thinkers, such as Silvio Frondizi, a Marxist who drew on Trotsky's writings and opposed the intransigent policies of Argentine Communists while emphasizing the contradictions of British and American imperialism in Latin America. He was one of the first writers to use the term dependence. Love mentions the economic historian, Sergio Bagú, but he overlooks the fact that Bagú developed an interpretation of colonial capitalism through lectures in the United States from 1944 to 1946 and that terms such as decadence, underdevelopment, and dependency became prominent in his writings.

Students and scholars of comparative political economy, economic history, and development should consult this important work. It successfully synthesizes well-known history around the developmental currents and theories that have guided us for the past half-century, but it also breaks new ground in its effort to identify origins and early beginnings of underdevelopment theory. Its comparative perspective, the search for parallel ideas and influences in Romania, has opened up an interesting and provocative area for inquiry.

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W. ANDREW ACHENBAUM. *Crossing Frontiers: Gerontology Emerges as a Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 278. Cloth $59.95, paper $18.95.

Whether or not one is steeped in the subtleties of gerontology, W. Andrew Achenbaum's book is galvanizing. Achenbaum's talent in plying history's craft stands out in this closely reasoned pandect on the normative influences on gerontology as a scientific institution.

Achenbaum essays the entrée of "gerontologic scientists," how they relate to other scientists, and the fashioning of a multidisciplinary design. Although he describes internecine power plays, getting the "scoop" is not the principal reason for reading this book. Achenbaum also exemplifies a historian using his skill to analyze science (gerontology) as a social construction.

From tiger testicles and semen injections to shots of sheep placenta, the search for youthful elixirs is tortuous. Florida is still flourishing from Juan Ponce de León's quest. So, too, are the marketplace and assorted learned societies whose roots are in Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* (1627), but whose spirit resembles that of Ponce de León. Achenbaum points out that only a matter of degree separates the quaint receipts of the past from today's snakeoil. At the dawn of the modern era, Elie Metchnikoff, a Russian immi-

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grant to the Pasteur Institute, was promoting yogurt to control the pesky intestinal bacteria (macrophages) thought to cause aging. He cloaked his theory in Darwinism and phagocytes (leukocytes that ingest and destroy other cells), thereby explaining the "enfeebling of the noble elements." It is easy to smile, but the search for "disharmonies" that disrupt homeostasis is ongoing.

Although the United States lagged behind Europe in terms of public health, the last quarter of the nineteenth century was progressive, and when the protogerontology of Metchnikoff and Jean-Martin Charcot crossed the Atlantic, American medicine was primed. Still, geriatrics (a word not even coined until 1909) remained a frontier outpost. Achenbaum recounts the false starts and assorted steps whereby the study of aging slowly gained credibility. He musters medical, psychological, and sociological concepts and, perhaps most interestingly, incorporates political economy, the role of foundations, and Federal initiatives. If Thomas S. Kuhn provided the agenda, Achenbaum provides the case study.

Once boundaries were established, disputes began. E. V. Cowdry's compendium, *Problems of Ageing* (1939), advanced interdisciplinary research but has expired as a paradigm. The Rockefeller Foundation promoted social science, and no less a personage than John Dewey advocated an integrative focus. In the years following World War II, Federal agencies promoted biomedical research and, to a lesser extent, social science. The Gerontological Society (GS), founded as the war ended, chartered a true interdisciplinary blueprint, but it was not until the creation of the National Institute on Aging (1975) that gerontology could be said to have arrived.

Having constituted themselves, gerontologists took to quarreling over primacy in the organization, grants, and credibility. Initially able to belong to multiple sections of the GS, members were forced to affiliate with one of the four sections as intramural borders grew. The sections spent their energy asserting ascendancy over one another; seemingly, the biologists were the most irascible. While it sounds like adolescence, most insiders insist that gerontology had matured.

Taking a detour into Michigan's Institute on Aging (his present institutional affiliation), Achenbaum identifies comparable centripetal tendencies. This is not surprising as the same players were involved. What started as an archetypal interdisciplinary center, became a garrison for hard science—entrance by credential only. Excellence is wrought at the expense of broader, some might say nobler purpose.

The mission has shifted. Bench science wants what it can get while politics is saying "Show me the intervention!" Prolongation of life expectancy has proved to be a mixed blessing. Even the "gray lobby" does not appear sufficient to foil the challenges from the specter of national bankruptcy. In the face of alarmist rhetoric, the truth has little currency.

A golden age is mythical, and viewpoints may only change their mien. Gerontology is dependent on the academic-governmental complex, yet finds itself with dubious credibility. Tribal truths do not export easily, especially when resources wane. Still, if a spirit of adventure, risk-taking, or Achenbaum's words were sufficient, they would be queuing up at the door.

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JEREMY AHEARNE. *Michel de Certeau: Interpretation and Its Other*. (Key Contemporary Thinkers.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 227. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

Jeremy Ahearne's elegant voyage through the fascinating intellectual territories mapped out by Michel de Certeau (1925–1986) was first published in England by Polity Press. It is the first full-length study of Certeau, a Jesuit who received his doctorate in Religious Studies, although when pressed he would identify himself as a historian. While four of Certeau's works have been translated into English, and he taught in California (1978–1984), he is primarily known in this country to specialists in semiotics, deconstruction, poststructuralism, and related areas of highly sophisticated and difficult theoretical inquiry. Hence we may be grateful to Stanford University Press, in its "Key Contemporary Thinkers" series, for reprinting this unabashedly admiring yet lucid and judicious synthesis of Certeau's principal works, especially those published after 1970.

Ahearne's study is well-structured, beginning with theory, followed by case studies, and concluding with a discussion of "Strategies and Tactics." It is largely accessible to non-specialists, though defining such terms as "deictics," "asymptotical," and "anamophotoic" would have been helpful. Certeau, in most of his own writings, and in the careful gloss provided by Ahearne, is an extremely dense and difficult writer. His thought was also fluctuating, unstable, elusive. Certeau was very much in the antipositivist tradition, and he sharply criticized the historian's pretentions at objectivity. There are some intriguing linkages to Peter Novick's important and controversial *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (1988). Novick does cite Jacques Derrida but not Certeau, whose investigations into how historians "fabricate" the history they produce, analysis of how historians use citations, and attempt to uncover largely unconscious laws that "govern contemporary interpretative activity" (p. 17) all remind me of Novick's book.

Another famous American scholar whose work overlaps with Certeau's is Thomas Kuhn, especially his extraordinarily influential *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2nd. ed 1970). Certeau, who worked extensively in early modern religious history, was "repeatedly drawn to moments of historical transition or rupture" (p. 27). Certeau's idea of "re-employment" reminds me very much of Kuhn's "paradigm shift." While Certeau often refers to Anglo-Saxon authors, he

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apparently did not know Kuhn; these two brilliantly creative intellectuals were moving on parallel tracks throughout their careers.

Certeau was amazingly erudite, in the Jesuit tradition, but he also possessed a dazzling theoretical sophistication. Ahearne rightly notes the underlying melancholy of his work, his awareness that he cannot recover the Christian world of the seventeenth century and the experience of the mystics who managed to survive within it. The "mystic resistance" (p. 102), the subterranean conflict between mystics and established authorities, was a passing phenomenon, linked to a specific historical period and bound to disappear with modernity.

Certeau was both drawn to and critical of the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, though he often seems close to them, especially the former. He simply chose to examine different topics. For example, in *Une politique de la langue* (1975), Certeau studied the ways the French government during the revolutionary period dealt with residual *patois* and customs potentially disruptive to national unity, methods devised to get rid of the "social alterity" (p. 142) that Certeau valued. This seems very close to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, published the same year.

The one aspect of Ahearne's argument that I do not find fully convincing is his claim that Certeau was more optimistic than Foucault, believing that alterity can break through on occasion. Certeau did not, according to Ahearne, find the "disciplinary web" to be quite so seamless in modern societies (p. 147). Ahearne makes the same point for the way Certeau drew upon and interpreted Pierre Bourdieu's investigations. I can detect a faint tinge of optimism in *La prise de parole* (1968), Certeau's meditation on the student "revolution" of that year, which he in large measure supported, but he is quite despairing in *Le Christianisme éclaté* (1974).

Hence I am not persuaded that Certeau is as unique and distinct from the intellectuals in his age cohort as Ahearne makes him out to be. But this generous, beautifully argued work of synthesis and interpretation should lead us to Certeau's own writings, especially to *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), so that we may judge for ourselves.

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ANCIENT

JOSEPH M. BRYANT. *Moral Codes and Social Structure in Ancient Greece: A Sociology of Greek Ethics from Homer to the Epicureans and Stoics*. (SUNY Series in the Sociology of Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 568. $27.95.

In attempting to formulate a "sociology of the moral codes and social philosophies of the ancient Hellenes" covering a thousand years of eventful history, Joseph M. Bryant has set himself a mammoth task. That he has accomplished it comprehensively and in detail, yet smoothly and with great economy, is admirable. This book should have broad appeal among social scientists and humanists who are interested in the polis form of social organization. Hellenists like myself will certainly profit from an analysis of the institutions and mentalities of the city-state that incorporates a more rigorously sociological approach than we are used to.

On the principle that "thought and action, ideas and institutions are mutually implicated in the ongoing processes of social interaction" (p. 27), Bryant constructs a "historical sociology," which attempts to situate the evolution of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic domains within the wider contexts of demography, technology, economy, and politics. The relationship between the moral code and social reality was especially close in classical Greece, where virtually all pronouncements and speculations about good and bad were in reference to the ideal of the *politês*, the citizen of a polis. Bryant succeeds because he is careful and thorough in explaining the dynamics between citizen-experience and normative ideals. There is nothing particularly new in Bryant's historical conclusions—he generally goes along with the mainstream of Hellenic scholarship—but his sociological analyses add a considerable shading to the picture. Although he is very attentive to the interaction between moral codes and social structures, his analyses demonstrate that, by and large, trends in the cultural ideal followed from the structural changes.

For each phase of Greek history, Bryant presents a concise yet thorough historical narrative emphasizing socioeconomic conditions, which is followed by or interwoven with a discussion of norms and values. His main theme is the rise and decline of the *koinonia tôn politôn*, the self-governing "community of citizens," which reached its apogee in the fifth century. For Bryant, the decisive factor in the ascendance of the citizen-state was the emergence early in the seventh century of the hoplite phalanx in response to changing demographic and economic conditions. The importance to the state of the citizen army, drawn from the class of economically self-sustaining farmers, led to reform measures that curbed the power of the ruling aristocracy and raised the status and increased the participatory role of the ordinary smallholder.

With structural democratization came democratization of the cultural ideal. During the sixth and fifth centuries, the agonal, aristocratic "success" code was tamed into a "cooperative" civic code, a standard that demanded and rewarded service, devotion, and sacrifice to the collectivity. The "polis-citizen bond" was reinforced by an intense socialization process; and although differences in wealth and status persisted, class tension in the moderate oligarchies and democracies was mitigated by the common material and idealistic interests that unified all segments of the citizenry. The polis, in effect, was the collective *politai*.

What intrigues Bryant most is the "decline" of polis society, the erosion of the polis-citizen ideal, and its

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replacement by a new ethic during the course of the fourth to second centuries. This takes up half the book. He is very good at untangling the skein of causes and symptoms of the loss of polis autonomy and citizen sovereignty in the aftermath of the traumatic Peloponesian War: continual, ruinous interpolis warfare; economic distress and class violence; replacement of the citizen-hoplite by mercenaries; emergence of the "new tyrants"; elite withdrawal from politics; and Macedonian hegemony. Most enlightening, however, are his analyses of the intellectual discourse of the period. Greek artistic and intellectual expression is a sociological gold mine, because so much of it pertains to civic life, and Bryant exploits it well from Homer on. The purest gold is that of the philosophers, most notably Plato and Aristotle, whose social philosophies were formed during the tumultuous years of strain on and then collapse of the polis-citizen bond.

A brief review can only touch on Bryant's splendid, lengthy, and multifaceted exposition of Plato's and Aristotle's philosophical responses to the institutional disorganization and normative anarchy of the fourth century. Both thinkers were aware of the breakdown of communalism, and in their social philosophies both clung to the ancestral polis principles of civic virtue and service. At the same time, because of their own social affiliations and life experiences, they were psychologically captive to the old aristocratic world view, and their ideas of a virtuous polis tended toward authoritarian paternalism and even monarchism.

Bryant's assessment is that the "social views of Plato and Aristotle—organically rooted in the life experiences of a passing Polis-citizen order—were rendered increasingly anachronistic by the transfiguring course of events" (pp. 470–472). Correspondingly, the "post-civic" schools of Cyreniacs, Cynics, Skeptics, and especially Epicureans and Stoics pointedly rejected or dispensed with the polis-citizen ideal and taught, to wide appeal, a variety of self-referential ethics. Thus, for Bryant, philosophical knowledge, like any cultural knowledge, "is ever bound up within a complex nexus of determinant social relations," and the philosopher's quest for universal truth must bear the "circumstantial impress of specific social-historical contexts" (p. 469).

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JOHN DILLERY. *Xenophon and the History of His Times*. New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. xii, 337. $65.00.

Although his star is in the ascendant, Xenophon's reputation has not yet enjoyed the revival of good fortune that has fallen, by way of counter example, to Plutarch's, despite Xenophon's undisputed importance to students of classical Greece and of Greek (prose) literature. Perhaps it is Xenophon's fate always to be eclipsed by the genius of Thucydides and of Plato. Nevertheless, as John Dillery demonstrates in his congenial reconsideration of the *Hellenica*, there are better and more productive methods for appreciating Xenophon than by invidious comparison with the most illustrious of his intellectual and literary rivals. The question is whether Dillery has gone far enough.

The focus of Dillery's study is historiographical rather than historical *stricto sensu*: what do Xenophon's writings, especially his *Hellenica*, tell us about their author's comprehension of the events and trends of his own times? The result is a welcome account of Xenophon's intellectual and literary merits. Dillery recognizes the complexities of the *Hellenica*, even the precise genre of which requires careful qualification (it is not a monograph concentrating on a single conflict, nor is it a universal history). Dillery is up to date and well informed about recent scholarship. Throughout the book, one finds excellent specific observations (this point must be underscored), which are easy enough to retrieve thanks to the indexes. Dillery shrinks from none of the historical or philological problems that arise in his historiographical inquiries. Still, his exposition is often too intuitive: "I believe" appears far too frequently in a work that is, for the most part, conscientiously argued.

Xenophon, we learn, prefers order to disorder, hence the pessimism that colors his chronicle of Greek perturbation from 411–362 B.C., a period that modern historians still have difficulty sorting out. Xenophon writes "paradigmatic history"; that is, individuals—and, in Xenophon, states—serve a practical, didactic purpose as objects of praise and blame (thus their conduct becomes a model for imitation or avoidance). Xenophon's history is permeated by biographical concerns to a degree that far surpasses Herodotus or Thucydides. Good leadership is an important theme: it derives, in Xenophon's construction, from excellent character, education, and divine favor. If the *Hellenica* has a message, concludes Dillery, it is that, for individuals and for city-states, *pleonexia* (greed for what one does not deserve) is bad, *gennaiotes* (nobility, characterized by not insisting on something that one has a right to expect) is good, and pan-Hellenic cooperation is more profitable than war.

All of this can be described as unexceptionable if unsurprising. Nor, it must be said, have Dillery's points gone entirely unnoticed by previous scholars, and here I come to the most serious weakness of the book. For all its erudition and insight, the point of Dillery's study seems to be to prove that, as we have long suspected, Xenophon is very much a creature of his time, his origins, and his social class. Yet, as Dillery himself is very aware, there is much more to be said if we want to gain a full appreciation of Xenophon's own view of things. How remarkable was the combination of historian and philosopher—indeed, the phenomenon of the man of action who is also a man of letters—at the dawn of the fourth century? Whence the obsession with encomium, with biography, that proved so influential? Why did this champion of pan-Hellenism select a Persian king-of-kings as the embodiment of *paideia* and statecraft in his historical romance? In the end,

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Dillery's treatment, admittedly solid and helpful (and a recommended starting point for further inquiry), does not make a significant advance in our understanding of Xenophon's place in the history of Greek historiography.

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J. B. Rives. *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 334. $55.00.

In A.D. 250, the Roman emperor Decius ordered all the inhabitants of the Roman empire to make a sacrifice to the gods and required local commissions to witness the sacrifices. The penalty for refusal was death. J. B. Rives argues that Decius's order was part of an attempt to establish some sense of shared religious identity among the empire's inhabitants. But Decius's attempt was doomed to failure, because the Roman civic model of official religion was, ultimately, incompatible with a unified empire. Since religious identity was to a large extent isomorphic with civic identity, it could not be transferred from city to city.

Rives examines the evidence for the organization of public religion in the Roman colony of Carthage, including the cults of the city of Rome and the imperial cult of the Roman emperors. Using comparative data from the foundation charter of another colony, Urso (modern Osuna in Spain), he demonstrates that it was the *ordo decurionum* (order of decurions) constituting the local town council that selected, organized, and arranged the finances of the public cults. Active involvement of the imperial government in the selection of the public cults of Carthage was slight. Thus, the Roman civic model of official religion remained the dominant one in Carthage; just as in Rome, the local elite controlled public religion.

Only some of the public cults that the council of Carthage established linked the participants to Rome. These public cults, especially the imperial cult, helped to forge some sort of religious identity beyond that of the individual city; the figure of the emperor served as the sole basis for a common religious identity in the Roman empire.

Rives then analyzes the interests and concerns of local elites who exercised legal authority over public religion. When evidence for these interests and concerns is lacking for Carthage itself, Rives draws effectively on the data from Thugga, a small community southwest of Carthage, whose population consisted of natives, who formed the taxable *civitas*, and the tax-exempt *pagus*, a settlement of Roman citizens from Carthage.

The Roman citizens of Thugga did not reproduce the public cults of Carthage. The public cults of the *pagus* were selected on the basis of the interests of the benefactors themselves. For its part, the *civitas* established an imperial cult that was Roman in form as well as object, but Roman cults were not forced on the indigenous population. By the beginning of the second century A.D., a new Romano-African elite had molded a collective religious identity that embraced both *pagus* and *civitas*.

Indeed, the public cults of Carthage itself had undergone a gradual transformation since the founding of the colony; by the late second century these cults, too, admitted African influence. For example, it was the Romano-African council that petitioned the emperor for assistance with the new temple of Caelestis, the Roman name for the traditional Punic goddess Tanit. But because the council of Carthage was a local body, and acted on the basis of a local agenda, the collective religious identity that the council shaped through its control of cults such as that of Caelestis was inevitably local as well. The council at Carthage could not, and did not wish to, create a sense of a collective religious identity that corresponded to the empire. Furthermore, the local elites who generated such religious identities lacked the political power of the Roman Senate. Carthage was not a sovereign power. According to Rives, the removal of genuine political significance from public religion in the empire led to its collapse (p. 172).

Because Carthage was not a sovereign city, there was no need for a sharp distinction between its cults and those of other cities and peoples within the empire: Carthaginian identity already was blurred. Since public religion lacked any political significance, personal interests determined the selection of public cults. Furthermore, the council of Carthage had little interest in forcing individuals to adhere to the group norm; individuals were free to define their own religious identities as they pleased. Individuals engaged in speculation about the nature of the gods and developed personal beliefs about their identities. Most of these beliefs and religious activities were open to everyone, because the essential elements of interaction with the gods—prayer and sacrifice—did not require experts. Literate individuals also had access to more specialized systems of religious knowledge through magical handbooks and treatises on astrology. Some voluntary cult associations were completely private, while others, such as the Cereales, functioned as semi-public bodies. Sometimes these cult associations had a distinctly ethnic character.

In a number of ways, the Jewish groups in Carthage fit into the spectrum of private religious associations. Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence about the organization of the diaspora community. Similarly, the Christian community in Carthage also resembled an association in a number of respects, although its membership was not sharply defined, and it did not depend on the payment of dues. Moreover, unlike other associations, the Christians were subject to the threat of persecution and were deeply divided over issues of basic theology.

Neither the council of Carthage nor the Roman imperial government had any real policy about religion

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before the third century. The result was religious pluralism, which Rives traces back to the civic model of official religion. When the emperor Decius ordered all of the empire's inhabitants to offer sacrifice to the gods, his solution to the limitations of the civic model was to treat the entire empire like a city. But individuals had long been free to define their own religious identities, and a simple order for sacrifice did little to change the situation. Diocletian, on the other hand, clearly believed in a Roman religious norm that he was willing to enforce, but only in a negative sense. Ultimately, he could not articulate a positive content of that Roman religious tradition.

Nor could the Romans use some alternative models of religious authority as the basis for a new official religion. Religious authority within mystery cults was based on access to secret religious knowledge, but these cults were also organized on a local basis. Judaism could not serve as the model for the creation of an empire-wide religious identity because it was essentially the religion of a particular people. Only Christianity provided a viable alternative. Christianity had a universally recognized sacred text and its clergy, especially the bishops, eventually acquired the authority to interpret that text in terms of doctrine and discipline. They were thus in a position to define normative religious behavior. By the later third century, the Christian church had developed a structure of religious authority unique in the Roman world. After his conversion, Constantine became aware of the advantages that Christian religious authority offered. Through his assumption of the role of final arbiter of disputes within the church, Constantine laid the foundation for the truly unified empire of late antiquity in which religious identity, closely defined and controlled by the central power, linked individuals to the state.

Rives's account of how and why the Roman citizens of the colony of Carthage and native Africans molded a collective religious identity that embraced both Roman and African religious traditions is thoroughly persuasive. Furthermore, he has made a very strong case that the Roman government did not impose a religious identity on a city in the Roman empire from above. But was religious identity to a large extent isomorphic with civic identity during the Roman empire? Has Rives also proved that the Roman civic model of official religion was incompatible with a culturally and politically unified empire? Was it the removal of genuine political significance from public religion that ultimately led to the collapse of the civic model of official religion? Did the imperial government make a radical change in its policy toward religion in the third century because the religious pluralism of the Roman empire was increasingly incongruous in a culturally unified empire?

It is at least arguable that, after the institution of the imperial cult, the colonists of Carthage and their descendants were operating within a system of official religion that had been modified fundamentally. By the reign of Augustus, it was not the civic model of official religion that the Romans themselves had practiced, but what we might call the imperial model. Within that imperial model, the emperor (and/or his deified ancestors and relatives) had appropriated both the political power and religious authority of the Republican Senate. Inhabitants of the Roman empire who initiated local versions of the imperial cult did not intend those local versions to serve as the basis for an empire-wide sense of religious identity; the imperial cult did not bind together the individual cities horizontally. Rather, their focus was on vertical relations between their own cities (or provinces) and the emperor.

The imperial model was in place by 29 B.C. and there were no structural changes until the third century A.D. This model of official religion, for which the emperor was the political and religious focus, was not incompatible with the existence of a unified empire, given the limited imperial goals of the Romans. The imperial model *was* incompatible with the presence of large numbers of Goths and Sasanians who proved, in the case of the emperor Valerian, that the Roman emperor was not an immortal god after all. (Valerian was captured by the Sasanians at Edessa in A.D. 260 and died in captivity.)

Rives's book represents a major advance in the study of ancient Carthage, the relationship between religious identity and political authority in the Roman empire, and the religious transformation of the Mediterranean world. It is the first successful study of how and why the official religion of a major city in the Roman empire changed over time. In explaining this change, Rives has recreated the religious tapestry of Carthage with unmatched sensitivity to language, subtlety, and depth. This study should serve as a model for understanding religious change in other cities and provinces of the Roman empire. Until we have a Rives for Alexandria, for Antioch, for Athens, for Ephesos, above all, for Rome itself, we will not be able fully to understand how and why the empire of the Caesars became the empire of God.

GUY MACLEAN ROGERS
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SIMON SWAIN. *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 499. $90.00.

Simon Swain is known for publications on Greek authors of the mid-first to mid-third century A.D., and in this book he once again displays a deep engagement with them and their period. During these two centuries, the great cities of the Greek East blossomed under Roman rule, and the Second Sophistic movement left its strong mark on Greek cultural life. Its leaders were glamorous practitioners and teachers of public speaking, who in many cases also played influential roles in the political life of their cities and were admired not least by a succession of philhellenic emperors. There are excellent standard treatments in

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English of their activities and impact by G. W. Bowersock and E. L. Bowie, and, more recently, some salutary words of caution from P. A. Brunt ("The bubble of the Second Sophistic," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 39 [1994]: 25–52).

Swain's book is divided into two parts. In the first four chapters, his purpose is not so much to propose any radical shift in established views as to reexamine certain major defining elements at the core of the Second Sophistic. Pride of place rightly goes to "Atticism," the passion for adopting the vocabulary and style of the classic Athenian authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., which represented deliberate and demanding detachment from the language that even educated contemporaries spoke and wrote. Atticism not only widened the space between its self-assured, exclusively male practitioners and their fellow Greeks (not to mention their non-Greek rulers and other *barbaroi*) but also reinforced a sense of cultural identity wherein the past was redefined (even reinvented) exclusively in the framework of archaic and classical Greece. Swain is well aware that comparisons can be drawn here with the "language question"—the struggles between *katharevousa* and *dhimotiki*—in the history of modern Greece, and he treats this with good effect. Equally engaging is his discussion of the degree to which the Second Sophistic represented a reaction to Roman control. Chapter four examines the Greek "novels"—a literary form unique to the period—and persuasively reads in them the reflection of a changed ethical outlook and a reaffirmation of past glories and the centrality of the polis to Greek identity.

These four, highly stimulating chapters add important dimensions to the literature on the Second Sophistic and might have served as the core of a book of more modest length. Instead, they are only the prelude to a second, far longer part of nine chapters. Here Swain takes ten notable Greek authors (Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Arrian, Appian, Aelius Aristides, Lucian, Pausanias, Galen, Philostratus, and Cassius Dio), and seeks to determine the attitude of each toward Rome. The unwary reader ought to bear in mind that this is a varied group; while all of them belong to the period of the Second Sophistic, only a minority merit the description "sophist." Even as intellectuals whose writings survive, they are not necessarily representative. Their contemporaries Aelian, Athenaeus, Herodian, and Ptolemy are absent, for example, not to mention the great sophist Polemo. Swain duly acknowledges this imbalance in his introduction, but his selection has perforce to be governed by the potential for eliciting views of Rome from authors' work.

Even then, as he is also aware, the chances of achieving a deep or nuanced insight may be only slim. All the authors discussed knew full well that Roman peace and prosperity brought them tremendous personal benefit. Some even occupied high positions in the emperor's service, most conspicuously Cassius Dio, who rose to be twice consul, alongside the emperor himself. It is unlikely that any of the group was ever rash enough to write down frank personal thoughts about the ruling power, and certainly no such testimony by them has survived. To tease out their opinions on this issue, which they address only seldom and indirectly, is quite a challenge. Just possibly it did not bother them as much as it does Swain. His coverage is extremely uneven: prolix on Plutarch (the author most familiar to him), for example, but brief on Arrian, Appian, and Philostratus.

The conclusions that emerge are judicious but unremarkable: among the group, for all their accommodation to Rome, signs of a certain coolness and resentment can indeed be detected. Swain throughout summarizes his main points clearly and contributes an array of learned insights. He aptly introduces an anecdote in a recently discovered commentary by Galen to illustrate the latter's contempt for Romans' lack of appreciation for higher Greek culture (p. 378). Even so, the discussion is burdened with a heavy cargo of dense footnotes, often didactic in tone, and four learned appendixes; prosopography and dating command particular attention.

For all its merits, therefore, the book somehow seems less than the sum of its unequal parts. It is unfortunate that the two are only loosely related, so that the sense of anticipation built up in part one is dissipated in part two. If Swain were to consider writing another study, however, in which the leading sophists returned to center stage, that would be most welcome.

RICHARD J. A. TALBERT
Princeton University

J. N. D. KELLY. *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 310. $47.50.

In my library I have at least four of J. N. D. Kelly's books: *Early Christian Doctrines* (1958), *Early Christian Creeds* (1972), *The Athanasian Creed* (1964), and *Jerome* (1975). All are indispensable for any serious student of the early church, and they have served me almost as reference works over the years. Now Kelly has turned to a wholly new subject, John Chrysostom, the famed preacher and bishop of Constantinople, and he has again written a first-class study.

Chrysostom was a voluminous writer and a superb Greek stylist, and his life and thought are at the center of a small scholarly industry. Few early Christian figures command as much attention. What makes Kelly's work unusual and impressive is that he has no apparent agenda except to tell the entire story of Chrysostom's life, which he has done with immense learning, intelligence, and grace. This book is a biography in the old style and very much the better for it. Kelly begins at the beginning and ends at the end, patiently recounting Chrysostom's youth in Antioch, his days as a monk outside the city, his years as a presbyter when he preached regularly, his unexpected elevation to the episcopate of the imperial capital at

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Constantinople, his conflicts with the royal household and with scheming fellow bishops, his deposition and exile, and, finally, his death. It is a grand story told well and based on a careful reading of the texts and a critical assessment of the scholarly literature.

This is not an intellectual biography. Kelly is interested in telling the story of what kind of man John Chrysostom was, who and what formed him, what he did and when, the events and controversies he was involved in, and what led to his downfall with as much detail as the sources allow. A good part of the book is given over to ecclesiastical and political history, and in an age of social history it is refreshing to read a historical study that presents the key figures as actors in events. Yet a section of each chapter is devoted to a discussion of Chrysostom's homilies, addresses, treatises, and, where relevant, the theological or moral concerns that occupied his thinking. Kelly has also taken the time to sort out, as best one can, the controverted historical and chronological details of Chrysostom's trial and exile and his relation to such figures as his accuser Theophilus of Alexandria and the empress Eudoxia. His judgments are consistently judicious.

All in all this is a most impressive book that will be as enduring as Kelly's earlier works.

ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN
University of Virginia

HUGH ELTON. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 150. $29.95.

Hugh Elton has set himself a highly ambitious task. In a little more than 100 pages, he attempts to explore the complex world of the Roman frontier from Britain to Syria and from the second-century B.C. republic to the sixth-century A.D. empire of Justinian. Not content with a study focused on traditional military history and archaeology, he attempts to bring in comparative frontier theory and to view the Roman frontiers as complex zones of social and economic interaction. Trade and the exchange of peoples become as important as the building of forts and walls. The full bibliography shows that Elton has read widely in contemporary Roman frontier research.

The result is an interesting, impressionistic account, but one that will, in the end, neither satisfy the expert nor fully educate the general reader. Since Elton tries to do too much, many aspects of the Roman frontier are not handled in a full, satisfactory manner. This limitation is evident from the start. In the opening section on the application of general frontier studies to the specific problems of Roman frontier policy, Frederick Jackson Turner and Owen Lattimore are mentioned only briefly, while contemporary frontier debates, often relevant to the Roman situation, are totally neglected. Edward Luttwak's controversial but important *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (1976) does not even appear in the bibliography. Although excessive attention is paid to the first-century A.D. revolt of the Batavian auxiliary officer Civilis on the Rhine, the career of Agricola, the quintessential Roman frontier general, is not considered. In fact, Elton provides very little in the way of systematic description of the administrative class that managed the Roman frontier or of the civic-military structure that made long-term frontier stability possible. He argues for the importance of a socio-economic approach to Roman frontier studies, but he does not provide the synthesis of archaeological and written evidence that makes such studies possible. A few interesting archaeological studies are introduced, but Elton is clearly more comfortable with written documents than with the complicated archaeological investigations that are so central to contemporary Roman frontier studies.

The Roman frontier was characterized by great diversity at any one moment in time and by a complex evolution through time. The demands of the Syria frontier were always different from those of Britain, but the British frontier in the first century was very different from that in the late fourth century. Elton is too prone to select his examples at random in time and space. The result is a collection of sometimes confusing episodes and impressions rather than tight analyses of specific frontier situations.

The problem of this episodic quality is compounded by the fact that Elton often discusses a particular frontier situation without providing sufficient background on the events or the central historical characters. The general development of the frontier in important regions like Britain, the Danube, and even Syria is not systematically discussed. The reader who does not have a rather sophisticated knowledge of Roman history will often not be able to appreciate the significance of the events described. These problems are not helped by a haphazard selection of maps, which fails to provide a good overall picture of Roman frontier topography.

Elton considers a number of topics that are only marginally related to frontier concerns. A great part of the discussion deals more with internal provincial administration than with the world of the frontier. In a short book, this lack of topical discipline means that important frontier themes are neglected.

While I must praise the range of Elton's interests, I cannot regard the work as a success. The general reader who wants a more focused consideration of the Roman frontier should turn to Richard Whittaker's *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (1993) or more specialized studies like Martin Millett's *The Romanization of Britain* (1990) and Benjamin Isaac's *The Limits of Empire* (1990).

STEPHEN L. DYSON
State University of New York, Buffalo

MICHAEL E. JONES. *The End of Roman Britain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 323. $45.00.

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This work sets out to address two issues: why Roman Britain failed and why, in the post-imperial world of the fifth century, Roman cultural influence shrank in Britain to levels far lower than those in, for example, Gaul or Spain. Michael E. Jones's thesis follows many recent works in dismissing the "Germanist" vision of mass migration from Germany. More controversially, Jones also challenges the increasing dominance of archaeological theorizing about this same problem, reasserting the validity and value of arguments based on texts. His solution is that internal factors caused both the collapse of Roman Britain and the subsequent demise of Romanity.

An exploration of British texts suggested to Jones that their authors shared a hostility to Rome and things Roman, which has a bearing on these issues: the Britons were never as Romanized or as comfortable being Romans as other western provincial communities, so the disappearance of *Romanitas*—and particularly Latin as a spoken language—is explicable. His solution to the enigma of Roman Britain's demise centers on British hostility combined with an environmental crisis of exceptional gravity early in the fifth century.

The great strength of this work is the clarity with which it is written: I will certainly recommend it to my own undergraduate students as a useful introduction to some of the problems of interpreting Britain in the fifth century. It does not, however, live up to the claims made for it on the back cover. It has been launched onto a very congested market and has been too long in the making: there are precious few references later than 1992, but several key studies have been published in the subsequent five years. In consequence, although Jones has taken care to embed his arguments in the historiography of the postwar era, much of what he discusses at considerable length has recently been worked over extensively. This diminishes the value, for example, of his treatment of Gildas, whose surviving work was the subject of my own study, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (1994).

Even discounting studies published since 1992, however, there is a lack of originality. For example, the relative size of British and Anglo-Saxon populations have been discussed *ad nauseam* and do not warrant further extensive treament until new evidence is forthcoming. So, too, have the environmental issues, and Jones's discussion noticeably lacks the palaeobotanical input that provides the fundamental record of land use across the critical period.

Nor is the central vision of a British intelligentsia expressing hostility to Rome a particularly convincing one. Jones's treatment of St. Patrick (p. 113) seems like special pleading: Patrick's use of *civibus meis* and *civibus sanctorum Romanorum* serve primarily to exclude others—Coroticus and his men—from a valued set of social and religious identities to which Coroticus otherwise had some claim. The development of this argument thereafter depends on negative evidence, and I remain unconvinced that Patrick ever informs us of his views on Rome. Again, the lessons Jones seeks to draw from Gildas's work are difficult to accept: while he believes that Gildas's view of Roman Britain reflects current opinion at the time of writing, all that one can safely deduce is that it represents his own providential and dialectical reworking of Roman histories. His work does contain a current vision of Roman authority, but that is generally supportive. Gildas's separation of the Britons and Romans is an importance difference over against fifth-century Gaul, but the view that these texts contain much that is particularly hostile toward the Roman Empire during the early post-Roman period in Britain is, at best, unproven. Shorn of that, Jones's thesis is little more than an elaboration of Edward Thompson's radical interpretation of British rebellion against Roman authority *ca.* 410, with all the difficulties that imposes on episodes such as British appeals to "Agitius" in Gildas's *De Excidio*, or to the papacy in the *Chronicle* of Prosper Tiro.

In conclusion, this is an accessible discussion of a difficult subject with much to offer as regards synthesis but with little of substance that is both new and sustainable.

NICHOLAS JOHN HIGHAM
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PETER BROWN. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity AD 200–1000*. (The Making of Europe.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1996. Pp. xiii, 353. $24.95.

For the past twenty-five years or so, late antiquity has been looked at in two quite different ways: the post-structuralism of Peter Brown and his disciples and the more traditional approaches of scholars such as Alan Cameron, Timothy Barnes, J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, Ramsay MacMullen, and John Matthews. Although the two groups seldom criticize each other, they also seldom refer to each other. For example, among the five scholars just listed, Brown mentions only Barnes in the bibliography of the present book.

The book's title may be a bit misleading, because it ranges as far as China and India, pays a good deal of attention to the Eastern churches, and has little to say about times before 300 or after 800. Brown proposes to show how recent scholarship has "ensure[d] that the period between the end of the Roman Empire and the emergence of medieval Europe proper can no longer be described as 'the Dark Ages'" (p. xi), a purpose that leads him to discuss topics that go well beyond the history of Christianity.

Apart from its bibliography, the book includes no references, not even for its numerous statistics and quotations from primary sources. Usually the original passages are almost impossible to track down, but two that I did find are not reassuring. The remark of King Theodoric "to Romulus Augustulus" that "'An effective Goth wants to be like a Roman; only a poor

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Roman would want to be a Goth,'" (p. 59) looks like the Anonymous of Valois (chapter 12/61), where the words, attributed to Theodoric but not addressed to Romulus, should mean, "An impoverished Roman imitates a Goth, and a rich Goth imitates a Roman." When Brown writes, "The yearly budget of the east Roman empire was 900,000 gold pieces," he seems to have misread Michael Hendy's estimate of the payroll of Justinian's eastern armies as the whole budget, which Hendy actually estimates at 5 to 6 million gold solidi (Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* [1985], pp. 169, 171). Neither Hendy nor any primary source appears in the bibliography.

There are other signs of carelessness. By no calculation could Constantine be said to have ruled longer than Augustus (p. 22). "Southern and central Syria" were barely touched by the plague and were by no means "impoverished" in the early seventh century (p. 178). One can hardly say, "As a result [of the adoption of minuscule], the flowing script of earlier Greek and Latin manuscripts became almost illegible to the average clergyman after the ninth century" (p. 192), because the earlier majuscule is not cursive like minuscule and is easier to read. No one who has studied Arabic would speak of its "clarity" as "overwhelming" (p. 193). And Brown surely knows that it was dynastic divisions, not "Viking raids," that "effectively destroyed the unity" of the Carolingian empire (p. 301).

As in Brown's more recent work, the point of view is generally anti-Christian and pro-barbarian. Christians were "a group that positively gloried in change at the expense of the traditional beliefs of the population" (p. 35). Among Christians' "less innocent actions" was St. Boniface's cutting down a sacred tree (p. 5); but Frisian pagans later killed Boniface and his companions "almost by accident" (p. 266). As for Roman pagans, "Even at the height of the Great Persecution, martyrdom was not an everyday occurrence in any region," and anyway "the potential martyr was the special joy of the Christian community" (p. 27).

"When Venantius Fortunatus came to northern Gaul, in 567, he did not meet illiterate warriors," but "men such as" the learned royal tutor (p. 152). Yet how typical was the tutor? Franks "tended to believe" that they came from Troy (p. 85), as if most of them had heard of Troy. Germans apparently consisted only of clergy and nobles, with no peasants: "Particularly in northern Europe, the laity had come to resemble the warrior caste that flanked the Brahmins in India" (p. 320). But Christianity seems eventually to have spoiled them: Brown says of Charlemagne's war with the pagan Saxons, "Only Romans had been so self-confidently barbaric in their treatment of unreliable neighbors" (p. 274).

While the book includes some evocative images of a vast landscape, its picture is skewed, and its conclusions are not demonstrated. Years of scarcely any criticism have taken a toll on the author of the rigorous and well-documented *Augustine of Hippo* (1967).

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Saint Louis University

MEDIEVAL

ALFRED P. SMYTH. *King Alfred the Great*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xxv, 744. $35.00.

Alfred P. Smyth's book is a major contribution not only to Anglo-Saxon studies but also to a wider historical landscape. It forcefully poses and engages the major question facing any historian of the remote past: what is the quality of the source material available for the reconstruction and interpretation of that past? Rarely has there been a work of this size based on and driven so relentlessly by source criticism. King Alfred's actual biography is, in effect, preliminary or preparatory to the overall structure and design of Smyth's book. Two major theses dominate and animate the text: first, that the *Vita Ælfredi* long ascribed to Asser, bishop of Sherbourne, was in fact an early eleventh-century forgery; and, second, that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was initiated in the 890s and was in fact an integral part of Alfred's programmatic promotion of Christian culture and of his sense of Christian mission kingship.

The book is divided into four sections, the first of which is a narrative presentation of Alfred's life and political-military career. It is itself based on and anticipatory of Smyth's main contentions, in that it dispenses entirely with Asser (or Pseudo-Asser) and incorporates lengthy discussions of the design and reliability of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The third section contains a detailed examination of the few genuine surviving charters by or relating to Alfred, and of his *Will*. Smyth uses these sources to tease out information and speculation on patterns of political power and patronage. His most striking argument is that the Witan, while hardly formalized or autonomous, did have a kind of recognized functional standing, especially in matters of the royal succession.

The second and fourth parts of the book (well over half its entire length) contain Smyth's most original and important interpretations. Part two scrutinizes the *Vita*. It is deconstructed and then reconstructed in exhaustive detail and with great vigor, even relish. Smyth demonstrates its rhetorical and tendentious character, its reliance on folkloristic and hagiographical topoi, and its heavy indebtedness to continental models such as the lives of Charlemagne and Gerald of Aurillac. By a minute examination of the linguistic and other internal features of the text (and similarities with other texts datable to *ca.* 1000–1020), Smyth assigns the work to Byrhtferth of Ramsey, author of numerous other books, or an anonymous member of his circle. The *Vita*'s image of the pious, ascetic king is thus put in the context of the objectives of the monastic reform movement, stemming from the age of Archbishop

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Dunstan and reflective of the concerns of eleventh-century England, not those of ninth-century Wessex.

The discussion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the fourth part of the book is in many ways even more important, because that work enables us to engage directly and positively both the genuine Alfred and his age. Smyth argues that Alfred's promotion of Christian learned culture throughout his reign was both continuous and purposeful and that the most important influences on his values, apart from St. Augustine and Pope Gregory I, were such philosophical historians as Orosius and Bede. The *Chronicle* is thus seen as an attempt, in the vernacular, to extend and expand on their vision of the struggle between (Roman) Christianity and its enemies (in this case, of course, pagan and marauding Viking), with the king as major agent and exemplar of the triumph of righteousness and an activist piety. Alfred as scholar-king and as Christian mission king has rarely been portrayed in so forceful and comprehensive a fashion.

Not all of Smyth's ideas will command complete or easy acceptance. The ascription of the (Pseudo-)Asser to Byrhtferth, to take only the most obvious example, cannot be proven. But the identity of the real author is a secondary matter. If Smyth is correct in his major conclusions, then to dismiss the *Vita* altogether as a contemporary source and to look afresh at the Alfredian portion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* immediately forces a rethinking not only of Alfred himself but also of how we approach and appropriate historical evidence. In that regard, the book more than amply justifies its length and validates its signal importance.

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FELICE LIFSHITZ. *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684–1090*. (Studies and Texts, number 122.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1995. Pp. xii, 324. $63.50.

This is a small but densely argued and exceedingly erudite book. Although Felice Lifshitz proclaims at the outset that the work is concerned with the subject of Christian evangelization and conversion, it is more accurately described as a study of the use of cultic figures for the changing construction of "Neustrian," later "Norman," identity in the face of dual waves of settlement in what had originally been the Second Lyonnais, then (Merovingian and Carolingian) Neustria, and finally Normandy. The first wave is represented by the arrival of the Carolingians from Austrasia in the late seventh century; the second by the Viking conquest and ultimate settlement in the tenth century. The link between both themes and the principal sources examined in detailed and highly sophisticated ways are successive historiographical texts produced continuously throughout the period under examination, including, most especially, hagiographical writings and *vitae*, here wisely and sensitively employed as fully authentic works of history. In this, Lifshitz consciously allies with recent historians such as Thomas Head (*Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* [1990]) who "reject the literary study of saints' biographies qua the study of concepts of sanctity, and focus instead on the relic-possessing and text-producing communities who created the narratives" (p. 141). Thus, far from being concerned with hagiographical *topoi*, Lifshitz deploys her texts to demonstrate the close connection between cultic life and representations with regional identities. In the end, this is less a book about what it means to be "Christian" and "not-Christian" (her terms) than what it means to be, successively, "Neustrian" and "Norman." It is founded on the conviction that "the study of the historiography of Christianization in the Second-Lyonnais-Neustria-Normandy is a study of the effects of changing definitions of Christianity and of changing political contexts on the complex interplay between concrete self-perceived reality and abstract historiographical discourse" (p. 11). It is, in other words, in the very best sense a convincing study of the politics of identity formation and of the reliance on historiographical visions and revisions of the past to bring them into being. The book's title traces just such an evolution of regional self-perception, in which the original Merovingian construction of Neustria as a fully Christianized, peaceable kingdom, abundantly populated with holy men and hermits, was gradually transformed into a "demonized," virtually "pagan" ("not-Christian") territory that required conquest to bring it in harmony with God's sacred purposes.

One of the fundamental principles guiding Lifshitz in tracing this evolution is the firm belief that historiographic production is "crisis-led," engendered by invasion, conquest, or political and ecclesiastical events that threaten the status quo, such as the assassination of William Longsword or the threat of monastic reform. Thus the usurpatious Carolingians incited the Neustrians—in the persons of the monks of Jumièges—to construct their vision of a "pious" land around the local figure of St. Audoenus (St. Ouen), joined by the lesser figures of Ansbertus and Filibertus. The Carolingians, as every beginning student of medieval history knows from reading Einhard, were bent on depicting the Merovingians as decrepit, corrupt, and impotent, whose "do-nothing" rule required overturning. Similarly, the Carolingians, anxious in the face of the Viking threat, sought to implant a new vision of the now-incorporated Neustrian realm and did so, via the offices of the monks of Fontenelle and St.-Denis, by projecting whatever was left of "pious Neustria" as terminating, at the latest, in the reign of Dagobert and primarily the work of outsiders such as St. Columbanus and Dionysius the Areopagite (Lifshitz has fascinating things to say about the importance of this Dionysian dimension to the cultic and political life of the Carolingian realm). At the same time, the Carolingians introduced the figure of archangel Michael into Normandy, whose combination of bellicose and heavenly

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status fit perfectly into the themes that most preoccupied the threatened and hierarchically organized realm. Finally, the eleventh-century Neustrian/Normans, building on Carolingian beginnings, completed the destruction of the notion of "pious Neustria" (the "conquest" of the title) and effected the substitution of St. Romanus of Rouen for Audoenus as the emblem of Norman identities and patron saint of the region. Such a brief, schematic summary, however, scarcely does justice to the subtlety and wide learning that Lifshitz brings to bear on these questions, whose treatment constitutes an exemplary *tour-de-force* in its complex interweaving of historical, political, and historiographical movements.

A few curiosities bear notice. Despite the record of revision and rupture in the representation of Neustrian identity chronicled here, Lifshitz remains convinced that the underlying history of the region was one of continuity, a continuity that was structural with respect to the material conditions of life and political with respect to the rapid assimilation of Norman rule to Frankish modes of operation and institutions. This naturally raises the question of why essentially stable conditions generated such sharp historiographical shifts. On what level, therefore, can Neustrian/Norman historiography be said to be "crisis-led"? Lifshitz's answer—that the rupture never occurred except on the level of the "threat of rupture"—may satisfy some, but I wonder if the distinction is rather due to the fact that what she is recording here are the perceptions of the conquered. If the story could be known (which it cannot) from the Norman side, it might look very different indeed. Even the threat of rupture, Lifshitz tells us, had its costs, for to avert it the conquered Neustrians had to accept that "Normandy" had begun when the Vikings arrived and to forget "Pious Neustria," exchanging old saints and myths for new patrons and symbols of historical identity.

If I have any complaint with the work, it is that the style of writing tends at times to veer abruptly between the breezy and the arcane ("gemmetic" comes to mind, although if she means "budding," surely it should be gemmate; neither actually exists in English). But this is trivial in light of her genuine and important contribution to our understanding of the complex workings of pre- and early Norman historiography. One can only hope that later Norman historiography will find a reader as sensitive and as learned as this.

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HUGUETTE TAVIANI-CAROZZI. *La terreur du monde: Robert Guiscard et la conquête normande en Italie; Mythe et histoire*. Paris: Fayard. 1996. Pp. 559. 170 fr.

Frequently in history, the actions of one individual so overshadow those of others that many impressive feats gain nothing more than a footnote in historical textbooks. So it is in studying Europe during the last half of the eleventh century, when the actions of William the Conqueror of England so overwhelm the events of his time that it takes the First Crusade to reclaim the interest of medieval historians. Lost in the midst of this event is what William's Norman cousins were doing in the Mediterranean; for more than a decade prior to and continuing for more than two decades following the conquest of England, a Norman invasion of southern Italy and Sicily was taking place.

Although initially slow in progressing, the Norman conquest of southern Italy was successfully completed after Robert Guiscard became count of all Normans in Italy in 1057. Together with his younger brother, Roger, Robert spent more than twenty-eight years forcing into submission the Byzantines, Arabs, and Lombards who had previously held these lands. In doing so, he proved no respecter of religion or nationality. He seemed to be first hated and then favored by the papacy. In 1053, at Civitate, Robert captured Pope Leo IX; Leo's successor, Nicholas II, made Robert a duke and a vassal in 1059 and then employed his army against both the German and Byzantine emperors. The Norman-Papal alliance remained strong from that time until Robert's death in 1085. Robert brought both fame and infamy to his family, the Hautevilles, and to his duchy. While not as enduring as the conquest of William the Conqueror, his exploits shaped the Mediterranean political scene until well into the Renaissance.

To date Robert Guiscard has received little scholarly attention outside the footnotes alluded to above. It is thus with some enthusiasm that medieval historians should greet Huguette Taviani-Carozzi's military biography. This is a very good book. Taviani-Carozzi has written an insightful, well-researched work utilizing a vast array of original sources from Latin, Greek, Arabic, and vernacular authors.

But this is more than a simple biography of Robert Guiscard. It also successfully attempts to explain his legend. Even before his death, Robert had become a legendary character, and that legend would grow larger in the following few centuries. For his military success, especially against his Islamic foes, Robert appears frequently in the popular Crusade cycle literature, sometimes on his own and sometimes as the mentor of his son, Bohemond, a leader of the First Crusade and eventual king of Antioch. In the early fourteenth century, Dante even placed him in Paradise. So important is this legend to Taviani-Carozzi in understanding Robert's history that it remains a constant and worthwhile theme throughout the book, defining the conqueror, his family, his enemies, and even the lands of his conquest.

It is, after all, these aspects that make the story of Robert interesting history. Southern Italy, then as now, was one of the most impoverished, diverse, and troubled regions of the world. Yet, because of its geographical location, it was the object of military desire by many. Perhaps none in the Middle Ages were as successful as members of the Hauteville family, especially Robert and Roger, who first overran the Lom-

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bards and Byzantines of Pouille and Calabria and then turned their sights toward the Arab-controlled island of Sicily. It was in these conquests that Robert gained his epithet, "terreur du monde."

There is one major criticism to be made about this book. Written by a French academic for a French academic audience, it has no footnotes. It is true that almost all of the quotations from original sources are cited in parenthetical notation, although frequently without page numbers or other more narrow references, but no secondary sources are cited. This is especially frustrating when the reader can tell that an argument has been put forth that supports or attacks something written by one of the many secondary source authors listed in the bibliography and there is no citation. Still, irritating as it is, this should not take away from the strength of what is a very valuable study of medieval politics, warfare, and dynastic relationships.

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MARTHA G. NEWMAN. *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180.* (Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 387. $49.50.

By the twelfth century, monastic communities no longer enjoyed the predominant role they had played earlier in assuring the salvation of their fellow Christians; priests and the sacraments they dispensed, and not the prayers of monks and nuns, began to bear primary responsibility for Christians' souls. What responsibilities, if any, would monastic communities now have for the world beyond their walls? Specifically, asks Martha G. Newman in this complex and rich study, how did Cistercian monks conceive of their role within the Christian world during the first century of the order's existence? Newman's answer involves an emphatic and convincing rejection of the historiographic construct that could be called the "Cistercian paradox": the Cistercians, while proclaiming that their conception of the monastic life was predicated on withdrawal to the wilderness and a rejection of contact with "the world," actually were deeply involved in the ecclesiastical (and secular) politics of the twelfth century. Sometimes historians have sought to explain the "paradox" by arguing that while the early Cistercians lived up to the ideal, later Cistercians did not. This is a vision of hypocrisy and degeneration that Newman finds as unacceptable as she does the idea that there was a paradox. Newman examines a wide range of sources (including sermons, letters, biblical commentary, and cartularies) to argue that instead of contradicting the ideal, Cistercian activity in the world was part of that ideal from at least the early twelfth century on. Such activity was a logical and conscious consequence of how these monks conceived of the relation between God, the individual, and the community (Newman's study thus contributes to the modern discussion about the emergence of the individual in the twelfth century).

The Cistercians expressed this relation in the central concept of their religious culture: *caritas* (love or charity). For the Cistercians, *caritas* meant above all the dynamic process by which the individual turned away from self-love and toward love of God. Although this process related to the individual's salvation, Newman argues that the Cistercians believed that love of other human beings and life in a community were essential to *caritas*. Indeed, Cistercians believed that this active *caritas* directed toward others formed the basis for Cistercian community.

The relation between community and individual inherent to active *caritas* impelled the Cistercians into the public arena of ecclesiastical and secular politics, Newman argues, because they conceived of the whole church as bound by ties of *caritas*. Ideally, the church's unity would be maintained by secular leaders and by prelates, leaving monks free for contemplation. But the Cistercians saw that princes and prelates were not doing their job. Compelled by the dictates of *caritas*, the monks thus had to take on an active role in the world beyond their monastery walls. They worked for ecclesiastical unity by encouraging the moral reform of secular and ecclesiastical leaders. Through letter-writing and other activities, Cistercians exhorted both bishops with whom they had become friendly and secular leaders such as Henry II of England. Furthermore, some Cistercians took on the role of prelate; between approximately 1130 and 1180, over sixty men who had been Cistercian monks became bishops, archbishops, or, in one case, even pope.

Cistercian activity in the service of *caritas* also took the form of attempts to parry threats to ecclesiastical unity. For example, Newman analyzes Cistercian intervention in the schism of the 1130s opposing Innocent II and Anacletus II, the conflict between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa, and the clash between Henry II and Thomas Becket. She also discusses Cistercian involvement in the fight against heresy. In her examination of their reaction to schisms and heresy, Newman argues that the Cistercians operated according to their image of the church as united by *caritas*. She shows how this vision diverged from the increasingly prevalent juridic definition of the church. Although certain Cistercian ideas about heretics were incorporated into ecclesiastical policy, Newman argues that by the later twelfth century, the Cistercian image of the Church as bound by active *caritas* was largely anachronistic. Thus, Newman neatly inverts the historiographic commonplace she so convincingly argues against: rather than the Cistercians degenerating from their original ideal, the world had changed and left the Cistercians clinging to their outdated ideal.

Her discussion ends before the Cistercian general chapter officially recognized women's monasteries as part of the order. Nonetheless, it would have been interesting for her to consider how such active *caritas*

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would have been enacted by female religious, who, when they were incorporated into the order, were enjoined to strict enclosure. Furthermore, aggressive *caritas* (images of this virtue storming castles and winning battles were common in Cistercian writings, Newman points out) seems masculine. How would it be translated for female audiences?

Such considerations would have widened the scope of an already broad book. Newman by and large takes care to contextualize her argument within the broader frame of the twelfth century. She uses her wide range of sources deftly, although the well-chosen illustrations remain oddly mute despite their captions because Newman never refers to them in her text. Her arguments are careful and compelling (with perhaps the exception of a chapter juxtaposing a masterful analysis of Cistercian economic practices with a less successful discussion of Cistercian exegesis of the Song of Songs). Newman has done an excellent job of illuminating the principles guiding Cistercian conduct both inside and outside the cloister; it would be hard to come away from this book and believe that the white monks were either hypocritical or paradoxical. This book should join the list of fundamental reading for anyone interested in medieval monasticism.

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A. D. M. BARRELL. *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342–1378*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 30.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxv, 291. $59.95.

The *plenitudo potestatis* has never been deemed to be more than an expansive claim, a sort of papal divine right. If any institution came close to a spiritual absolutism in the Middle Ages, it was, of course, the papacy, but nobody has ever doubted that there were inevitable limits to the exercise of that power. To define the exact nature of papal power, however, we need to compare and contrast what happened in different countries in the matters of papal provision to benefices, taxation, and the operation of papal courts. Such investigations require considering the extent of secular power—both Crown and Parliament by the fourteenth century in England—and the possible rise of xenophobia, due to mounting taxation by a central church and, perhaps, a growing number of foreigners being presented to benefices that were in increasingly short supply.

The purpose of A. D. M. Barrell's book is to assess how far the measures taken by the Avignon popes in their government of the church were put into practice in Scotland and in the north of England (the Province of York). He declares his hand at the outset. There was, he says, a deep-rooted acceptance of papal authority. Objections in the fourteenth century were to the exercise of that power, not to the power as such. For various reasons, the policies had different results either side of the border. By 1342, papal central government was sophisticated by any standard. The Chancery, the Apostolic Camera, the judicial tribunals—consistory, Rota, and Audientia—and the office of the Penitentiary were developed and intricate. They controlled the church. Business was conducted through these offices, and Barrell is right to ask how far individual popes could, indeed, influence policies and events.

The book is well planned. The core chapters—more than half the book—are on papal taxation and on provision. On these two subjects, W. E. Lunt and Geoffrey Barraclough, respectively, are still the authorities. Barrell's research does not greatly modify Lunt, but there is much interesting material, and he highlights the contrasts and points out the importance of procurations, which were easier to collect than annates and convenient in that papal representatives could be paid on the spot. A particularly fascinating section of Barrell's book is on the papal collectors. These men were often used as diplomats between the popes and the European monarchs. Some of them were in fact royal clerks. As persons who could make loans (they were supposed to get license to do so), they had considerable power. While the evidence shows that the English resisted some payments (in any case, there were more than in Scotland), only assumptions can be made for Scotland because of the lack of evidence.

On papal provision in Scotland and northern England, Barrell challenges Barraclough's conclusion that provision was the normal way of getting a benefice, even, says Barrell, where benefices were in clerical patronage. Provisions were relatively more numerous in York than in Scotland, but there were more provisions to graduates in Scotland. Scottish patrons, too, probably encountered less interference with their rights than their English counterparts. The trouble, however, with any assessment or comparison, is the unequal playing field of the sources. There are no episcopal registers from this period for Scotland, and there are no parliament rolls. Much of the evidence for anti-papal feeling in England comes from parliamentary petitions. Again, there is no corresponding source for Scotland. Barrell has coped very judiciously in trying to level the ground. He has put himself in a distinguished line of Scottish historians of the papacy. The picture is of an increasingly centralized church, largely as a result of provision, and a rigid system in which the personalities of the individual popes made little difference.

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MARTHA CARLIN. *Medieval Southwark*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 351. $55.00.

Located at the foot of London Bridge on the south bank of the Thames, Southwark was famous in the Middle Ages for its taverns and inns (including the

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Tabard Inn, where Chaucer's pilgrims gathered before departing for Canterbury), the Bankside brothels or "stews" that made up London's most notorious red-light district, and the royal prisons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea. These somewhat disreputable establishments, along with the immunity the suburb enjoyed from London jurisdiction, helped give medieval Southwark a reputation for unruliness and lawlessness. But Southwark was also home to important ecclesiastical establishments, a public hospital, and the lavish townhouses of many lay and religious magnates, while also housing one of the largest concentrations of foreigners in all of England. These anomalies, as well as Southwark's position as the largest suburb of Britain's largest city, make it a very intriguing place.

Drawing on an impressive range of manuscript and printed sources, Martha Carlin traces the development of Southwark from its Roman origins to the height of its growth in the late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, concentrating in particular on the late medieval period. Although a parliamentary borough by 1295, Southwark possessed little jurisdictional unity; it was made up of five different parishes and five autonomous manors (owned by such powerful lords as the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Winchester). Each manor had its own administrative structure, courts, and jealously guarded liberties and privileges, a situation that provoked extensive bickering over jurisdictional rights. Complaining that malefactors too often escaped punishment by fleeing to Southwark (especially to the sanctuary maintained in the manor of Paris Garden), London authorities began in the early fourteenth century to try to gain greater authority over the suburb. Although the Londoners' rhetoric focused above all on the dangerous criminals who sought refuge in Southwark, Carlin argues that the economic challenge posed by Southwark's freedom from London's guilds and commercial regulations lay at the heart of the city's ongoing campaign to gain jurisdictional control. London eventually acquired rights over most of Southwark in 1550 and created the city ward of Bridge Without, yet the suburb continued to be administered via three of the old manorial jurisdictions, each with its own courts, officers, and ordinances.

Carlin's analysis of property-holding records indicates that the rapid growth of the high Middle Ages halted in the early fourteenth century, as it did in the neighboring suburb of Westminster and in other towns. Recovery began by the 1360s and quickened during the early fifteenth century, fueled in part by large numbers of newcomers from within Britain and abroad. Indeed, Carlin argues that Southwark, in contrast to most other English towns, experienced little demographic contraction in the late Middle Ages, as indicated by the extensive subdivision of properties, the creation of new alleys and cemeteries, rising rents and property values, and increasing pressure on the water supply and rubbish removal.

The population of Southwark was also distinguished by its high concentration of alien residents and single people (forty-one percent of the households in 1381 contained only one adult) and by an occupational structure that included especially large numbers of innkeepers, brothel-keepers, and prostitutes. Carlin devotes a useful chapter to analyzing the large *Doche* community, made up of alien immigrants from the Low Countries (especially Flanders) and Germany. The aliens lived and worked together, clustering mainly in the parish of St. Olave; with the exception of their involvement in beerbrewing, they were less likely than natives to work in the victualling and building trades, preferring instead to concentrate on the leather and clothing trades, as well as on highly skilled work as glaziers, printers, and spectacle-makers. Innkeeping in Southwark was promoted not only by the suburb's freedom from London's strict hosting laws and its convenience as a waystation for travelers but also by its ability to pasture horses for hire. Brothel-keeping in Southwark was, moreover, encouraged by London's ban on intramural prostitution. The Southwark brothels were concentrated in the bishop of Winchester's manor, where extensive regulations governed the hiring, fees, dress, and behavior of prostitutes. By the 1540s, however, growing animosity toward prostitution and the criminal activities associated with it compelled the king to close down the Southwark stews.

Readers of Carlin's definitive study of medieval Southwark might occasionally wish for more pointed analyses (for example, in comparing Southwark to other suburbs and towns) or for greater methodological rigor (for example, in the explanation of occupational change over several centuries), but the book overall makes a valuable scholarly contribution. Especially welcome are the author's detailed examination of the suburb's topographical history and its alien community, as well as her discussion of Southwark's demographic structure in 1381 and its occupational emphasis on innkeeping and prostitution. In tracing the development of medieval Southwark and providing a wealth of detail on its history, Carlin adds considerably to our understanding of the history of London and suburban development in medieval Europe.

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BARBARA A. HANAWALT and DAVID WALLACE, editors. *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*. (Medieval Cultures, number 9.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 242. $19.95.

If read without the title, introduction, and afterword, these ten essays present an instructive sampling of the subjects and approaches that currently interest historians and literary scholars of fifteenth-century England. The five literary critics are attracted to drama and public ritual; the five historians to crime and social and sexual behaviors. Combined, their essays produce a collection of good quality but little obvious structure

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that announces its genesis in conference papers: what used to be called, frankly, a miscellany. Some strenuous guidance by editors Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace in their introduction, by Paul Strohm in an afterword, and by contributor Ralph Hanna III, working riffs on the terms "bodies," "disciplines," and "intersections," encourages readers to see a sort of postmodern traffic pattern in the "unfortunate things [that] can happen at intersections" (p. ix). Fortunately, these things are all metaphoric, because intersections are construed as places of "dangers—collisions and accidents, often of the mortal variety" (p. 1) or at least a "crowded and stimulating disarray . . . untidy, noisy and inefficient . . . a place of risk and profit," daring us to venture beyond tame "adventures-in-the-sight-of-home" and really get out in traffic (pp. 223–24). If intersection (alias: interdisciplinary) activity is made out to be a tad more exciting than the prospect of historians and literary scholars reading one another's articles usually seems, "bodies" really are morph-manipulated here: bodies of evidence, bodies politic, civic bodies, corporate, mystical, occasionally carnal, bodies as sites of fear, joy, disorder, mutilation, abscission, symbolic classification, ritual process, purification, and cultural marking. "The body somatizes culture" (p. 70). The "disciplines" to which bodies are subjected range from horrific torture to hegemonic acts of "textual violence."

In truth, for all the participants' good po-mo intentions, historians and literary critics stay in their own lanes, following road signs inscribed in noticably different languages. Few readers would have much trouble guessing in which department the contributors teach. The historians focus on the carnal body in its social world. Marjorie K. McIntosh traces attitudes toward criminal misconduct (notably scolding, night-walking, eavesdropping, and gaming) in the courts of small towns where the conventional language of jurors' presentments struggled to fit itself to the misdeeds of the (mostly) women described as "badly governed in their bodies" (p. 97). Similarly, Ruth Mazo Karras argues for the intuitively commonsense position that, regardless of rigid clerical doctrine concerning sexual sin, laypersons thought simple fornication less sinful than adultery and both sins as less culpable in men than women. Hanawalt juxtaposes didactic literature with apprenticeship contracts and legal records to produce an emotionally and intellectually convincing picture of middle-class adolescence and the anxious efforts of late medieval society to control this prolonged awkward period of male subordination. These medieval historians incline to low theory-saturation in language and are becoming notably sensitive and sophisticated readers of fiction.

The literary scholars for whom the textualness of nonliterary evidence is its defining characteristic start at an epistemological advantage: they can finesse the frustrating pursuit of the always-disappearing real. Seth Lerer draws out the structural homologies between passion play enactments of torture and mutilation and the public spectacles of actual judicial tortures, using reading techniques that transform the "record of social action [legal records] into a shaped text of literary narrative" (p. 43). Sarah Beckwith also reads the social space and performance conditions of a passion play cycle as more text enveloping the dramatic text. High theory invites extreme readings: Rita Copeland uses postcolonial theory to construe the memoir of a Lollard priest's inquisition by an orthodox bishop as an act of "textual violence" (p. 215) against common illiterate Lollards, because literacy marks the oppressor even when he is likely to be burned for heresy.

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MODERN EUROPE

JOSEP FONTANA. *The Distorted Past: A Reinterpretation of Europe*. Translated by COLIN SMITH. (The Making of Europe.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1995. Pp. vii, 220. $24.95.

As the prospect of a federal, if not yet fully united, Europe comes closer, so the number of books intended to describe, analyze, and in some cases create a common identity for Europe increases. Josep Fontana's book is part of a series published in five languages by "distinguished scholars drawn from all over the world" whose general purpose is to offer multifaceted historical accounts of how the peoples of the former Western Latin-Christian world became "Europeans." Latin Christendom, and the Hellenistic Roman world before it, had always been concerned with cultural encounter and cultural appropriation in ways that other cultures perhaps have not. Europe may have been, as its critics from Plato's Eleatic Stranger to today's multiculturalists have insisted, overbearing, aggressive, and undifferentiating in its attitudes toward outsiders, but its frontiers have never been closed. The founding myth of Europe is itself a narrative of abduction from Asia. Europe, as G. F. W. Hegel observed, was the center and end of history, but history had begun in "the *Orient* quarter of the globe—the region of origination" (*The Philosophy of History* [1830–1831]). The Orient was, of course, itself a construction, what Fontana calls a mirror in which the (European) viewer is able to contemplate a wholly flattering and wholly unrepresentative image of himself. Europe's history has, Fontana believes, been in this way a process of self-representation that has employed any number of such mirrors. The ones he has chosen to examine (each in a separate chapter) are the barbarian, the Christian, the feudal, the devil, the rural, the courtly, the savage, "progress," and, finally, the mob. Each has thrown back different visions that, throughout all their many transformations, have served consistently to assure Western Civilization that it is superior to all other civilizations and deserves to dominate the planet.

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Finally the reader emerges, sometime after 1945 (although the book avoids any simple chronological progress), into a world without mirrors. It is not that Fontana believes ultimately in progress: quite the opposite. It is simply that there now seem to be no mirrors in whose images Europeans can any longer believe, no "others" that are not at the same time disquietingly like themselves. We need, he believes, "to get out of the hall of distorting mirrors in which our culture is trapped." Once outside, we may begin (or begin again) the task of "studying human societies in 'the great book of the world'—which in our case will be 'the great book of life.'" The history resulting from such a clear vision will, Fontana hopes, be a "multidimensional" one that will "be able to aspire to being legitimately universal and will also restore to us the diversity of our own European culture" (p.168).

This seems at once both unduly optimistic and too bleak. Is it really the case that Europeans have always constructed themselves in terms of opposites, or in terms of some simple grand narrative of which the narrator is always the sole beneficiary? European attitudes toward the non-European, or toward the "primitives" within Europe, or toward ethnic minorities have never been simple or un-paradoxical. Neither has the process of creating contrast, or "othering," ever been the only means employed to understand either the self, or, for that matter, the "other" him—or her—self. Just as the "other" is not singular, neither is the European. At one level of analysis there clearly exists a culture in which the French have more affinity with the Germans than they do with the Japanese and the British more in common with the Spanish than they do with the Mexicans (or even the North Americans). But their strategies of self-representation, their conceptions of who they are, are as varied as those of any other continent of peoples speaking different languages, sharing different beliefs and political systems, and endorsing sometimes very different views of their collective future. Fontana's mirrors, like Plato's cave, are a metaphor. But, unlike Fontana, Plato knew that, for ordinary mortals at least, there simply was no place outside where one could stand and stare directly at the sun.

This is no simple historical narrative, nor is it offered as such. It is rather a political plea on behalf of what its author sees as a faltering civilization to resume its proper place in the world as the benefactor, not the exploiter, of all others. Fontana has always been a courageous man, both intellectually and personally, who for years struggled in his native Spain against one of the most bestial regimes of the postwar world. This is in many respects a courageous book. But I very much fear that the role he envisions for the future of Europe may already be itself the fading illusion of an enlightened past, yet another of those distorting images which, to misuse Immanuel Kant (a sin of which Fontana is also guilty) we cannot bear yet cannot bear to live without.

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JAY WINTER. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 310. $29.95.

In this brief but intellectually rich and challenging work, Jay Winter guides us back to that traumatic moment of contemporary European history, the Great War. Our guide asks us to revisit the sites of mourning and reconsider the forms of commemoration and bereavement that emerged from this experience. Along the way, we are asked to question a modernist interpretation that the 1914–1918 plunge into barbarism on the western front produced a dramatic break in the cultural history of Europe, a break that has been described as a turning away from traditional forms of expression and a headlong embracing of radical experimentation, including tendencies toward abstraction in the arts and literature. The war broke the mold of a civilization shaped by middle-class values in the nineteenth century, values that the postwar modernists derided as hollow verities whose "truths" had been exploded by four years of suffering that could no longer be seen as a noble sacrifice. Although Winter does not use the term, his book offers a postmodernist argument that 1914–1918 was not a divide or rupture but a more complex period in which older forms persisted amid the pursuit of the new.

Winter sets the foundation for his argument by examining ways in which survivors came to grips with death and loss. The first step was to bring the dead home and lay them to rest. An apocalyptic scene from the conclusion of Abel Gance's *J'accuse* (1919), in which the protagonist relates his dream of soldiers arising from their graves to judge—and by their ghostly presence to chastise—the living, illustrates this "homecoming." For many, government burials in cemeteries near the battle fields did not provide a true return of the dead, and a postwar commerce in clandestine removal of bodies for reburial in village graves flourished. Winter provides a moving chapter on commemoration that included the familiar monuments to the dead, ceremonies at times of remembrances, tombs of unknown soldiers, and pilgrimages to cemeteries and battle fields. Living with loss under harsh material conditions meant that millions of widows, orphans, and veterans sought ways to express their grief and mediate their bereavement. Some turned to spiritualism and sought to communicate with their dead relatives. Traditional forms, seen by Winter as as eclectic mix of classical, romantic, and religious motifs, held greater powers of healing than the ironic, hard-edged anger of modernism. Through the emotional power of her representation and figurative art, for example, Käthe

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Kollwitz transformed personal grief over the loss of her son into a public expression of bereavement. These chapters should be required reading for all students of the Great War.

Winter then turns to "the cultural codes and language of mourning" through a selection of artists and writers not included within the canon of modernism. A prewar apocalyptic vision found in the works of Ludwig Meidner or Wassily Kandinsky and the *Blaue Reiter* was transformed into allegories of destruction after the war by artists who had seen the apocalypse first hand: the Germans Otto Dix and Max Beckmann, the English painter Stanley Spencer, and, within a Catholic message of redemption, the French artist Georges Roualt. The apocalyptic vision emerged in the quite different writings and styles of Henri Barbusse, Karl Kraus, and George Bernard Shaw.

Winter begins his study by rejecting the claim of cultural primacy advanced by earlier theorists of modernity, only to conclude by acknowledging that modernists did not discard tradition but "reconfigured conventions" (p. 197). The commonality of a spiritual search for the meaning of the Great War was to be found throughout German, French, and British culture, elite and popular, modernist as well as traditional. The spiritual concerns of Kandinsky or Paul Klee, certainly modernists, brought them closer to traditional expressions of grief and bereavement than has previously been acknowledged. The cultural language of catastrophic loss took many forms but was universally shared across three national cultures.

Equally challenging is Winter's assertion that, in the cultural language of bereavement, the break of 1914 was less complete than that of 1945. This issue cannot be explored here, save to note Winter's argument that the language of tradition was inadequate to mediate the grief or to provide any adequate commemoration (if that is even the word) for such disasters as the Holocaust or the bombing and slaughter of civilians as well as combatants during World War II. Such a claim requires a more extensive investigation that would go beyond Winter's suggestive comments in the book under review. But it is hard to imagine a movie out of World War II in which the dead of Auschwitz rise up to judge the living before returning to their final rest. It is all too apparent fifty years later that some memories and some bereavements cannot easily be mediated nor ghosts laid to rest, either by art or by history.

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STANLEY G. PAYNE. *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 613. $39.95.

The title of Stanley G. Payne's book is far too modest: he has written a comprehensive history of the entire authoritarian right from the turn of the century to 1945. It is an ambitious undertaking, but Payne has admirably succeeded in tracing the relations among and development of three strands of authoritarian nationalism—the conservative right, the radical right, and the fascists—in almost every European country. Italy and Germany provide the basic models for the fascist regimes. Spain and wartime Romania offer the conservative military model with a significant fascist movement admixture. A wide range of regimes in Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Lithuania serve as examples of authoritarian governments that lacked the mass party structure and other key elements of fascism. Some kept a parliamentary facade for significant periods, and most had to deal with local fascist movements that were often hostile and occasionally had to be violently suppressed.

Payne acknowledges a considerable intellectual debt to Juan Linz, George Mosse, and Renzo De Felice and to younger scholars like Roger Griffin and Emilio Gentile. His interpretation of fascism reflects these influences, especially in the stress he places on fascist efforts to create a civic religion and a new kind of politics.

Payne's book abandons the search for any single key to unlock the many doors to fascism. The best that can be done, Payne argues, is to undertake an empirical or "retrodictive" analysis showing what conditions might lead to the development of substantial fascist movements in certain countries, but he does not insist on any rigid model or even on the universality of every factor. Payne's renunciation is not so much an admission of defeat as it is a realistic judgment.

Culturally, fascists were in one way or another strongly influenced by the crisis in values from the turn of the century to World War I. Payne accepts the interpretation of a broad *fin-de-siècle* cultural crisis over the narrower "crisis of Marxism" approach suggested by Zeev Sternhell in *The Birth of the Fascist Ideology* (1994). Politically, fascist movements developed in countries with relatively new, fragmented party systems where there was a perceived danger from the left, and where willing conservative allies existed. Socially, there had to be substantial middle-class discontent and a large sector of the worker and/or peasant population outside of the party system. A climate of economic crisis caused by war or the dislocations of modernization had to exist. Payne also stresses the interest most fascists showed in economic and technological modernization. Finally, the element of aggrieved national pride, often coupled with the existence of other fascist role models, had to be present. Four clear fascist types emerge: the Italian "pluralist," non-racial model, which had the widest influence; the radical and far more totalizing Nazi movement, which served as a model for various regimes in northern and eastern Europe; the Spanish Falangist traditionalist and Catholic variety, which was of limited application elsewhere; and the mystical and quasi-religious Romanian Iron Guard movement.

Inevitably in any large synthesis, readers will find

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areas of disagreement. Payne tends to compare somewhat offhandedly the Fascist/Nazi and Leninist/Stalinist experiences without systematically discussing the differences between left and right authoritarian regimes (pp. 191, 197, 210–11). This blurring of lines seems to resurrect older explanations of fascism as a subset of totalitarianism. It is also hard to accept Payne's statement that "All of Hitler's political ideas had their origin in the Enlightenment" (p. 203). Poor Rousseau becomes the grandfather of the Nazi leadership principle. De Felice's distinction between movement and regime might have been introduced earlier and more systematically to help the reader understand why conservatives in a limited number of cases allied with the fascists, while more often keeping them on a short leash and even murdering their leaders. Payne admits that despite leftist and radical elements in the fascist movements, they could only come to power in alliance with the conservative and radical nationalist right, but he does not adequately emphasize this point. Inevitably, the need for conservative allies made the regimes far more rightist than the movements, although it did not eliminate the tension between fascists and conservatives. At times, Payne's terminology is confusing. For example, Miklós Horthy's Hungarian regime was described as one of "reactionary liberalism" (p. 145), and Josef Piłsudski's Poland was a "moderate pluralist authoritarian regime" (p. 141). The Italian model is occasionally described as a limited pluralist dictatorship (p. 181).

Some of the above objections arise in part from the sheer complexity and quantity of the material that Payne is examining. They do not diminish the quality of what should become the standard study of the radical nationalist and fascist right. The large and extraordinarily wide-ranging bibliography makes this book even more valuable to anyone doing research on the less well-known versions of fascism.

ALEXANDER DE GRAND
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BEAT A. KÜMIN. *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400–1560.* (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1996. Pp. xiii, 362. $74.95.

In the 1960s, the evidence of choice for historians of early modern English religion was the will, and especially the "soul bequest" preamble. Graduate students were set to examine huge numbers of wills, charting the pace of religious change. Over time, doubts arose concerning the reliability of the method and the significance of conclusions; by the 1980s, there were few true believers, and most exponents were cautious in their assertions. The new evidence of choice became churchwardens' accounts, which can be used to chart the survival of late medieval piety, the rate of compliance with Reformation instructions, the observance of festivals and calendar customs, the vigor of Marian restoration, and the varieties of post-Reformation parish practice. As with wills, users of accounts have become more critical and their methods more refined. There are still true believers.

The early exponents (and especially the doyen of "accountants," Ronald Hutton) examined large numbers of accounts in search of national or regional trends. The 1990s Cambridge method, practiced especially by the students of Patrick Collinson, is to deal with much smaller numbers much more intensively. Beat A. Kümin takes us back to basics and provides a valuable practical guide to what can be achieved. His book does three things: it surveys characteristics of the 234 surviving English parish accounts begun between 1300 and 1547; it gives detailed analysis of a sample of ten accounts; and it presents the "rise" of the parish as an English example of Peter Blickle's central European "communalism." The first is a useful aid to future research; the second is an important contribution to the historiography of the English Reformation; and the third is rather dubious speculation. Kümin shows that parishes had different financial regimes. In towns, sometimes substantial rents were drawn from property bequeathed to parishes; in the countryside, funds came mainly from collections and entertainments. Later, compulsory rates became usual everywhere. Kümin's sample suggests that parish incomes increased through the fifteenth century and generally peaked between 1520 and 1540. Parishioners paid more to their churches than to their incumbents, to their secular lords, or to the crown. Parishes encountered difficulties in the middle of the sixteenth century, when income from church ales and giving fell and expenditure temporarily rose (as parishes took over financial responsibility for assistant clergy and Edwardian destruction was rectified under Mary). Gaps were plugged with sales of service equipment, and rising property rents, new rates, pew rents, and cheaper worship restored solvency. Parishes financed and managed their own affairs, but there was always a tight framework of external regulation, and oligarchic vestries took control. Despite Kümin's loyalty to a former teacher, the "communalism" paradigm may be a distraction.

The empirical core of the book is Kümin's study of the accounts of ten parishes, with rather less detailed attention to two others. He has tried to select accounts that began early, and were continuous and thorough; he has avoided accounts mined by other researchers and shows an understandable preference for printed accounts (eight out of twelve). The result is a skewed set: six parishes in cities, four parishes that were (or included) market towns, and only two villages (one with accounts which begin as late as 1530). So only one of the eight key parishes assessed across a long period was rural, although there are other village accounts that would satisfy Kümin's requirements. When financial arrangements varied between town and country, such massive underrepresentation of rural England is a serious defect, especially as for many of Kümin's purposes the accounts are aggregated. Furthermore,

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the single rural church in the sample with a lengthy run of accounts, Yatton, may have been atypical. Partly because of the costs associated with a new chapel, its income peaked about 1490, thirty years earlier than Kümin's city parishes. My own less sophisticated travails suggest that such an early peak is very unusual and that both the income and the routine expenditure of all kinds of parishes rose until the official attacks of the 1530s.

Historians are greedy creatures, and reviewers are inclined to ask for more than can reasonably be expected from a manageable research program. Some short cuts and an unrepresentative sample can be forgiven, for Kümin has done a lot, and it may be unfair to demand more. He has brought methodological rigor to the analysis of accounts and confirmed much that was suggested by more impressionistic studies. Above all, he has done for churchwardens' accounts what was never properly achieved for wills: he has provided a full and systematic guide to the use of the source and firmly established its significance for future research.

CHRISTOPHER HAIGH
Oxford University

GREG WALKER. *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII*. Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1996. Pp. xiv, 213. $74.95.

The wave of revisionism in Tudor history having crested, Greg Walker proposes to catch a deeper current beginning to run: pragmatism. His book is very pragmatic, composed of a disparate group of essays originally aimed at various audiences, including advanced students. Three essays are new, and two of these—on art history—are the most useful. Although Walker puts forward a central argument, it is difficult to see what some of the individual pieces contribute to it. Walker's principal focus is the uses of rhetoric, or what he calls the "persuasive fictions" spun by John Skelton, Sir Thomas Elyot, John Foxe, and more modern historians.

Walker's special target is the "critical orthodoxy" of history written in terms of faction. His thesis has two parts. First, he argues that Henry VIII rode above his court awaiting moments for "improvisation" (p. 21). Second, he claims that the king could be counseled through persuasion. Thus Walker sets out to demolish the existence of a conservative faction in the middle years of Henry's reign (the most tendentious essay) and to demonstrate that some texts and objects of art that have been read as propaganda could as well have been intended as advice to Henry. Probably the best essay, "Henry VIII and the Politics of the Royal Image," neatly debunks claims for greater "realism" in portraits of Henry in the 1530s and thus challenges the theory that this arose from a deliberate effort to project new notions of royal sovereignty. Walker's thesis is valuable, but the second half might undercut the first. If Henry's courtiers and others thought that the king could be approached through not particularly subtle reverse propaganda, it would have been difficult for him to have "dominated the court" (p. 21).

Walker often overdoes his argument and too frequently proceeds by selective use of evidence compounded with dismissive rhetoric. He does not like Sir Geoffrey Pole's revelations in 1538, so they are "suspect" (p. 12). Thomas Starkey's "Dialogue," which has been read as in part responding to the imperatives of faction and may be the most important piece of persuasion aimed at Henry, is not considered at all. Most damaging, Walker omits Thomas Cromwell's fall when treating the question of the degree to which Henry could be manipulated. Nearly all the essays depend on some crucial assumption. The first, on the expulsion of the minions in 1519, requires that the Venetian ambassador "was not attuned to English prejudices" (p. 49), a point left hanging. The essays on heresy (chapters five and six) turn on the implicit notion that anyone would have identified him or herself as a heretic. Other difficulties weaken the book, among them the caricatures Walker presents of other historians' interpretations. Perhaps most damaging for a book that trumpets its sophistication in the analysis of history writing, this one seems innocent of any awareness of the impact of changing historiographical fashions in art history from internalist criticism to *Rezeptionsgeschichte*. The writing strains towards persuasion, but I lost track of the number of times "clearly" appears and ignored the bursts of rhetorical questions in place of logical argument.

The oddest essay is that on Thomas Bilney, caught between the false dichotomy of "Saint or Schemer?" Walker makes Bilney "more the scheming lawyer than the persecuted saint" (p. 163) through study of Bilney's oath of abjuration and his tactics at trial. Throughout, he casts Bilney in the worst possible light. Although Walker elsewhere quite correctly insists on the doctrinal fluidity of the 1520s and 1530s, he misses a compelling means of pulling "little Bilney" off the horns of the dilemma on which he thinks to have skewered him. Bilney belongs to that pan-European wave of what has been called "pre-Lutheran Paulinism." As he told Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, he had read the New Testament, and that had converted him. If he schemed, he did so just as Paul did when he claimed the privilege of Roman citizenship.

Walker's strong bias against Bilney unmasks his sympathies with recent Catholic historiography, and his book does not after all escape the umbrella of revisionism largely constructed by others.

THOMAS F. MAYER
Augustana College

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH. *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 692. $35.00.

Thomas Cranmer was the archbishop of Canterbury who presided over King Henry VIII's break with Rome

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and the English Reformation. His greatest achievement was the *Book of Common Prayer*, first published in 1549. He was martyred under Mary Tudor. His papers were published by John Strype as the *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer* (1694). The best modern life of Cranmer is Jasper Ridley's *Thomas Cranmer* (1962). Thus the time was ripe for a new study.

Dairmaid MacCulloch's book is nearly twice as long as Ridley's, and it tells us a great deal more about Cranmer than any earlier study has. MacCulloch's research is meticulous, and a number of legends are debunked. The story of Cranmer imbibing Lutheranism at the White Horse Tavern in Cambridge, otherwise known as Little Germany, is dismissed as based on a single reference in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563). In fact, there is no evidence that Cranmer's anti-papal zeal dates back to the 1520s or to the influence of reformers at the university. The belief that Cranmer grew a beard following the death of Henry VIII as a symbol of mourning is deflated as well. Certainly the archbishop did let his beard grow, but it was more likely that he intended to emulate Martin Luther and the continental reformers, who rejected the clean-shaven appearance of the late medieval Catholic clergy and wore beards as a sign that they were married men with families.

These are relatively minor issues; the great matter is the development of Cranmer's churchmanship and theology. It has long been recognized that his views became increasingly radical during the reign of Edward VI, as his first, moderate Prayer Book of 1549 was superseded by a second, more clearly Protestant version in 1552. What has not been fully appreciated is just how extreme Cranmer's beliefs became. He accepted virtually all the radical teachings of the evangelicals and thus came to oppose seasonal celebrations, saints' days and holy days, processions, palms on Palm Sunday, fire on Easter Eve, candles, elaborate church music with trained choirs and organs, and all images, not just those that might give rise to superstition. Recent studies of popular religion such as Eamon Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars* (1992) have emphasized the affection of ordinary people for such traditional practices and ornaments, while the work of Ronald Hutton (*The Rise and Fall of Merry England* [1994] and *The Stations of the Sun* [1996]) has demonstrated the general delight in ritual observances. We are left with the view, never quite articulated by MacCulloch, that by 1552 Cranmer's quest for theological purity had far outrun the ability of most men and women to accommodate change. The archbishop was probably the most radical churchman in England, and there might very well have been a popular revolt against his policies had not Mary Tudor come to the throne before they could be fully implemented.

MacCulloch discusses Cranmer's recantations at some length but presents no new theory to account for them. There is no reference to writings of the Vietnam era suggesting that he had been brainwashed; more likely, he hoped, unrealistically, that his life would be spared if he conformed, or at least that he could buy time by signing the documents. (Might he have had a premonition that if he could tough it out for two more years, Elizabeth would succeed to the throne and he would be restored as archbishop?) The book concludes, as those who wish to view Cranmer favorably must, with emphasis on the stylistic beauty of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Readers who do not share MacCulloch's interest in theology may feel that his discussions of such things as the Articles of Religion or the *Bishops' Book* are longer than necessary. For those with a serious interest in the English Reformation, this book is a treasure. It will remain the standard life of Cranmer for a long time.

STANFORD LEHMBERG
University of Minnesota

RONALD M. BERGER. *The Most Necessary Luxuries: The Mercers' Company of Coventry, 1550–1680.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 317. $55.00.

The comparative growth and decay of towns in early modern England has been the principal theme of a generation of local historians following in the steps of W. G. Hoskins, and the town has proved a convenient unit in which to study social, demographic, and economic questions. Influenced by the models of historical geographers, interest has now shifted toward regional studies and the relationships between towns and their hinterlands. At the same time, economic historians have begun to pay more attention to wholesale and retail distribution within England, which has been somewhat neglected compared with overseas trade. The study of material culture and consumerism in the seventeenth century has also highlighted the role of fashion, the growth of a competitive national market in consumption goods, and the emergence of the shop.

The core of this book is a study of Coventry, a middling-sized market town, as seen through the archives of the Mercers' Company, a retail guild. The Mercers were tradesmen and shopkeepers who dealt only in luxury goods, principally expensive silks and linen. Ronald M. Berger describes how the guild regulated its members and the trade, how it administered its philanthropic funds, and why it proved unable to adjust to a changing economy. Faced with greater competition from better-sited regional centers and London, the Mercers did not respond to the demand for greater choice by consumers but instead tried to enforce a monopoly, to control what was marketed and by whom in order to prevent craftsmen from selling their products directly to the consumer. Economic forces, however, proved too strong, and regulations were successfully evaded. Berger documents a persistent decline in numbers of apprentices, levels of wealth, charitable bequests, and continuity of membership.

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The book contains many insights and interesting details, whether on the failure of urban dynasties, the distribution of market zones, the willingness of consumers to shop around, or the high proportion of assets held in inventory and the high level of credit and bad debts. Berger rightly emphasises the importance of service and quality of goods in retailing; the sale of luxury, in contrast to essential, goods was driven by variety and service rather than by price. The standing shop maintained stocks and offered credit and was thereby suited to expensive goods, usually imported, though it was dependent on fashion and the whims and convenience of customers. Berger has several new explanations for the failure of old-style regulation. He shows that the city responded to market forces. When restrictions on trading by non-freemen raised the price of essential commodities or when labor shortages occurred, the corporation relaxed guild regulations to help consumers. It was difficult for the guild to suppress competition from pedlars in cheaper goods, which required less capital to stock, or to exclude by occupation when retailing could not be clearly separated from wholesaling. On the other hand, its control of loan funds served as bait to attract new members.

Berger tends to repeat his arguments, and some of them will be contested. He is probably correct in arguing that the decline of the Mercers derived from marketing errors, but lurking in the background is the crisis in textiles, the former industrial base of the city, which is only briefly discussed. It is doubtful whether economic growth could be led by shopkeepers, and Berger's attempt to explain internal changes in Coventry in terms of a European crisis in the 1560s begs too many questions. The trade in essential and perishable goods, often through fairs and markets rather than in shops, is downplayed. Towns depended on consumption by rural buyers of all types of commodity, and the erosion of local demand is not really explained. Although it is plausible that luxury goods sold best in regional centers, little hard evidence is supplied. On close inspection, many of Berger's examples are drawn from other towns and other historians. While he argues that towns could survive on distribution, providing that they could offer the right goods, it is doubtful that a town could prosper without becoming an industrial, administrative, or recreational center. As he is well aware, Berger is a prisoner of his sources. The records reveal more about the politics of regulation than about the way business was organized. The Mercers were not even the leading guild in Coventry, having been superseded by the Drapers in the sixteenth century.

This is a thoughtful, thorough, and lucid contribution to urban history, based on meticulous research and careful reconstruction, and Berger deserves credit for extracting as much as he has from sources that are extremely difficult to mine. Above all, this monograph establishes that retailing was an important, specialized business and reminds us that, while market forces promote greater efficiency and economic growth, there is always a price to be paid in human and social terms.

RICHARD GRASSBY
Woodrow Wilson Center

GRAHAM PARRY. *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 382. $80.00.

Graham Parry provides a civil and interesting survey of the writings and research trends of selected antiquaries who lived largely in seventeenth-century England and, for the most part, wrote about ancient and medieval Britain. Starting with William Camden, he traces the antiquarian movement forward through chapters on Richard Verstegan, Sir Robert Cotton, John Selden, James Ussher, Sir Henry Spelman and William Somner, John Weever, Sir William Dugdale, Thomas Browne, William Burton and Thomas Fuller, John Aubrey, writers about the Phoenician foundations of Britain, and contributors to the new edition of *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* published in 1695. In each chapter, Parry introduces the person or persons under discussion with a brief biography and summary of writings and then analyzes how particular works helped to develop or expand on scholarly understanding of themes or evidence first examined by Camden. Many of the works discussed were published in Latin, and Parry provides translations of passages cited.

A good example of the technique involved appears in the chapter on Selden, where Parry introduces the reader to this "polymathic genius" and provides insightful readings of such early treatises as *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon* (1615), *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera* (1610), the notes for Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1613), the first edition of *Titles of Honour* (1614), *De Diis Syriis* (1617), *The Historie of Tithes* (1619), and *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628). Such little-known works as Selden's study of the gods of the ancient Middle East and his working out of the chronological implications of the inscriptions on the marble reliefs collected by the earl of Arundel receive excellent brief accounts that illustrate their author's wide-ranging interests. Most of Selden's other works fit into themes about the scholarly understanding of the English past common to most works studied by Parry, although *The Historie of Tithes* receives less space than that given to works by Spelman and Dugdale that offered a different interpretation of the relationship between church and state in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. Nor does Parry seem to realize that Selden's greatest contribution as an antiquary of the English past came in his expanded second edition of *Titles of Honour* (1631), which exhibited a far more sophisticated understanding of the Anglo-Saxon language and of Saxon, Norman, and other early medieval English sources (including *Domesday Book*) than any of his earlier works or those of his contemporaries. A reading of this work would have fit well into parts of Parry's agenda.

The greatest flaw in an otherwise admirable study

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derives from an interpretative perspective that leads Parry to downplay the polemical nature of antiquarian scholarship and to ignore highly significant works on England's medieval past. Although he feels uncomfortable about Ussher's anti-Catholicism and Spelman's desire to trace a non-Roman origin for the British church, Parry only touches on the former's apocalypticism and does not point out that the latter's position on the sanctity of church lands represented an extreme view even in the early seventeenth century. Polemics flourished on all sides of the debates over church property, including tithes, and over the English constitution. For example, Spelman's interpretation of Parliament argued in favor of a royal origin for this institution and promoted the position of constitutional monarchy created by kings, while Selden's books supported a mixed monarchy in which monarchs, lords, clergy, and representatives of the commons had shared sovereignty from the beginning. Parry tends to portray "royalists" or "Tories" as lacking strong prejudices and "parliamentarians" or "Whigs" either as partisan or not worthy of attention. For example, Dugdale hardly "had an unprejudiced view of the Middle Ages" (p. 217). Almost all of his publications served to bolster Laudian, royalist, and gentry positions of a strongly polemical nature, as Parry himself acknowledges in his discussion of *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1658). Spelman and Dugdale receive a good deal of attention, but Sir Edward Coke, whose *Institutes* dealt at length with English medieval legal history, gets none, and William Prynne, who published many works on parliaments and parliamentary records (and on religious history) in the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s, receives only one brief mention as the keeper of records in the Tower after 1660.

The contributions of this clearly written book, however, far outweigh its flaws. Every chapter contains fresh insights and well-thought-out discussion of the main scholarly concerns and contributions of the texts under analysis. Parry's work will provide both students and scholars with an enjoyable introduction to many of the concerns and writings of seventeenth century English antiquaries.

PAUL CHRISTIANSON
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MARKKU PELTONEN. *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640.* (Ideas in Context, number 36.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 356. $59.95.

Markku Peltonen, a Finnish scholar influenced by Quentin Skinner, offers here a substantial exposition of the continuing engagement of Elizabethan and early Stuart English political thought with the central categories and outlook of classical humanism and republicanism. Peltonen's first substantive chapter, Skinnerian in style and scope, definitively surveys the continuance of the mid-Tudor humanism of the reformed commonwealth into the Elizabethan era. The "vocabulary of classical humanism was developed with a vengeance" (p. 39), as writers of otherwise divergent outlooks agreed on the importance of an active citizenry, the primacy of *negotium*, the true nobility of virtuous service, and the interdependence of *arma* and *toga*. A fraction of this chapter joins the next ("Classical republicanism in Elizabethan politics") in pursuing the more ambitious agenda of tracing classical mixed constitutionality and republicanism in the same period.

There are several problems in the treatment; to his credit, they are partly perceived by Peltonen. First, there is the rhetoric and reality issue. How much actual republicanism is entailed by the admittedly omnipresent rhetoric of Ciceronian values? Second, there is the Anglicization question. How deep or how shallow was the commitment to republicanism entailed by an attempt to accord England's monarchical arrangements to those of the classical mixed constitution? Finally, there is the marginalization issue. Peltonen's treatment of the Machiavellianism of Richard Beacon's proposals for a reform of Irish governance is fascinating, but it reports a phenomenon (along with others) that he admits lies at the "margins" of Elizabethan politics (p. 54).

Peltonen importantly views the Jacobean years as a time when Ciceronian attitudes are found alongside juristic, Tacitean, and reason-of-state modes that are said in other accounts (most notably, in Richard Tuck's *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651* [1993]) to have supplanted classical civicism. A valuable corrective in itself, this treatment also sets the stage for cameo accounts of the main Jacobean expositors of the idiom of classical republicanism. Thomas Hedley's stunning speech in Parliament in 1610 receives devoted treatment, and Francis Bacon's essays are integrated with his parliamentary speeches and occasional writings in a vigorous, welcome statement of Bacon's profound (rather than incidental) Machiavellianism. Peltonen's treatment of Thomas Scott, a pamphleteer of the 1620s, argues cogently that the stock image of him as a puritan monomaniacally obsessed with the imperative of an actively Protestant foreign policy is not so much wrong as inadequate. Scott also, and no less importantly, operated in the classical humanist tradition and was not indifferent to domestic affairs. As such, he becomes a more nuanced and conceptually more significant figure than earlier writers have suggested.

Peltonen's careful qualifications—that Ciceronian preferences for the *vita activa* and the nobility of virtue rather than birth were compatible with a taste for strong monarchy (p. 165) and that the use of republican categories and ideas did not necessarily imply a commitment to republicanism—keep him on the right side of the evidence, but only at cost to the impetus of an argument that otherwise implicitly assumes (as in the title) that Ciceronian humanism entailed republican sympathies. This may suggest that in some measure Peltonen has misconceived the problematic.

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In Peltonen's desire to assert the integrity of the classical tradition in the face of those who would too quickly dismiss it, he has sometimes made it both more ideologically entailed and more exotic than it was, and he has underestimated the capacity for eclecticism and syncretism. Notably, the classical figure of the citizen-soldier and the linkage of citizenship with property resonated with the memorializations of late medieval English military experience, especially by Sir John Fortescue and the chroniclers (and, through the latter, by William Shakespeare's *Henry V*). Rather than seek out evidence of "distinctively classical republican vocabulary" (p. 245), a quixotic task if one is seeking evidence of conceptual denization, Peltonen might more profitably have looked for hybrids. Similarly, although he is more comfortable with religious-political fusion (of the sort noticed, for example, by Margot Todd (*Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* [1987]), he sometimes traps himself into the evidentiary equivalent of identity politics: this or that text is equally or more classical and political than religious or juristic. Nevertheless, Peltonen's voyage over a vast sea of evidence will force others in his wake to reconfigure their own conceptual charts; in them, his striking treatments of Beacon, Bacon, and Scott will surely become landmarks.

MICHAEL MENDLE
University of Alabama

MICHAEL MENDLE. *Henry Parker and the English Civil War: The Political Thought of the Public's "Privado"*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 204. $54.95.

In his introduction to this book, Michael Mendle refers to "the curse of Parker" to describe the fact that several scholars have commenced the study of Civil War pamphleteer Henry Parker only to abandon it. Parker's works do pose difficulties. Little is known about his personal life; his ideas were occasionally contradictory; his prose can be kindly described as laborious; and, since he often wrote on behalf of others, it is hard to ascertain which ideas are his and which are derived from his patrons.

Mendle has, for the most part, escaped the curse of Parker, producing the first full-length study, which easily supercedes earlier partial studies. Mendle situates Parker in the context of the explosion of political discourse in the early 1640s. He examines Parker's entire corpus and is able to establish Parker's surprising hostility to the common law, his refusal to condemn absolutism, and his position as a "parliamentary absolutist." Mendle also illuminates several less well-known aspects of Parker's work, such as his defense of Puritans and his work on behalf of the Stationers and Vintners.

But Mendle does not escape entirely the curse. The historian who wishes to analyze even part of the torrent of words and ideas that appeared in the early 1640s must confront, among other things, the inconsistency or silliness of some of the ideas and the dense and prolix nature of many of the texts. Mendle is usually sensitive to these issues, but he cannot escape criticism on several points. While Mendle valuably develops Parker's central argument that Parliament and the people were one, he might have noted how ridiculous this notion was by citing Robert Filmer or any of the Royalist thinkers who gleefully noted how few of the people were actually represented by Parliament. More serious is the cursory treatment of Parker's *Observations upon Some of his Majesties Late Answers and Expresses* (1642). Intended to refute the king's *Answer to the XIX Propositions* (1642), the text demands the close attention Mendle devotes to Parker's other works but receives barely two pages. Mendle even criticizes earlier scholars for focusing on the natural law theorizing at the beginning without considering the "constitutional, historical and political back and forth that comprises the bulk of the *Observations*" (p. 86) and then does not take up the task himself.

Yet to dwell on these minor flaws would be a mistake. Mendle has written a solid, thoughtful book on a neglected figure, who does indeed merit a full-length study. Anyone interested in seventeenth-century political ideas must read it.

WILLIAM PALMER
Marshall University

STEVEN C. A. PINCUS. *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 506.

Steven C. A. Pincus has produced an important study which he describes as a "microscopic study of Anglo-Dutch relations in the middle of the seventeenth century" (p. 445), specifically dealing with the First and Second Anglo-Dutch Wars (1651–1654, 1665–1667). Based on exhaustive research in English-language primary materials, both archival and printed, he suggests that the economic determinism implicit in previous accounts of these wars, as classically expressed in Charles Wilson's *Profits and Power* (1957), should be drastically modified, if not entirely reversed, in favor of the ideological dogmas of the English government, whether those of Cromwellian republicans in the first war or Anglican royalists in the second. Despite the sheer volume of material deployed to sustain his thesis, the undoubtedly inadvertent result is to embellish the importance to the Maritime Powers of King Charles I's 1641 decision to marry his eldest daughter to the future William II, Prince of Orange and Stadholder of the Dutch Republic. For the Cromwellian regime, the Dutch Republic was fatally tainted by the perceived continuation of Orangist influence after William II's premature death; for Charles II, the Dutch sin was Dutch republican refusal

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to recognize the Orangist monarchical pretensions and "restore" his adolescent nephew, William III, to his family's quasi-hereditary positions.

Pincus makes a case for modifying the economic interpretation current for the past forty years, but he does not convincingly demonstrate that it should be jettisoned altogether. In part, this is because of the ill-defined terminology of contemporaries, who continually conflated religious and political arguments. In short, both the Cromwellian and the Restoration regimes attempted to refashion the Dutch Republic in their own images, seeing this as indispensable to the preservation of their own power in England. This is not to say that Englishmen did not believe the ideologies they spouted, merely that those doctrines neatly coincided with their own self-interest, as judged in standard geopolitical terms.

Pincus also advances his thesis largely by ignoring economic and colonial issues and, in his account of the first war, other European powers as well. New York/the New Netherlands receive only two cursory mentions in the book; trade conflicts in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and Asia are treated as peripheral issues. The impact of Spain and France in the 1650s on the development of English foreign policy is not considered, although in the second war, Pincus deals admirably with the growing English public perception (one not shared by Charles II and his "Anglican royalist" advisors) that it was Louis XIV's absolutist, papist France, rather than the Protestant Dutch Republic, which was aiming at universal monarchy. Unfortunately, Pincus seems to accept such propaganda as a true description of Louis's relatively limited goals in the War of Devolution.

Finally, the author's thesis is made more difficult to accept by the fruits of his own industry. The text is so packed with quotations from both principal and peripheral commentators (one paragraph selected at random, pp. 300–301, contains ten quotations in twenty-two lines) that the author is sometimes forced to resort to footnotes to explain and advance his argument (p. 347, fn. 27). This is a shame, for when Pincus synthesizes his material and presents his own analysis, he is lucid, pithy, and much more convincing.

Although this book is a hard read, well beyond most students, it is nonetheless a rewarding treasure trove for specialists, and marks the debut of a scholar who sheds considerable new light on England's varying conceptions of itself and the world in the mid-seventeenth century.

EDWARD GREGG
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PERRY GAUCI. *Politics and Society in Great Yarmouth 1660–1722.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 299. $72.00.

Perry Gauci's study of Great Yarmouth is a model work of local history. It sets a high standard for the future studies of localities required to complement the current wave of interest in Restoration parliamentary, political, and intellectual history. The book stands virtually alone as an extended treatment of local politics and society from 1660 to the early Hanoverian era. Gauci begins the task of examining how significant corporations responded to stresses created by the Anglican royalist ascendancy, the charter regulations, the wartime expansion of the state, the "triumph of the gentry," the "rage of party," and the achievement of "political stability." He successfully hitches the town's history to such broader developments and issues, making regular and insightful comparisons to what is known about other corporations.

Great Yarmouth is well worth the effort required to reconstruct the politics and social dynamics of a provincial town from records that are often incomplete. Among the ten largest trading and population centers of late Stuart England, Yarmouth was the premier East Anglian port and fishery, with extensive trading connections to Northern Europe. Although the commercial life of the town spawned local mercantile dynasties of significance, its politics nevertheless hinged on a delicate interplay of local priorities, the "interests" of regional magnates, and an assertive assembly. The size of the assembly and its vigorous protection of chartered rights, freemen trading privileges, and the viability of the port bred a consensus of concern about the town's development that could override the sources of political division.

The first general issue that Gauci addresses is that of corporate oligarchy, a topic he treats through extensive prosopographical analysis of Yarmouth office-holders and their interactions in corporate institutions. Despite the privileged position of the town's mercantile elite, Gauci concludes that recruitment to the assembly was sufficiently broad to reflect the diversity of the community. Lengthy service and familiarity with the corporation's needs could leave office-holders as devoted to the town's interest as to other agendas, whether personal, political, or religious.

Religion was, nevertheless, a source of sharp division and the fulcrum of Great Yarmouth politics. The town boasted a large and committed dissenting population, and the established church was handicapped by the corporation's single parish. Efforts of the central government to purge nonconformists from the corporation and to suppress conventicles were as ineffective here as elsewhere. Before 1689, religion produced political tensions more acute than those associated with the subsequent "rage of party." Only the redirection of religious zeal toward the reformation of manners after 1689 softened religious animosity without completely eliminating it. Gauci treats religion in structural terms. He interprets religious division as a political "problem" or an "external force" (pp. 88–91) that provided alternate allegiances to civic commitment. This approach unfortunately flattens the religious claims that informed dissent and also leaves the emerging Anglican mentality rather thin and reactive.

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The enfranchisement of all freemen as parliamentary electors in 1660 ensured a popular basis for the political divisions that were notable by 1679–1683. If the corporate purges of the early 1660s had tested Yarmouth and other towns, the purges of the 1680s were even more traumatic. In their post-1689 wake, Yarmouth leaders preferred civic unity to party division, even though the local and national differences that produced party conflict remained. In the light of recent revisionism, Gauci's treatment of party is cautious, perhaps too cautious, given that much revisionism has been directed toward an artificially high standard of party organization and coherence. The crystallization of opposite political groupings around the preexistent religious divide, in Yarmouth as elsewhere, can be read more as evidence for party than against it. Party attitudes that were expressed occasionally and sometimes inconsistently may nevertheless have been deeply felt.

Finally, in a masterful presentation, Gauci explores the relationship between the corporation and those who represented it at the center of national government: its MPs and its high stewards. Those chosen as Yarmouth MPs increasingly became London workhorses for the locality they represented. The honor of the office made it a coveted prize, but the corporation coveted MPs who served its interest. The tenure of MPs was uncertain, however, as was the frequency of parliamentary sessions before 1689. The corporation therefore required an assertive advocate to represent its interests at the center whenever the need arose. Naming a local grandee with court or government influence as high steward provided the corporation with clout in London, but it also opened the town to the personal and political pursuits of aspiring politicians. Gauci's analysis of Yarmouth and its high stewards is a subtle and complex tale of reciprocal relationship in which the corporation sought, through practiced deference and ingenuity, to turn patrons into agents, while patrons sought to manage the local community for their personal and political benefit. Even after Charles, Viscount Townshend, secured an enduring interest in Yarmouth with the assistance of that other Norfolk grandee, Robert Walpole, the corporation retained both considerable autonomy and its high expectations of MPs.

GARY S. DE KREY
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TONY CLAYDON. *William III and the Godly Revolution*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 272. $54.95.

Tony Claydon's book is an excellent addition to the Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History. Claydon attacks the twentieth-century consensus that later seventeenth-century England became a secular society, the Glorious Revolution having finished off the religiosity of the Middle Ages and Reformation. Although he mentions the name of J. C. D. Clark only once in the text, Claydon is clearly in the Clark camp. Not only was seventeenth-century England an age of faith, but so was the eighteenth century.

The book's theme is elaborately laid out in a longish introduction, followed by six chapters. The argument is persuasive and so is the documentation. Claydon presents and defends his thesis in a very readable style. It represents an important contribution to later Stuart historiography and will have to be read by anyone working in that area.

Claydon's thesis is quite simple: William III was invited to rescue England from the tyranny of James II. William bided his time before departing for England and prepared a most effective propaganda campaign, beginning with a declaration issued before setting sail. Claydon does not say so, but this advance preparation makes it seem that William already expected to become king, even before leaving Holland. In addition, legitimating his claim to the English throne, William sought to legitimize the war that he planned to wage against Louis XIV's France. He saw the need for both propaganda campaigns from the beginning and played a role in their orchestration.

The key figure was Bishop Gilbert Burnet, who with his sermons and his recruiting of others was the chief propagandist. In his first Williamite sermon on December 23, 1688, Burnet struck the theme of divine providence, reviving the sixteenth-century Tudor acceptance of the world being divided between the Protestant Church of Christ and the Catholic Church of the Anti-Christ. The English were God's people, and a provident God had once again come to their rescue, this time by providing succor in the form of William III. It was God, not his blood line, that made William legitimate. The same divine providence that provided William to save Protestant England from the tyranny of Catholic James also provided him and England, united to each other, as the succor for a Western Europe threatened by the tyranny of a Catholic, French, Louis XIV.

William had to contend with an annual Parliament in England and soon learned that support for him as king in place of James did not mean acquiescence to all his requests. But prior to the Peace of Ryswick of 1697, there was a certain consensus mitigating extreme factionalism. The court was a highly organized propaganda machine aimed at generating support for William. January 30, May 29, and November 5 became feast days throughout the land: one in memory of the royal martyr, Charles I; the second to celebrate the Restoration of Charles II; and the third as Guy Fawkes Day. God was said to have intervened to save England in 1558 (death of Bloody Mary), 1588 (defeat of the Spanish Armada), 1605 (Gunpowder Plot), and now again in 1688. If William represented God, mere political parties should take care not to frustrate God's will.

These appeals largely worked through the war years. After 1697, peace brought more internal strife, but the

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propaganda campaign continued in earnest. By the time William died, Claydon sees England moving toward a "responsible" parliamentary government domestically and willing and eager to play a major (Godly) role in European and even global affairs. The stage was set for Linda Colley's united Britain of the eighteenth century. The English were Protestant, and they were not French. God, England, Protestantism, and parliamentarianism were all one.

The William-Burnet propaganda machine may have been a conscious and deliberate manipulation of public opinion. That it was effective is evidence that the people were still ready to accept a God-centered ideology. Claydon has made a persuasive case.

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STANFORD E. LEHMBERG. *Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600–1700*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxx, 270; 75 plates. $55.00.

This book is second in a series by Stanford E. Lehmberg collectively titled *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603*. The present volume is characterized by detailed and thorough analyses of the archives or libraries of all English cathedrals and illustrations of their exteriors, interiors, organs, and monuments. Twenty-five tables demonstrate the educational and social backgrounds and salaries of cathedral clergy, the life patterns of archbishops of Canterbury and bishops of Chester, the ages at death of cathedral clergy, the titles of their writings, and the financial accounts of nine cathedrals. They also include listings of annual stipends and the sizes of cathedral choirs.

The prologue indicates the appeal of cathedrals for contemporary visitors. The first chapter stresses the relatively quiet temper of cathedral life, except for the 1642–1660 Interregnum, but notes that the absenteeism or irregular residence of deans and canons (mostly married) led to neglect of the buildings. According to Lehmberg, there was no internal disagreement until William Laud's High Church insistence that cathedrals show greater reverence and improve the quality of choral music.

The second chapter, on the Interregnum, describes the Puritan spoliation of cathedrals. This involved smashing altars and organs as well as breaking stained-glass windows and destroying crosses and copes.

Chapter three details the works of the Restoration and the grudging support for the new king, William III, former Prince of Orange.

The fourth chapter describes the deans and the chapters of the cathedrals as "an open elite" by virtue of the social and educational backgrounds of almost all the 2,531 deans, minor canons, or prebendaries. Lehmberg notes that eighty-four of the deans eventually became bishops.

Chapter five records the titles of the writings of cathedral clergy, most being popular tracts, devotional literature, sermons, or controversial works. The most popular was Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* which may have sold 100,000 copies. The most profound and most vivid cathedral writers were John Donne, George Herbert, and Lancelot Andrewes.

The sixth chapter is a full account of cathedral finance. The chief sources of funds were lands and houses that the cathedral clergy rented out for long periods of time, often from twenty-one to forty years. The renewal of rents demanded fines, and rents often included produce and even capons. The stipends of prebendaries were approximately one eighth those of the deans, but prebendaries also had other parishes with salaries and were in residence at the cathedral for only a few months each year.

Cathedral music and musicians are the concern of chapter seven. Choral music was one of the great attractions that cathedrals offered. There were distinguished organists and composers such as the Tomkins family and Thomas Weelkis; the two geniuses, Orlando Gibbons and Henry Purcell, both served at the Royal Chapel and at Westminster Abbey (although technically neither is a cathedral).

Chapters eight and nine focus on cathedrals in seventeenth-century society, examining the impact of royal visits, the solemnization of mayors, aldermen, and Assize judges, the provision of high-class seating for the aristocrats and wealthy, and the occasional baptism and marriage. Cathedrals also provided sermons and sacraments, tourist attractions, memorials of the dead, poor relief, and education.

Lehmberg concludes that, in a hard century, the cathedrals restored and even improved their buildings and expanded their libraries. They were staffed by highly literate clergy who maintained their educational and charitable concerns while becoming more royalist in sentiment. By 1700, cathedrals served a smaller segment of society than they had the century before, and the sense of spirituality had declined.

Lehmberg's profound and exhaustive analysis is based on extraordinarily wide reading of primary and secondary sources. One criticism alone may be made: he has almost nothing to say about the theology or the liturgy that undergirded the sermons and the worship that were central concerns of cathedrals. The book deserves to be strongly recommended, however, because Lehmberg's writing is as vivid as his judgments are fair. No comparable study has appeared on this subject.

HORTON DAVIES
Princeton University

B. J. GIBBONS. *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and Its Development in England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 247. $54.95.

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This book by B. J. Gibbons seeks to assess the influence of Jacob Boehme on spiritualist, occult, and alchemical thought in seventeenth-century England. It focuses on Boehme's dualistic conception of the godhead as having both male and female qualities, whether associated with a spirit/body dichotomy or the dichotomy between goodness and true faith on one side and sin and human failure on the other. Gibbons discusses Boehme's elaborate theology, which was expressed through imagery of seven fountain spirits, the expansion of the godhead to include Virgin Wisdom or Sophia, and a series of natural formulations that equated the feminine side of the godhead with water and the masculine with fire and wrath.

In searching for the influence of such an eschatology in seventeenth-century England, Gibbons explores the writings of the alchemists on powers inherent in the philosopher's stone, and the natural and spiritual qualities inherent in their system. He also assembles the writings of spiritualists, especially from the Interregnum period, to determine how their beliefs and revelatory statements and visions conformed to Boehme's. He finds scant adoption of Boehme's entire construct but some agreement with individual elements of his work. In addition, he analyzes the conservative direction of Behmenism in England and concentrates on the Behmenist sects, especially the Philadelphians and those associated with John Sparrow (Boehme's translator) and John Pordage. Jane Lead, as a prominent member of the Philadelphians, receives special treatment.

Gibbons's work, however, is flawed by faulty organization and stylistic problems. He postpones discussion of two areas that would seem crucial: the nature of Boehme's beliefs and the numbers and nature of his followers in England. A discussion of Boehme's views (in the context of gender) is not offered until chapter four, and his treatment of Behmenism in England is presented almost wholly through isolated quotations from individuals. Poor paragraphing and inattention to the direction suggested by a paragraph's topic sentence make the work especially difficult to follow. Each point is presented as equally important as the last, and little guidance is offered the reader as to which of the individuals, and what portion of the quoted materials, are most significant in understanding either the theology of Boehme or his influence in England.

Gibbons's use of the term "gender" is also problematic. Gender, if it is to retain any useful meaning, needs to be linked to the social construction of the sexes. Here, it seems to have little connection to actual men or women or the values that guide them. Gibbons equates it with the reiteration of biological, sexual, and misogynist claims drawn from biblical, theological, medical, and classical sources. His treatment of gender offers limited clues as to the attraction of Boehme to his English followers. Indeed, except for the discussion of Lead, Gibbons's treatment of women and feminist scholarship is dismissive. In describing the female members of Pordage's Behmenist circle, Gibbons writes: "Whether we regard them as women of heightened spiritual sensibility or merely as people with marked hysterical tendencies," they found fulfillment in the group (p. 107). This assessment reflects the author's propensity to question the seriousness of women's religious commitment or contribution, conveyed in the stereotypical phrase "hysterical tendencies." His conceptualization of gender is bound up with the association of women with water, their passive and purer qualities, their greater concupisence, and their weaker moral and intellectual sensitivities. It is "woman" as perceived by men, with judgments concerning women's sexuality coming from male authors. This understanding of gender is, at the least, limited.

Gibbons's discussion of Lead focuses on her leadership and influential works. He questions the significance of her message (personal transformation based on an early vision of the Virgin Wisdom) and the feminist nature of her beliefs. While Lead honored traditional feminine roles and offered an unusual portrayal of the divine, her uniqueness lies in phrases such as "the Female Virgin shall have her Male Power and Spirit in her self, to bring forth in the like manner [as Adam]." Gibbons does not analyze sufficiently the significance of such statements, nor does he place Lead within the broader scholarship on visionary women generally, especially the work of Phyllis Mack.

The book concludes with a discussion of conservative Behmenists and the broader reach of Boehme's influence through the Shakers of the early 1800s. While historians have acknowledged the complex and obscure imagery and millenarian schema that characterize so much of his subject matter, Gibbons could still have offered a more compelling case for the spread of Behmenism had he introduced individuals in a more integrated fashion, allowing them to illustrate broader themes rather than moving so relentlessly from one little-introduced figure to another while offering a small sampling of their views.

HILDA L. SMITH
University of Cincinnati

DAVID HANCOCK. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 477. $59.95.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most capital-intensive and ambitious way of purchasing slaves on the West African coast was through permanent, fortified trading stations; this was the arrangement generally preferred by the monopoly companies of the slave trading nations. When the Royal African Company, Britain's primary example of such a monopoly, was dissolved *ca.* 1750, an *ad hoc* syndicate of twenty-three London merchants acquired the company's well-located, fortified trading station on Bance Island in the Sierra Leone River. These investors (divisible into four clusters based on earlier partnerships and similar connections) and their interests

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constitute the heart of David Hancock's extremely interesting book. Most were drawn to this new venture by previous activity in related fields. The clusters centered on Augustus Boyd, Sir Alexander Grant, and Richard Oswald were heavily involved in the West Indies and could use slaves from Bance Island both on their own plantations and for sale to their commercial correspondents in the islands. A rather different cluster centered on the textile trading firm of Sargent, Aufrere & Co., which sold East Indian and other textiles to the Africa trade and had an obvious interest in expanding its markets on the slave coast.

The new company not only shipped slaves on its own account but also sold them to other merchants, who sent their own vessels to take away the purchased human cargo. Particularly interesting were their dealings in this mode with French and Dutch firms. (Such trade would have been illegal if there had been an effective royal administration in Sierra Leone.) Between 1748 and 1773, the Bance Island adventurers directly or indirectly shipped 12,742 African slaves to the American colonies. Some of their profits were reinvested in wartime government contracting (always alluring in the eighteenth century) and, after the return of peace in 1763, in land speculation in East Florida. Hancock is as effective in explaining the failures in East Florida as he is in elucidating the much more successful Bance Island operations. (I only wish that surviving documentation permitted him to tell us more about such political matters as government contracting.)

Hancock does not confine his attention to business history. He is equally curious about the social experience of his adventurers, devoting considerable space to their family origins and connections and to their style of life, particularly in their later, more prosperous years. In addition to their extensive landholdings in the West Indies and North America, many acquired significant acreage in Britain. Such acquisitions were particularly noticeable among those with Scottish origins and loyalties (the Grants, Oswalds, and Herries, in particular). The impressive data that Hancock has assembled show that, over many decades, the adventurers' collective British acreage exceeded their land holdings in the New World. Some built impressive country houses (of which the book provides excellent illustrations). Quite striking is Hancock's use of postmortem inventories to describe the art collections with which their merchant owners adorned these houses. Some (like Richard Oswald) were also energetic, innovative landlords, introducing improved agricultural methods and participating in local efforts to facilitate the development of neighborhoods through road and bridge building. Hancock is able to delve so deeply into their style of life in Britain because he has succeeded in locating family papers, as well as some quite obscure archival holdings, scattered over various parts of Europe, North America, and the West Indies.

Hancock sees the quite disparate activities of the adventurers as an integrating force, tying together the economic and social life of different parts of the empire. All in all, his book is not only a triumph of research but also well thought out and most effective in argument and presentation.

JACOB M. PRICE
University of Michigan

ELIZABETH C. SANDERSON. *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh*. (Studies in Gender History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. xii, 236. $55.00.

This is an excellently written and researched study of a neglected subject in Scottish history: women's work, especially shopkeeping, in Edinburgh before 1780. Elizabeth C. Sanderson has diligently used the records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh, the commissary court and the burgh court. The latter dealt with debt. The book contains a thirty-eight page appendix, drawn from the previously mentioned sources, giving the nature and scale of women's employment and information on their social background. It also includes a useful glossary and an important bibliography, which will update non-specialists concerning recent developments in the history of women's work and the growth of consumerism. Particularly relevant to this study are Lorna Mui and Hoh-cheung Mui, *Shops and Shopkeepers in Eighteenth Century England* (1989), and Stavia Nevadic, "The Rise of the Urban Middle Class," in T. M. Devine and R. Mitchison, eds., *People and Society in Scotland, 1760–1830* (1988).

Sanderson does not overstate her case and warns the reader not to overgeneralize. She is careful not to portray the time period studied as one of "good old days" for women, but she cautions readers that the restrictions and oppressions experienced by women should not be over-emphasized at the expense of the positive aspects of their lives.

Sanderson differs with historians who see a difference between merchants and shopkeepers. As a result, by a study of the Merchant Company minutes and Acts of the Town Council, she concludes that there is little in the evidence to suggest that women were harassed simply because they were women. (This was in contrast to Oxford, where single women were not admitted to the Merchant Company by right of their father's membership, as they were in Edinburgh.) An exception was the apparel trade, where the numbers of women involved made them seem an economic threat to men. Nevertheless, while women were free to trade, they were not entitled to the rights of a burgess, which included the right to vote and to take part in the administration of the guildry, incorporations, and town council. There was no unwritten moral code that a woman's place was in the home, however. At this time, most shops were specialist shops. Some of their commodities were made to order, while others such as clogs, pattens, pumps, girdles, gloves, needles, jewelry, and perfumes were ready made.

This is a well-informed work rich in individual

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examples that give the reader a feeling for the fabric of the society of the old capital. We learn that a burgess' daughter who failed to join the company might be fined £20 and her merchandise "auctioned" by the court. Through similar details, readers become familiar with a world of graveclothes makers (some the wives of surgeons), midwives, room setters, wet-nurses, mantua-makers, milliners, and roupers. Significantly, some women looked back on their working years with happier recollections than those of their domestic life with husband and children, despite the fact that single-parent workers rarely could save any money and unemployment and bankruptcy were major perils looming over their lives. Nevertheless, shopkeeping was seen as a work option where women could operate individually.

Sanderson concludes with a number of possible theories explaining the withdrawal of women from work and why they did so during the period between 1780–1795, but she is unwilling to venture firm conclusions until other towns are studied. After all, Edinburgh's economy was quite unique. By 1795, construction of the New Town—with more spacious quarters for shops along Princess Street and George Street—signaled a decline in the number of street stalls. Some discussion of the effect that war, economic cycles, and currency changes had on women and their various trades would have been valuable to readers interested in the interaction between social history and other fields.

Sanderson concludes that in the pre-industrial world of the eighteenth century, a wife shared responsibility for her family's financial welfare and working gave her status. Long before 1880, therefore, women, even if only a minority of them, could manage outside a nuclear family.

NORBERT C. SOLDON
West Chester University

FRANCES KNIGHT. *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 230. $54.95.

This volume grew out of Frances Knight's Ph.D. thesis, a regional study centered on the south and east midlands. The author has expanded its parameters by including additional materials from other midland counties, while retaining the rural emphasis of her original work. She has recast the tone of this study, however, so that it ceases to read like a regional study (although it remains one). In this way, she has encouraged the reader to feel that many of her conclusions have broader, national implications, as indeed they do.

Knight aims to recover the religious experience of the Anglican working class over the whole of the nineteenth century, while offering an institutional history of the Church of England at the parochial and diocesan levels. Although she is wedded to the view that many continuities with the Georgian past persisted, the story she tells is one of relentless change, often aimed at fortifying the church to cope with an increasingly secular and pluralistic age, but which nevertheless describes what appears as its inexorable decline. Knight pays lip service to the current revisionist mood (associated with Jeffrey Cox, Hugh McCleod, Callum Brown, and, most recently, Mark Smith) by nominally embracing its thesis of "diffusive Christianity," according to which the influence of the church on the working class endured (although endemic) despite the great fall in church attendence after 1870.

Knight's prime measure of influence seems to be the continuing working-class interest in Anglican rites of passage associated with baptism, marriage, and burial. Yet her evidence suggests that such interest betokened a utilitarian concern to insure the legality of such proceedings rather than any intrinsic affection for the church, its rituals, or its symbols. Interestingly, Knight documents a startling reluctance by parishoners to attend Holy Communion, but she attributes this, with little evidence, to a widespread fear of an "unworthy reception" of the sacrament. One may ascribe such reluctance just as plausibly to indifference. Indeed, as Knight describes, the church met the Nonconformist challenge by transforming itself from a national church to a denomination, that is, by building "eucharistic communities" in place of the more inclusive traditional parishes. It thereby sought to fortify attendance both at Holy Communion and at services generally, but by the end of the century, these efforts had clearly failed. Thus low attendance must be seen not as a phenomenon to be explained away or minimized (as revisionists do) but rather as a significant measure of the purely residual, anemic, and declining influence of the church on the English working classes after 1870.

The underlying process at work was clearly one of secularization, although Knight declines, diplomatically, to use such a controversial term. Secularization can be seen not only in the institutional changes she describes but in the mentalities of laity and clergy alike. Churchwardens, for instance, grew noticeably reticent to report whether "'adultery, fornication or incest"' existed within their parishes. Even sinful sexual behavior had become for these lay guardians of the church a mere private matter not to be meddled with by traditional communal scrutiny (pp. 186–87). In one interesting section, Knight offers us a "glimpse into the interior" of clerical life by drawing on the private diaries of two clergymen. One clearly remained in a state of spiritual disarray and torpor (to his own lament) through much of his tenure, while the other abjured the theater and other secular pleasures for fear that the "world" would seduce him. Both clearly felt the mounting pressures of an increasingly secular age but responded differently to them.

Knight declines to make a formal theoretical link to her presentation of such rich anecdotal material. But the link is nevertheless embedded in her conclusions, however tepidly and obliquely expressed: "Such fears [of the coming Day of Judgement] were common in the first half of the [nineteenth] century, when 'What must

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I do to be saved?' was a pressing question for a large proportion of the population. By 1870 some of the urgency that underpinnned the question was beginning to fade, although the question itself did not disappear" (p. 211).

ALBION M. URDANK
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NICOLAAS RUPKE. *Richard Owen, Victorian Naturalist.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 462.

When Richard Owen assumed the newly created post of Superintendent of the Natural History Department of the British Museum in June 1856, he was arguably the best-known naturalist in Britain. He was Britain's preeminent comparative anatomist and a prominent member of London's intellectual clerisy. In three decades of prodigious labor, he had built an international scientific reputation and had added public fame to scientific renown with his reconstructions of the fossil remains of extinct vertebrates. But like many another once-eminent scientist, Owen's reputation was eclipsed by the brilliant success of a younger contemporary, and for nearly a century he was remembered primarily as one of Charles Darwin's most implacable opponents. A handful of recent works have partially revised Owen's place in the history of evolutionary thought, but a thorough modern study of his life and work has been long overdue.

In attempting to fill that need, Nicolaas Rupke has structured this book as a collection of more or less interrelated essays rather than as a conventional biography. Thus, in his first two chapters, Rupke sets out his primary thesis that the keys to understanding Owen are his ambition to create a national museum of natural history and his lifelong professional association with two museums. In these chapters, Rupke constructs the social, institutional, and political context of Owen's work: the "networks" of influence that affected both the work and its reception; the constraints placed on Owen by his status as a museum employee; and his relentless need to cultivate patronage in order to accomplish his ambitions. Rupke then devotes separate chapters to Owen's paleontology and to his ill-fated theory of the "vertebrate archetype." These chapters address Owen's best-known scientific works and their relation to the seemingly incompatible influences of Cuvierian functionalism and German transcendentalism. Rupke's handling of complex and difficult scientific issues is impressively learned and perceptive. Less impressive are his attempts to find a social or political cause for every scientific action and to locate the source of every scientific decision in "the politics of institutionalization" (p. 11). Here, I find many of his arguments strained and his interpretation of the evidence forced and unconvincing.

Another theme also permeates this book, namely that Owen's reputation has been systematically distorted and degraded by Darwin, his scientific followers, and several generations of historians. This theme, injected irregularly in the early chapters, becomes prominent in the chapter devoted to Owen's pre-Darwinian evolutionary ideas and strident in the two chapters devoted to the bitter conflict between Owen and T. H. Huxley over man's place in nature. In these chapters, too, Rupke's reconstruction of Owen's science is excellent and adds significantly to our knowledge of the history of evolutionary biology. But his revisionism becomes more than an occasional distraction. He repeatedly impugns the motives of the Darwinians with insinuations and unsubstantiated imputations of malice and dishonesty. Owen's work deserves reassessment for what it can tell us about the practice of science, but our understanding of why and how it was eclipsed will be better served without the trappings of a conspiracy theory. Rupke's tone is all the more perplexing since he acknowledges and builds extensively on the work of scholars who for three decades have been revising the overly narrow "heroic" focus of much early Darwinian scholarship.

This is a difficult book: complex, densely documented, but poorly organized. No simple chronology could accommodate all of the issues that Rupke examines, but some chronological coherence would surely help. At times, Rupke seems motivated more by the desire to refute the Darwinians than to elucidate Owen. At other times, he introduces topics for no apparent reason other than that they turned up in the formidable sweep of his research. His final chapter, for example, is devoted primarily to three examples of Owen's writing for the popular press—"the great sea serpent," the longevity of man, and vivisection—that have no relation to the rest of the book. Persevering and judicious readers can learn much from Rupke's book, but they will find in it neither a coherent picture of Owen's development as a scientist nor of his activities as a scientific entrepreneur.

JOE D. BURCHFIELD
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SANDRA M. DEN OTTER. *British Idealism and Social Explanation: A Study in Late Victorian Thought.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 250. $65.00.

In this excellent examination of idealism in late Victorian social thought, Sandra M. den Otter quotes the popular Cambridge adage, "All bad German philosophies, when they die, go to Oxford" (p. 120). Her book takes issue quite directly with such aphoristic simplifications. Faced with evidence of the enduring centrality and resonance of idealism in British intellectual life in the two generations preceding the Great War, den Otter argues that idealism was no interloper in Britain, no "parrot-like imitation of German cloud-cuckoo-land" (p. 2) as Frederic Harrison phrased it, nor was idealism unrelentingly hostile to native intellectual traditions. Rather, as this monograph persuasively

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demonstrates, the British variant of idealism sought a *modus vivendi* with its perceived antagonists, assimilating various components of empiricism, positivism, and scientific naturalism in order to construct a broadly attractive "social philosophy" that addressed some of the most pressing anxieties of *fin-de-siècle* British culture, in particular the mounting fear of social dislocation and the disintegration of community in the face of rampant urbanization and industrialization. Also, during an anomalous era when religious doubt mingled with a still undiminished Victorian urge to live a moral life, idealism allowed for the reintroduction of questions of value into a social science establishment increasingly preoccupied with issues of fact and causation. Thus, by the 1880s, British idealists emerged well-equipped to contribute mightily to the public debate regarding the nature of modern society and the proper methodology to be employed in social investigation and analysis, all of which translated into enormous, if sometimes indirect, influence over the formulation of late Victorian and Edwardian social policy.

Den Otter's main concern is the marketplace of ideas rather than the world of action, and she fastens on the younger, second generation of idealists rather than revisiting all the usual suspects such as T. H. Green and F. H. Bradley. The result is perhaps a bit too much David George Ritchie and Bernard Bosanquet at the expense of their lesser-known contemporaries, yet den Otter never fails to demonstrate the complex, polychromatic nature of idealism on all questions. As a group, British idealists were attracted to the teleological nature of Hegelian thought, especially its view of history as the unfolding of reason. But they were never an "uncritical echo of Hegelianism" (p. 50), reading G. F. W. Hegel and other German philosophers critically, selectively, and synthetically and domesticating what they found attractive by adaptation to traditional modes of British thought. Thus, at Oxford, idealism was made to conform to Aristotle and to Benjamin Jowett's translations of Plato. Students of Green interpreted his lectures as adjustments to the received English philosophy of John Locke, David Hume, and John Stuart Mill under the influence of German thought rather than as radical departures from a national intellectual inheritance. Particularly instructive is den Otter's description of Ritchie's success in grafting idealist emphases on teleology, purposefulness, and the role of human consciousness onto popular explanatory models of development based on evolution.

Casting its net broadly, British idealism was rewarded with a large catch. Mill, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, J. A. Hobson, Charles Booth, and Karl Pearson all defined their methodology in positivist terms, but with clear idealist residues present. Hence the acceptance by Booth in his survey of London poverty that value-neutral explanations were inadequate, unattainable, and even undesirable: material causation could never be separated from a moral and ethical context. Since idealism overlapped so effortlessly with the Victorian cult of character, Bosanquet could serve as the most vocal champion of the Charity Organization Society without compromising the fundamental tenets of his philosophy. Meanwhile, idealism's clear insistence on the organic, holistic nature of causal explanation rather than inductive, mechanistic alternatives—on society's precedence over the individual in devising and interpreting social investigations—exercised tremendous appeal among Fabians and New Liberals. The latter were particularly attracted to the idealist notion of individual wills harmonized with a higher "general" will represented by the state acting as a moral agent. Idealist influences also spilled over into the mental universe of Liberal Imperialists and eugenicists as well as social psychologists like Graham Wallas, the Fabian author of *Human Nature and Politics* (1908). Full congruence was, of course, impossible. Idealists experienced discomfort with Wallas's excessive emphasis on the irrational, which left reason as little more than a weak regulating force. Meanwhile, New Liberalism balked at Ritchie's rejection of the concept of "natural rights," because the alternative proposition—that all rights were socially generated—disallowed the concept of rights adhering to the autonomous individual. This in turn seemed only a dangerously short leap from a declaration that citizens possessed no inalienable rights whatsoever against the power of the state.

With this intelligent, well-written, and subtly nuanced look at British idealism's contribution to the development of social theory, den Otter has provided another glimpse of the enormous intellectual ferment of the late Victorian era that served as a theoretical counterpoint to the upheavals in the practical world of British parliamentary politics from the 1880s onward, creating a pattern of confusion and fluidity that endured to the end of the interwar period, by which time idealism was a spent force.

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RICHARD A. COSGROVE. *Scholars of the Law: English Jurisprudence from Blackstone to Hart*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 262. $45.00.

Jurisprudence is not understood by most historians or by most lawyers; Richard A. Cosgrove shows why from a novel angle. While he gives a thumbnail sketch of six English jurists from the eighteenth century to the present, he also develops a larger theme: the rise of professionalism. His subjects—Sir William Blackstone, Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Sir Henry Maine, Sir Thomas Erskine Holland, and H. L. A. Hart—are used to show the change in English jurisprudence from concerns with action and societal change to the specialized, academic pursuit it has become in the twentieth century.

This shift of jurisprudence from discussions of public policy to matters fit only for academic discourse reaches the turning point, Cosgrove argues, after 1880,

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and accompanies the development of the academic profession. Here he is building on the works of Harold Perkin (*The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* [1989]) and Sheldon Rothblatt (*The Revolution of the Dons: Cambridge and Society in Victorian England* [1968]). This accounts for the inclusion of Holland, a figure rarely mentioned in other works on jurisprudence; he was the author of *The Elements of Jurisprudence* (1880), the most popular textbook on jurisprudence long used by English law students. It went through thirteen editions. The rise of professional journals, such as *Law Quarterly Review*, and old boy networks accompanied the removal of jurisprudence from the purview of the generally educated audience. Although a peer of A.V. Dicey and Sir Frederick Pollock, Holland had little impact on the intellectual development of jurisprudence. That he was a pedant and an Oxford academic politician further confirms what Cosgrove wants to convey and will remind readers of the problems of academia today. This chapter presents material not available in more conventional books on jurisprudence.

In addition to the theme of the professionals' capture of jurisprudence, the work contains material of interest to other readers. Each chapter includes biographical information; a summary of a particular jurist's views on issues such as utility, positivism, and morality; information about how his successors interpreted him; and the present scholarly consensus about the individual's work. Beginners in the field of jurisprudence should start here before moving on to other studies, such as Roger Cotterell's *The Politics of Jurisprudence: A Critical Introduction to Legal Philosophy* (1989). On the other hand, this study of the philosophy of law, written by a historian for historians, will leave philosophers and lawyers unhappy with its lack of depth about the many issues that have occupied jurists, such as the role of the judge, the origins of law, tradition, natural law, and legal positivism. The critical reader will also wish that the author would show, not tell, more often. The narrow, English focus of the book means that the works and influence of, for example, the American Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and the German Hans Kelsen play little or no part. How different the American and English traditions have become is highlighted when this book is contrasted with Richard A. Posner's *Law and Legal Theory in England and America* (1996).

As the writings of Bentham and Austin were so opaque and convoluted as to be unreadable, one wonders how large their audiences were: perhaps jurisprudence has never been widely studied. Cosgrove makes the topic as understandable for beginners as possible while placing it within a structure that historians will appreciate. That history, as a discipline, underwent the same transformation and may, therefore, be about as inaccessible to the educated amateur is food for thought for the readers of the *AHR*.

ALLEN HORSTMAN
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GEORGE W. STOCKING, JR.. *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888–1951*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 570. $40.00.

JACK GOODY. *The Expansive Moment: The Rise of Social Anthropology in Britain and Africa 1918–1970*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 235. Cloth $54.95, paper $16.95.

In terms of its general intellectual impact, anthropology—and especially its social and cultural varieties—arguably has been the most significant social science in the twentieth century. In Britain, for example, it contributed to the erosion of Christianity, the growth of cultural relativism, an awareness of the survival of the primitive in modern life, and the replacement of diachronic modes of analysis with synchronic, all of which are central to modern culture. Thus, a good account of the evolution of the discipline is essential to British intellectual history in general, and that is just what these two books provide. Indeed, with these two volumes, the history of anthropology is better served than that of any other discipline in twentieth-century Britain, with the possible exception of philosophy.

George W. Stocking's study is clearly the more comprehensive and valuable of the two. A sequel to Stocking's much-praised *Victorian Anthropology* (1987), it is a long, detailed, systematic, chronological analysis of the development of British social anthropology from the evolutionism of E. B. Tylor to the functionalism of Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. The account is first-rate intellectual history of the "internalist" variety, with relatively little attention given to social and cultural contexts. It reflects Stocking's immense research as well as his unequaled mastery of both the countless technical contributions to anthropological literature and the methodological and theoretical arguments that shaped the field. It also benefits from Stocking's ability to make complex issues accessible to non-experts by unfailingly clear prose and frequent humorous touches. The book will not be superseded for a long time.

Stocking defends his non-contextual approach by emphasizing the importance of intellectual "lineage" (that is, the influence of academic ideas themselves) in the unfolding of British social anthropology. As he puts it, "Though widely influential, the world of British social anthropology was a rather small one, and it was structured very much by lineage" (p. 438). He contends that, as the discipline became institutionalized and professionalized, its boundaries hardened, and "discourse within the disciplinary community became somewhat more endogenous" (p. xv). Stocking focuses on the transmission and modification of disciplinary paradigms from one anthropologist to the next, always including fascinating information about the personal lives and relations of his large cast of characters but attending mainly to their intellectual debates.

The lineage Stocking traces was very complex. He begins his story with a brief analysis of Tylor's social

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evolutionism, which emerged in the 1860s and 1870s and prevailed through the turn of the century. Its features included assumptions about "the psychic unity of mankind, the uniform stages of development, the doctrine of survivals, and . . . the comparative method" (p. 10). But under the pressure of new discoveries in the field and debates about issues such as kinship, totemism, and sexuality, evolutionism stood in disarray by the early twentieth century. In a brilliant chapter, Stocking treats James G. Frazer as the tail-end of evolutionary social anthropology. The diffusionary ethnology of W. H. R. Rivers provided a new paradigm in the early twentieth century, one that shared the historical orientation of evolutionism while focusing on integrative social structures. But the model of natural science admired by many British social anthropologists made the "conjectural history" of both evolutionism and diffusionism untenable. The new paradigm to replace them was the functionalism of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, both of whom published their first important books in 1922.

Stocking provides splendid chapters on Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, their disciples, and their differences. In each case, his analysis of the lineage of ideas is persuasive. For instance, he shows that Malinowski drew on the utilitarianism and empiricism of Ernst Mach, who provided a concept of function; on the sociology of Emile Durkheim concerning the cohesive force of social structures and cultural practices; and on the psychology of Sigmund Freud concerning the way individuals internalize the norms of their society. Stocking shows that British functionalists retained the social evolutionists' focus on social structures like kinship and marriage, as well as the diffusionists' interest in integrative structures, even as they formed a new, ahistorical paradigm of social anthropology that assumed the interrelation of all social institutions and practices and emphasized rigorous scientific analysis of data gathered by extensive field observation. He explains that functionalism appealed beyond the discipline of anthropology to people shattered by the Great War, in part because it seemed to show scientifically that, in primitive societies at least, all cultural activities were integrated.

Stocking weaves several important themes into his account of intellectual lineage. One is a shift of the anthropologist's role from the "armchair" scholar to professional field observer, a development that was simultaneous with the decline of social evolutionism and the rise of functionalism. A second theme is the replacement of diachronic by synchronic analysis, principally because it seemed to the functionalists as more scientific, but also because it promised to help them win support from practical-minded government officials and funding agencies. A third, closely related theme is conflict between the claims of "practical" anthropology and those of pure "scientific" anthropology. Here Stocking shows that the need for both funding and administrative permission to carry out field work led social anthropologists like Malinowski to portray their analyses of native cultures as useful to colonial officials and natives alike, in violation of their scientific standards for research. Finally, a fourth theme is the relationship between functionalism and the policy of "indirect rule." Stocking suggests that evolutionism had served to legitimate European rule over "savage" peoples in the period of the New Imperialism, while functionalism supported the established colonial order of the interwar period by helping the colonial powers to understand indigenous political structures in order to have the natives rule themselves. The result of this interweaving of intellectual lineages and ramifying themes is a rich and subtle account.

Jack Goody offers a much briefer and less coherent account of the emergence of the discipline. Nevertheless, it forms a useful supplement to Stocking's magisterial volume, both because it is an insider's story (Goody is an eminent member of the third generation of British social anthropologists) and because it covers a somewhat later period. The book consists of two parts: first a discussion of the institutional context, personal friendships, and rivalries of the emerging discipline; and second an assessment of what British social anthropologists working on Africa, including Goody himself, have achieved. Different as they are, both parts offer a defense of the discipline.

In the first six chapters, Goody seeks to defend British social anthropologists from the charge that the "empirical direction" and the "theoretical underpinning" of their work were unduly influenced either by the colonial regimes from which they had to seek permission to do their work or by the institutions (mainly the Rockefeller Foundation) that financed their research. Both colonialists and capitalists were interested in practical applications—greater knowledge, for example, of the consequences of cultural contact—and in the scramble for support, Malinowski did argue for the utility of functionalism. But, according to Goody, British social anthropology was never the tool of either capitalism or colonialism; indeed, after World War II, most British social anthropologists working on Africa identified with radical colonial independence movements. To Goody, the main features of the discipline were not homogeneity and harmony but conflict and disagreement. These conflicts originated partly in theoretical issues (the functionalism of Malinowski vs. the structural-functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown and E. E. Evans-Pritchard), partly in competition for funds (Malinowski vs. Radcliffe-Brown), and partly in personality clashes (Malinowski apparently demanded obedient discipleship from his students).

As for the achievements of British social anthropology, Goody is aware of the limitations arising from the relatively narrow focus of the fieldwork required by functionalism, but generally he gives an appreciative survey of the discipline's accomplishments. Not only did the students of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown set the parameters for extensive and intensive anthropological research, but they also investigated a wide

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range of social institutions, including lineage, kinship and marriage, law, and economics. As for his own work, Goody first gives a tantalizing introduction to the intellectual influences that shaped his ideas and interests—Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Sigmund Freud, the New Critics associated with F. R. Leavis, and the Cambridge logical positivists—as well as those of his teachers Meyer Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. It is a mix so strange that one wonders how he made them work together. Then Goody turns to his research contributions, which are striking not only for their number but also for the extraordinary range of subjects investigated, including social structure, myth, literacy and writing, and finally, the comparative study of cultures.

Both of these books make valuable contributions to the history of British social anthropology and thus to the general cultural history of Britain in this century. Intellectual historians may wish that Stocking had shown more of his obviously deep knowledge of social and cultural contexts and that Goody had provided a more sustained and systematic account of the topics he chose to explore. Nevertheless, together they offer a wonderfully illuminating and provocative account of a central intellectual enterprise in twentieth-century Britain.

THOMAS WILLIAM HEYCK
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RONALD WEIR. *The History of the Distillers Company, 1877–1939: Diversification and Growth in Whiskey and Chemicals*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 417. $80.00.

The modest title of Ronald Weir's book belies its important subject, which is the creation of modern scotch whiskey and the manufacturing and retailing of its world-wide popularity. The Distillers Company was not a company in the old guild sense but rather a cartel in the practice of modern marketing. Its original success lay in capturing the manufacture of a particular kind of scotch whiskey and marketing it, first in Britain and then abroad. As such, it competed with port and brandy and the London clubs, also foreign importations in the English market. As much as anything, this excellent book relates the history of consumption and taste and reminds one of how choices are limited by business history.

The Distillers Company began in 1877 as a consortium of independent retailers of a whiskey brewed by a new still—the Coffey still—which allowed for continuous production of spirits. The old method of brewing by the pot still was laborious; production was limited and depended upon the skill of the stillmen in the distillation process to make its distinctive flavor. Devotees of fine old malt whiskey know the taste that the new, blander scotch whiskey superseded. Fans of the latter will recognize names such as Dewars, Bell, the Haigs, and Johnny and Hiram Walker, retailers prominent in the new company.

During the first years of its success, the company bought the patent on the Coffey still, and the trade remained in the hands of the retailers long after the stock went public. Corporate production brought new problems along with huge profits. The main problem was producing yeast in the manufacturing process, which somehow had become a lost art in the Industrial Revolution. But between 1880 and 1914, the old art was repossessed. Success owed much to locational advantage, given the importance for a perishable product of close proximity to markets. The company was slow to recognize that continued success depended on chemistry, however, and its lack of scientific expertise, together with the restrictive nature of the British excise system, slowed advances and encouraged competition from Germany.

During World War I, the company suffered setbacks in obtaining grain supplies. Another major problem lay in the anti-drink movement. Because the company made yeast, which went also into breadmaking, it escaped serious regulation by the British government, but the international Prohibition movement caused grave difficulties. By this time, the alcohol market was international and bootlegging common (Joseph Kennedy's connections are mentioned briefly here), and over the long term the company's prosperity continued. This much is already known to historians. This book develops another theme, which is the close connection of the whiskey trade with the chemicals industry. Power alcohol demanded solvents that the whiskey industry provided, as it did other aspects of the international chemicals market. Weir's detailed and carefully written study will remain the standard history for many years.

FRANK T. MELTON
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ARTHUR J. MCIVOR. *Organised Capital: Employers' Associations and Industrial Relations in Northern England, 1880–1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 305. $59.95.

The period 1880–1939 was a singular moment in British social and economic history, Arthur J. McIvor argues, a time when businessmen who had long maintained that authority over industrial relations was solely the prerogative of the individual enterprise (and who would so maintain again after 1945) delegated labor management to "stable and permanent industry-wide federations of local [employers'] associations" (p. 2). By transferring control over wages, hours, and working practices outside the firm and investing it in a collective body, the owners and managers of British businesses worked a paradoxical effect on employer-employee relations: they strengthened the arsenal of coercive devices available to them for the disciplining of labor at the same time that they created formal machinery to facilitate the conciliation of workplace disputes. What induced industrialists in Britain to

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undertake such a bold reformation of their customary approach to labor management, McIvor asks, and what did they gain from their innovations?

McIvor is by no means the first student of British industrial relations to draw attention to the rise of employers' organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but his reading of their history is a deliberately argumentative one. Setting himself in opposition to scholars such as Jonathan Zeitlin, who have seen the strength of these associations as more apparent than real, McIvor maintains that "British employers' organisations were invariably powerful and representative bodies which played an important role in forging alliances, defending class interests and structuring British industrial relations before the Second World War" (p. 276). He makes his case by turning from the national associations of British employers, to which previous discussion had been largely confined, to regional bodies, particularly those of the cotton, engineering, and building trades in northwest England. The papers and publications of the principal organizations of Lancashire industry form the documentary heart of his project.

Although McIvor writes from deep inside the employers' organizations, his history of British industrial relations is very much a history without employers. His research did not reach as far as the records of the construction, textile, and metalworking companies that founded, financed, and sustained the associations about which he writes. He almost never allows the voices of individual industrialists to intrude on his narrative of the proceedings of their collective organizations. Consequently, McIvor's explanation of what occasioned the proprietors of private enterprises to relinquish their control over labor management privileges what he assumes must have motivated them—"a more competitive marketplace, an increasingly interventionist government, and a rapidly growing and increasingly militant labour movement" (p. 9)—over an examination of their own constructions of their circumstances and actions. His conclusion that collective action enabled British businessmen to succeed "in bolstering the authority of individual companies, thus allowing them to lord it over their workers more effectively, perpetuating injustice, inequality and exploitation, though in more subtle and diversified forms as time went on" (p. 275) is manifestly his retrospective reading of what employers' associations achieved between 1880 and 1939 and not a representation of how the constituents of these bodies reckoned their costs and benefits at the time.

Both McIvor's book and the historiographical dispute it engages are the work of omniscient historians who know better than the participants in the past they scrutinize what this history was all about. Perhaps that is why the hoary questions about class consciousness and class power that animate the debate have proved so intractable for so long. It is time we began to attend to the languages in which British employers and their workers comprehended, constituted, and conducted their affairs. Putting their conceptions of what was at stake in the management of work and their understandings of the outcomes of their endeavors at the center of our inquiry would make for a decidedly less anachronistic history of British industrial relations.

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JAMES KELLY. *"That Damn'd Thing Called Honour": Duelling in Ireland, 1570–1860*. Cork: Cork University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 325. Cloth £35.00, paper £18.95.

Symbolic practices are finally gaining the recognition they deserve from European historians. Not only do the new social and cultural histories focus on such topics as drinking, riot, and sexuality, but practices like gambling, adultery, and duelling are receiving critical attention. Although it proports to be just a history of the practice of duelling in Ireland, James Kelly's book in fact considers the larger frame of the practice, its British context, and the evolution of attitudes, both pro and con, toward this custom. Asking interesting and difficult questions and illuminating the genesis, evolution, and disappearance of a ritual that was held to be "typically" Irish, Kelly has done much both to explain the specific nature of the duel in Ireland and to complicate and increase our understanding of these engagements of honor in Great Britain.

Organized in three sections, which in turn examine the beginnings, the maturity, and the decline of duelling, the book considers such questions as the social class of duellists, their reasons for fighting, the weapons they employed, and the injuries and fatalities that resulted from these encounters. He also considers the location of duels, both within a particular city and in different counties, and asks what role religion played in leading to or discouraging duels. How did the Catholic church or evangelizing Protestantism influence adherents in regard to this practice? What was the relation between economic conditions and the frequency of duels? How did politics and war affect the nature and incidence of duelling? The answers to these questions allow Kelly to demonstrate how the history of duelling can facilitate an analysis of large-scale, long-term changes in social power and position.

Despite the notion that duelling was preeminently an Irish practice, Kelly maintains that it came—rather late—to Ireland from England. Emerging with the Restoration, Irish duelling declined after the Glorious Revolution and increased in the 1720s and 1750s. Unlike English and continental duels, Irish duels of this period remained very fractious, with much higher levels of death and maiming. By the 1750s, however, with the more widespread adoption of seconds and pistols, this ferocity was tempered somewhat (although still quite pronounced). In its heyday in the 1770s and 1780s, three highly publicized duels by men at the pinnacle of Irish society captured public attention: the Flood-Agar duel of 1769, the Townshend-Bellamont

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duel, and the Blaquiere-Bagenal duel of 1773. These events both encouraged duelling and led to public condemnation of the practice. In Ireland, however, as in Europe, the opposition to duelling was regulatory rather than prohibitive in nature. With a decline in the ferocity of duels and attendant fatalities and with an increase in the number of duels fought over political differences, duelling became deeply implicated in the political and social life of Ireland and seemed difficult, if not impossible, to outlaw. Only with the rise of evangelical religion and conservative politics in the days of the French Revolution, Kelly maintains, did Irish courts become involved in efforts to abolish this practice. The growing interventionism of the British state, the growth of a democratic ethos, and the decline of aristocratic power all challenged the hegemony of the code of honor that made duelling necessary. Even so, duelling lingered in Ireland until the mid-nineteenth century, although increasingly men could refuse a challenge and still retain their credibility and political engagements.

This fine book is not without some difficulties. Its chief problem is one of sources, a problem that Kelly briefly acknowledges. His information on the practices of duelling and his statistical analyses of the phenomenon are drawn from an examination of memoirs, manuscripts, and primary sources as well as newspaper accounts. Since duelling was an illicit activity, the problem of the "dark figure," that is, the extent to which these sources give us an accurate reflection of the number and sorts of cases that really occurred, is unresolved and perhaps unresolvable. The absence of newspapers before the seventeenth century, their relative scarcity until the mid-eighteenth century, and their proliferation thereafter must surely have affected not only Kelly's statistics but even contemporary knowledge of and reaction to this type of conflict. We know that even when newspapers were numerous and reported duels, not all were "noticed." Contemporaries (as well as newspaper historians) believed that the friends and families of wealthy duellists often paid "omission fees" to have such news overlooked. Kelly also includes some duels by Irishmen that did not take place in Ireland, thus further complicating his sample. This said, however, Kelly's book stands up as a fine and pathbreaking study of duelling in Ireland and Britain and makes an important contribution to the growing genre of historical analyses of symbolic practices.

DONNA T. ANDREW
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W. E. VAUGHAN. *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 339. $60.00.

In this deeply researched monograph, W. E. Vaughan presents the most comprehensive and nuanced case yet made against the popular view of post-Famine Irish landlords as alien, absentee, rack-renting predators who evicted their defenseless and impoverished tenants at will, a view that rests heavily on folk memory and J. E. Pomfret's *The Struggle for the Land in Ireland, 1800–1923* (1930). Using an impressive range of primary sources, including over fifty collections of estate papers and a myriad of parliamentary sources, Vaughan paints a contrasting picture of relatively low rents, few evictions, fairly sustained agricultural prosperity, and a secure and comfortable tenantry between 1858 and 1876. His survey reveals that seventy-three percent of the 700 landlords who owned forty-eight percent of Irish land were resident in Ireland and that Roman Catholic ownership at forty-three percent was not far behind that of Anglicans, which stood at forty-eight percent. These findings echo those of Barbara Solow (*The Land Question and the Irish Economy, 1870–1903* [1971]) and James Donnelly (*The Land and People of Nineteenth-Century Cork* [1975]) as well as Vaughan's own previous articles.

The chief value of this study is the thorough description of estate management and the workings of tenant right practices before and after the Land Act of 1870. Using evidence from all four Irish provinces, Vaughan's analysis reveals a land system that featured more mutual accommodation between landlords and tenants than the pattern of persistent conflict that dominated contemporary government propaganda and nationalist historiography. For example, the complex tenant right system provided some financial security to tenants, while it simultaneously often enabled landlords to vet incoming tenants and recover rent arrears at the transfer of a lease. Threats to evict were used more often to insure prompt rent payments than to clear estates. Notwithstanding a few widely publicized evictions like the infamously brutal Derryveagh clearance in County Donegal, the legal and financial burdens as well as social opprobrium that evictions brought to landlords dissuaded most from fully exerting their property rights against defaulting tenants.

The coverage of rural crime is new and reveals that the majority of "agrarian outrages" were merely threatening letters rather than serious assaults on landlords and agents. The majority of rural crime was perpetrated on fellow farmers or resulted from family feuds. Despite the contemporary claims of a terrorized Irish countryside, Vaughan found little evidence of conspiratorial resistance to landlordism or the forces of law and order prior to 1879. Indeed, compared to contemporary England, Ireland had a very low rate of violence and crime.

Vaughan's analysis is especially useful in explaining the gradual erosion of the legal, social, and economic status of landlords in the context of the expanding influence and power of Dublin Castle officials and the Catholic clergy, Westminster's land legislation, and the increasing international agricultural competition after 1870. While sympathetic to the negative impact that these developments had on the ascendancy, Vaughan holds Irish landlords themselves partly responsible for their own economic and political demise. Their failure to raise rents in proportion to rising agricultural prices

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after 1859 and to curtail the expenses of social life left little profit margin for the kind of estate investment or advances in agricultural technology that took place in contemporary England. Most landlords were mere *rentiers* rather than energetic agricultural entrepreneurs who might have been able to retain some political power had they brought greater economic benefits to the wider rural community.

In explaining the origins of the Land War of 1879–1881, Vaughan dismisses Pomfret's conjunction of persistently oppressive landlordism with agricultural depression and he also plays down the revisionist theories of "rising expectations" and of a coalition of anti-landlord shopkeepers, publicans, and journalists. He concludes that the Land War erupted in 1879 because Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell provided a united, determined, and decisive national leadership that effectively exploited tenants' anxieties during the worst year of the agricultural depression.

Although the highly detailed narrative may intimidate the general reader and while the tenants' perspectives are inevitably eclipsed by the sources, scholars will find this work indispensable for elucidating many previously murky aspects of landlord-tenant relations and general land issues in post-Famine Ireland. There are twenty-three appendixes of useful statistical information, and the extensive bibliography is invaluable for specialists. Vaughan's monograph is an outstanding example of balanced and judicious Irish historical scholarship.

CATHERINE B. SHANNON
Westfield State College

NANCY LYMAN ROELKER. *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 543. $65.00.

Completed shortly before her death in 1993, Nancy Lyman Roelker's magisterial study of the Parlement of Paris and its relationship to the Reformation focuses on political elites and their place in the creation of official religious policy. What roles did members of the Parisian high court play in laying down and maintaining France's firm attachment to Catholicism and, in particular, to Gallican Catholicism? Put alternatively, why did Protestantism, despite its apparent initial strength in France and among the kingdom's nobility, fail? It is this juncture of politics and religion at the highest level that fascinates Roelker and prompts her perceptive, lively analysis.

The study opens with a lengthy survey of the men who sat on the Parlement and how they understood their place within the realm. In exploring the judges' *mentalité*, Roelker delineates their professional and cultural, social and personal standards. She further suggests the ways in which these matters bore on the magistrates' religious attitudes. The ensuing middle third of the book is a chronological examination of the Reformation in France and the Parlement's reaction. Roelker provides a detailed and informative summary of events. Although instructive, the account occasionally appears too centered on the Parisian experience. Certain elements in the royal government's response to Protestantism can only be understood with reference to developments that occurred outside the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris. In addition, the study is overly reliant on well-known examples. Roelker uses, for instance, the famous trials of Louis de Berquin and Anne du Bourg as case studies in the adjudication of heresy. While celebrated, these trials were probably not typical.

The book's final section analyzes the Parlement's relationship to the ultra-Catholic Holy League and its part in Henri IV's eventual succession to the throne. Here the decided Parisian emphasis works to the author's advantage. Activity in the final phases of the civil wars, as Roelker chooses to characterize the conflict, converged on Paris. Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism, his acceptance by the Parlement, and the new political arrangements that marked the beginnings of absolutism had powerful, sweeping consequences.

Roelker concludes the work with a discussion of the perfect magistrate. The law and its practitioners aimed at conflict resolution and the maintenance of stability. The Parisian judges, orthodox yet Gallican, largely opposed the Protestant heresy because of its perceived threat to the established order. The conservative Parlement of Paris, in Roelker's view, successfully mediated the dangerous, destabilizing tensions arising from religious change and confessional differences.

This is a wonderfully engaging narrative that illuminates a period that was among the most troubled in France's long history. Still, readers are not likely to find its most valued contributions in the close examination of fresh archival sources or the opening of innovative interpretative avenues for historical investigation. Roelker tells a story that, in the main, is well known. At the same time, she thoroughly discusses and integrates a number of critical issues, above all the political settlement that allowed France to find stability amid the turmoil of the sixteenth century. Roelker's emphasis is squarely on the political dimensions of the Reformation. She downplays the religious elements of the protracted conflict.

Throughout the book, Roelker relies mainly on published correspondence, memoirs, treatises, and the like. The accounts of luminaries such as Pierre de l'Estoile, Etienne Pasquier, and Jacques-Auguste de Thou dominate. The author's close examination of these texts is illuminating and convincing. Roelker also turns repeatedly and fruitfully to the recent work of younger scholars —a debt that she readily acknowledges. Here, the author performs the valuable task of synthesizing an entire generation's scholarship concerning the Parlement and the Reformation, underscoring the various historians' contributions, and explicating the larger meaning of their research.

Ironically, the very traits that give the book strength

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mark its limitations. Because Roelker attempts to summarize and synthesize the results of some twenty years of historical research on the subject, the study occasionally has the flavor of a lengthy, critical bibliographic essay. In addition, repeated references to the interests and concerns of earlier historians lend the study a slightly dated appearance. This is an ambitious book, which may suffer from its own aspirations. The strengths of Roelker's study, on the other hand, are many. It is a masterful summary of the complex political and diplomatic developments surrounding the Reformation conflict in France. The book also lucidly abridges and integrates a great deal of recent scholarship on the subject. In the end, Roelker's contribution to our understanding of an important subject is comprehensive and impressive.

RAYMOND A. MENTZER
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JUDITH PUGH MEYER. *Reformation in La Rochelle: Tradition and Change in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1568.* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 298.) Geneva: DROZ. 1996. Pp. 175.

During the French religious wars, La Rochelle became a bastion of the Huguenot cause. The siege of La Rochelle in the wake of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre was an epic event in the history of Huguenot resistance. For the next half century, the city remained a focal point of Calvinist religious and political independence. The roots of Calvinism in La Rochelle are examined by Judith Pugh Meyer in this study.

Based on a study of notarial records of property transfers, Meyer concludes that the economy of La Rochelle in the first half of the sixteenth century was marked by stability. As a result, she rejects an economic interpretation of the origins of the Reformation. Rather, the Reformation began as a result of personal religious choices among merchants, better-off artisans, and notables that gradually combined with La Rochelle's long history of ecclesiastical and political autonomy. Indeed, it was the French crown's challenge to this tradition of autonomy that finally drove the city into the Huguenot camp in 1568.

Meyer's analysis is sensible up to a point, but her rejection of any link between economics and the Reformation is dubious. Her fundamental conclusion, based on the notarial records of the land and real estate market, is that there was no fluctuation in the Rochelais economy in the first half of the sixteenth century. Yet given that the realty market was a stable investment in good times and a hedge in bad times, its records are an inherently unreliable measure of economic fluctuation. Tax, customs, and poor relief records (admittedly unavailable to the author) would more readily reflect change for better or worse. Even so Meyer understates the degree of fluctuation reflected in her own data. For example, artisan sales or purchases of real estate declined by two thirds in the period 1500–1550, recovering somewhat in the next decade. Yet she concludes that no dramatic social or economic change took place.

Whatever was happening to the artisans, there is every reason to believe that La Rochelle's merchants prospered during the first half of the sixteenth century as a result of the expansion of salt, paper, and wine exports and the development of fishing fleets in the New World. At the same time, the monarchy made repeated efforts to reduce La Rochelle's political autonomy in order to bring the city under closer control and gain access to its expanding economic resources. Meyer fails to acknowledge the link between economic expansion and the struggle for continued political and ecclesiastical self-government. For her, the struggle to maintain political autonomy is the product only of tradition. In fact, that tradition was reinforced by the rising if fiscally threatened prosperity of the merchants of La Rochelle.

Meyer is unwilling to concede a connection between religious choice and so base a thing as economics. But her desire to protect the purity of religious faith drives her to question even the relationship of religion and politics. According to her, politicization of the Reformation came after the onset of the religious wars. Earlier royal attempts to suppress the traditional *corps de ville* and elected mayor, impose the *gabelle*, and stack municipal governing boards with royal officials did not affect religious attitudes, because the city ultimately was successful in thwarting these attacks on its government. Meyer too hastily rejects the connection between these earlier battles and the turn toward Calvinism. Even successful struggles can beget rancor, distrust, and bitterness. Such denials contradict Meyer's notion of the tie between a *tradition* of civic independence and the Reformation.

HENRY HELLER
University of Manitoba

HENRY HELLER. *Labour, Science and Technology in France, 1500–1620.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 258. $59.95.

In this provocative book, Henry Heller sets out to revive the concept of the "modernity of the sixteenth century," to borrow the title of Henri Hauser's 1930 essay. Offering a spirited critique of what he sees as the Annales school's static approach to the *ancien régime*, the author argues that, far from being distant and unchanging, the French sixteenth century was characterized by the rise of the bourgeoisie and the development of capitalism. Extending the materialist analysis of his two previous books, Heller is thus reviving an older historiography's emphasis on progress.

His book contains many stimulating ideas. After the attention recently given to rituals of violence and premodern political behavior, it is worth being reminded that sixteenth-century French society still needed to manage labor and produce goods and that it did undertake creative thinking and constructive poli-

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cymaking. Heller examines merchant capital, the rise of wage labor, and the expropriation of the peasantry along with various philosophical writings, some inventions, and much government legislation. He argues for a real economic expansion in the years up to 1560, a crisis during the religious wars (which, however, saw the continuing advance of the middle class), and a resumption of the process of primitive accumulation under Henry IV.

Heller's demonstration is seriously misleading. He does usefully redirect attention toward the consolidation of rural land ownership in the hands of urban investors and the importance of protoindustrial manufacturing as a source of national wealth. These are two phenomena that deserve further investigation. He also discusses treatises on science, technology, and inventions by engaging authors like Bernard Palissy, Jacques Besson, and Olivier de Serres. But Heller stretches interesting evidence to support unwarranted conclusions and repeatedly understates negative arguments. Too often, he treats sixteenth-century phenomena as if they were their modern equivalents. Thus, industrial development is demonstrated by citing growing numbers of forges and mills, however dispersed and traditional these may have been. The "unprecedented prosperity of the Parisian middle classes" (p. 19) is deduced from the publication of treatises displaying optimism about progress and from contemporaries' awareness of the usefulness of inventions and a certain scientific empiricism. Capitalism is equated with economic prosperity. Indeed, Heller begs the question, crucial for a Marxist, of the different kinds of "bourgeois" and their various relationships to production. He deduces a prosperous bourgeoisie from the buying up of rural estates without exploring whether any of the purchasers were non-productive *rentiers*, whether the consolidated lands were rented out as a block or in small plots, and whether new forms of cultivation were undertaken by the tenants. His discussion of the proletarianization of labor is similarly unsatisfying. He hints at changing relations by enumerating masses of servants, urban day laborers, and people on the move. But large work crews were not necessarily capitalistic, nor was the movement to lock up the indigent. The issue is not how many people were poor or earned a wage or even went on strike, but how effectively their labor power was subordinated to capital.

While exaggerating the role of the bourgeoisie, Heller has left out the other side of class relations: the vast influence of the nobility, the role of the church, the impact of venality of office, the legal structure of privilege, the persistence of hierarchical mentalities—in short, the feudal impediments that influenced social relations just as much as the progressive forces. His critique of the Annalistes' fascination with immobile structures and of their failure to highlight class conflict is on target. But by selecting the most extreme statements of Fernand Braudel and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie from what now seems a bygone era—today even the *Annales* journal no longer advocates Braudelian categories—he downgrades the influence of a wide range of scholars such as Pierre Goubert who have revealed distinctive patterns and connections in a society that, while not unchanging, was hardly "modern" either.

WILLIAM BEIK
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JOHN R. COLE. *Pascal: The Man and His Two Loves*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 349. $45.00.

Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) has always been an enigma. Historians have not found it easy to make sense of the two halves of his brief life and to view him as a whole. They have seen him as an isolated figure, fragmented into the mathematician and physicist of his youth and early adulthood and, after a life-changing spiritual experience, the devout mystic of his last eight years. The background to Pascal's science (the new mathematics and physics of Pierre de Fermat, René Descartes, Evangelista Torricelli, and Marin Mersenne's circle) and to his religion (the puritanical Catholicism of Port-Royal Jansenism) have been clearly depicted. But where are the man himself and his human relationships in this picture? Historians have been indebted to the *Vie de Monsieur Pascal* (1662) written by his elder sister, Gilberte Périer. She sought to emphasize his saintliness by portraying him as detached from his family and friends, but in the process she dehumanized him.

John R. Cole seeks to reestablish Pascal in his family setting and to demonstrate its overwhelming importance to him. Bereft of his mother in early childhood, he was reared by his devoted father, to whom he was bound by the closest emotional and intellectual ties, who inspired and promoted his scientific work, and from whom he never gained independence. The love of his sisters, too, was a joy and support to him. But in 1641, Gilberte married and went to live at a distance; in 1651, his father died; and in 1652, his younger sister, Jacqueline, entered a convent. Thus he lost the support of his family.

There were two spiritual turning points in Pascal's life, both linked to illness but different in character. In 1646, when Pascal's father was crippled by injury and illness, he, his father, and Jacqueline all underwent a religious conversion of a Jansenist nature. In the years before and after this, Pascal was at the height of his scientific powers. In 1647, he, too, was temporarily crippled by a seemingly psychosomatic illness. In 1648, for once defying his father, he supported Jacqueline's plea to be allowed to become a nun. But in 1651, heartbroken at his father's death, he could not bear the thought of losing his sister and tried unsuccessfully to dissuade her.

Now Pascal was truly alone, suffering from feelings of abandonment. He still felt dependent on Jacqueline and consulted her as his spiritual adviser. The result

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was an intense second conversion in 1654, accompanied by more ill health, and Pascal gave up the scientific work that brought him spiritual joy and exaltation but also periods of mental suffering. Cole finds evidence that Pascal was subject to manic-depressive illness in his later years. It prevented the completion of his Jansenist apology, which was left in the fragmentary form of the *Pensées* (1670). In it, he emphasized the frailty and misery of human life and tried to show that illness and suffering could lead to spiritual benefit.

Cole, I believe, successfully integrates the disparate parts of Pascal's life and presents him as a flesh and blood being. The attachment and dependence that he felt toward his father and sisters, his agony of abandonment at losing them, and his consequent periods of illness and intellectual debility as well as spiritual renewal all contribute to a credible and moving picture of a real person. It does not detract from but rather adds to our appreciation of Pascal's impressive contributions to scientific and religious thought.

NORMA E. EMERTON
Cambridge University

ANDREW TROUT. *City on the Seine: Paris in the Time of Richelieu and Louis XIV*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 275. $39.95.

Seventeenth-century Paris has a perennial interest for historians who write about it because of its size, importance, and charm. Major political events usually began or ended in the national capital, which was also the cultural and financial center of France, and a descriptive analysis of Parisian society provides a microcosm of French urban society. Seventeenth-century Paris was Europe's largest city in an age when French culture was dominant. This was also the century when Paris began to acquire the visual beauty and elegance for which it became famous. Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann and Jean-Baptiste Colbert were the two great redesigners and renovators of the city. Colbert widened its streets into boulevards, which had to be paved, kept clean, and maintained; added new gates, bridges, quais, and triumphal arches; and insisted that the river be cleaner, although he was not very successful in that. Most of seventeenth-century Paris has since been lost or defaced, and the modern city is largely a nineteenth-century creation, but its visual origins go back to Colbert and the personal reign of Louis XIV.

Historians of seventeenth-century Paris include Roland Mousnier, Orest Ranum, Leon Bernard, Emile Magne, Pierre Lavedan, and Jacques Wilhelm. Why, then, do we need another history of Paris? All of the books by the aforementioned scholars were published a generation ago, and there are a number of recent scholarly studies whose findings need to be integrated into a new history of Paris. Andrew Trout has usefully included the extensive recent work on the French legal and financial systems, for example. His book takes a different approach from older studies, opening with the observation that, "Were it not for the River Seine, the Paris we know would have been unimaginable prior to the railroad age." Trout's analysis is organized around the river and the role that it played in Parisian life, and there are two chapters specifically on the Seine and its tributaries. Reproduced throughout the book are a series of excellent contemporary maps that are accompanied by illustrations from contemporary prints and engravings. Trout's focus on the Seine as the central fact of the daily life of Parisians is part of a general effort to describe what the city really looked, smelled, and sounded like. Trout has written an imaginative, impressionistic account of what it was actually like to walk the streets of seventeenth-century Paris and live in its houses.

Trout admits that his book is intended to be descriptive and pictorial, not analytical or quanitative. General readers and non-specialists are its intended audience. It is not an original monograph based on archival research, although the author did go to the archives for original material to use in describing aspects of Parisian life about which little is known. His book, nevertheless, contains summaries of most of the major studies and the important archival research of the last thirty years, recounted in a thoughtful and careful manner. For this reason it may used as a survey of recent scholarship on seventeenth-century French social history. Enjoyable to read, this fascinating book ought to entertain undergraduates, who are notorious for complaints that the assigned reading is boring. I found the book delightful, if not weighty in substance, which it was not meant to be.

SHARON KETTERING
EMERITA
Montgomery College

MARTIN DINGES. *Der Maurermeister und der Finanzrichter: Ehre, Geld und soziale Kontrolle im Paris des 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 105.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 471. DM 98.

The treasure-house of the Paris Châtelet police archives continues to yield up riches to researchers. Following in the footsteps of Arlette Farge, David Garrioch, Thomas Brennan and many others, Martin Dinges has drawn on the records of district police *commissaires* to produce a work that adds substantially to our understanding of eighteenth-century France. Dinges's particular subject is the codes of honor that prevailed in day-to-day interactions among Parisians, and he gauges their operation through the close study of eighty cases of insult and defamation, half from the period 1699–1703 and half from 1760–1770. This material is supplemented by numerous other archival soundings, including cases tried before the Parlement of Paris, and by an examination of the depiction of honor both in legal treatises and in literary sources like Louis-Sébastien Mercier and Rétif de La Bretonne. As

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his emblematic case, Dinges presents a 1760 dispute between a Parisian landlord and a master mason (the *Finanzrichter* and *Maurermeister* of the title), which began with an argument over payments for repairs on a building but quickly led to the mason's arrest for defamation.

Dinges analyzes his cases in a state-of-the-art manner that draws fruitfully on German, French, and Anglophone historiography and social theory. He describes his sources with care and subtlety, emphasizing that we cannot treat them as simple windows onto French life but must acknowledge how they operate as strategically crafted texts. He lays out the social and institutional context in a thorough and lucid manner and provides long illustrative citations from the Châtelet papers so that readers can judge the arguments for themselves. It is a pity, though, that he does not provide the original French, only German translations. Dinges peers at his cases from a variety of angles, examining shifts over time, differences of sex and social class, the role of violence and sociability, theatricality, and neighborhood ties.

Dinges has many original points to make. He shows how Parisians could equate honor with more material forms of wealth (although he distances himself from Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital") and shows convincingly that honor is neither essentially premodern nor a condition of rural societies alone. It is to explain the operation of honor in a large-scale urban setting that he invokes the fraught notion of "social control," but he does so in a careful, limited manner. His most original findings concern the increasingly stark distinction between male and female understandings of honor across the eighteenth century. In the early period, attempts to impugn the honor of both men and women most often involved insults of a sexual nature. By the later period, however, while little had changed for women, insults directed at men increasingly invoked questions of social standing and wealth, while sexual insults declined dramatically. Dinges suggests that we see here early evidence of a separation of spheres between the sexes. He also takes care to differentiate Parisian conceptions of honor from Mediterranean ones, in which the question of female chastity was always more central.

For all the book's considerable value, students of early modern Europe are likely to find much of it almost as frustratingly ponderous as it is useful. Dinges writes with such caution and subtlety that he qualifies some conclusions almost out of existence, and he wraps almost every archival sounding in a thick wrapping of theoretical argument so that the eighteenth-century voices sometimes fade practically out of earshot. While he helpfully summarizes each stage of the argument at the end of each chapter, readers trying to get a sense of the source material must struggle through intelligent but overly long and unsurprising discussions of recent work in cultural anthropology. The book deserves a French or English translation to make its important findings available to those who do not read German—but an abridged translation, please.

DAVID A. BELL
Johns Hopkins University

TIMOTHY TACKETT. *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789–1790)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 355. $39.95.

Narratives abound of France's first legislature, the Estates General of 1789, which became the Constituent Assembly of 1789–1791. None involve the detailed research that this coherent, collective biography of its total 1,315 deputies represents. Timothy Tackett has combed the public and private archives of France to find over 150 separate collections of deputies' correspondence. In this, he was aided by the *fichier* of the constituents which Georges Lefebvre established at the Institut de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française and by Edna May's two-volume *Dictionnaire des Constituants* (1991).

Tackett's study is directed against the recent anti-Marxist, revisionist historiography of G. V. Taylor, F. Furet, G. Chaussinand de Nogaret, R. Halévi, and K. Baker. The latter contend that there was a convergence of elites at the end of the Old Regime that presumably persisted into the life of the Constituent Assembly. According to the revisionists, the investments of bourgeois and nobles differed little by 1789. Moreover, members of the two groups intermarried, and mixed in academies, masonic lodges, and reading societies. Tackett finds that membership in the latter affected only a minority of Constituents (four percent joined academies and twenty percent lodges). Moreover, aristocrats were much wealthier: there were no third-estate equivalents of the fortunes and incomes of the Dukes d'Orleans, d'Aiguillon, or de Liancourt, to mention only the wealthiest (Appendix I). Abrasive encounters between members of the third estate and nobles cemented their hostility (pp. 259–260).

The comraderie of some great nobles of the court with certain members of the third estate like Adrien-Jean-François Duport, Emmanuel-Joseph Target, and Abbé Sieyès in the 1788 Committee of Thirty was not typical of the noble order as a whole, especially after the revolution began. Their impact was certainly felt in the generosity of the famous "Night of August 4," which Tackett does not minimize. But the second estate as a whole proved to be an intransigent aristocracy. The autumn of 1789 saw numerous clashes between right and left, most notably over the king's veto power, which a resurgent right gained in the form of a suspensive veto. The left had by no means won the revolution. Although Tackett avoids the term, class struggle may not have been evident when the Estates General was summoned, but it certainly was after May 1789. Thus, in the roll call of April 13, 1790, on whether to declare Catholicism the religion of the state, "Nine out of ten [who voted affirmatively] were

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representatives of either the clergy or the nobility" (p. 269).

Tackett also produces much valuable evidence that the deputies did not arrive in Paris with abstract blueprints hatched from reading the works of the philosophes. Any "revolution of the mind" they underwent came "only after the fact [when] many deputies began to evolve a coherent ideology" (p. 308). Their readings in the social sciences are evident in the discussions over the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and the veto (pp. 182, 190), and their anticlericalism is pervasive in discussions concerning the church. Tackett's argument that the enlightenment of deputies post-dated the revolution is based on their publications, correspondence, and affiliations to thought societies. Only one twelfth of the deputies could be considered members of the "Republic of Letters" (p. 62). This figure is low, but the evidence may well be scantier than the reality. The impact of a few deputy-philosophes like Sieyès and Mirabeau was clearly greater than appears in the statistical pool.

Tackett finds that by July 1790, after passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the suppression of noble titles, and the euphoric celebration of the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille (the "Festival of the Federation") "by all appearances, the Revolution was over"(p. 301). Probably the most significant pieces of legislation *were* passed in that first year. But the church and the veto issues continued to be destabilizing components, which Tackett rightly claims propelled the revolution forward. In 1791, the flight to Varennes shattered the whole experiment, despite attempts by the Feuillants to make believe the contrary. The rest belongs to the history of the first and subsequent republics, as well as to the revolutions that brought them into existence. Tackett's book is essential reading for anyone interested in the origins of that revolutionary France.

EMMET KENNEDY
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LLOYD KRAMER. *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolutions*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 354. $39.95.

This book by Lloyd Kramer might have been entitled *Reflections on the Historical Meaning of Lafayette*. It is neither a conventional life and times nor an attempt at biographical *haute vulgarisation* but an extended interpretive essay grounded in a sensitive reading of manuscript as well as printed sources. Kramer pays relatively little attention to the great defining moments of Lafayette's career during the American and French Revolutions, taking some fifty pages to arrive at the point where Louis Gottschalk's magisterial multi-volumed work ground to a halt with *Lafayette in the French Revolution: From the October Days Through the Federation* (1973).

Kramer's focus on the forty-plus post-revolutionary years of Lafayette's long life is one aspect of his revisionist thesis, which questions the familiar characterization of the "hero of two worlds" as a well-intentioned dunce. Kramer's rhetorical question—"Was Lafayette a dumbbell or a shredded text?"—contrasts received opinion with his own more positive portrait of an individual who fabricated a public identity as a "text" that was "shredded" in the revolutionary maelstrom and assiduously (and, to a considerable extent, successfully) rewritten under successive regimes from Napoleon to Louis Philippe.

Kramer's intention runs counter to the "ironic perspective" of most twentieth-century historians, who have seen Lafayette as a mediocre adventurer without a clue as to what was actually at stake in the real world of political and social conflicts. The index of George Armstrong Kelly's brilliant book, *The Humane Comedy: Constant, Tocqueville, and French Liberalism* (1992), covering the era and subject matter of greatest interest to Kramer, has not a single reference to Lafayette.

Kramer is not, however, the only contemporary historian to modify a completely negative reading of Lafayette's entire life. Sylvia Neely's *Lafayette and the Liberal Ideal, 1814–1824: Politics and Conspiracy in an Age of Revolution* (1991) also finds something worth salvaging from Lafayette's unflagging commitment to the liberal ideal. Kramer's book has a broader chronological scope and goes beyond Neely's predominantly political focus to emphasize Lafayette's role as "mediator," not only in his familiar contribution to the connection between the "two worlds" of Europe and America but as a mediator between political alternatives, cultural movements, generations, nationalities, and, not least, genders.

Lafayette, who was probably the nineteenth century's greatest writer of letters of recommendation, presided over an immense permanent floating salon; he anticipated Lady Ottoline Morrell on a vast international scale. His dense network of correspondents and visitors included most of the luminaries of what might be considered an international liberal intelligentsia. Lafayette provided a bridge between the Enlightenment liberalism of Jeremy Bentham and the liberal romanticism of Benjamin Constant. He praised, patronized, and conspired with the Restoration youth, many of whom would take over the commanding heights of the July Monarchy. He organized support and financial aid for political exiles such as the Poles. He engaged in an intellectually stimulating relationship with a succession of brilliant women, including Lady Morgan, Madame de Staël, Frances Wright, and Christina Belgiojoso. His relation to Madame de Staël was clearly political-intellectual; his intense personal involvement with Wright, Belgiojoso, or the beautiful prima donna of the Paris Opera, Maria Malibran, suggests issues that Kramer has chosen not to pursue in any depth.

Perhaps a certain generational distance impels me to be less responsive than Kramer to the conceit of

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historical actor as "text." The current emphasis on the historical primacy of discourse often seems to pass lightly over the political phenomenon of power, including the ability to apply instruments of coercion. It is difficult to imagine some alternative Lafayette, *ca.* 1789–1792, able to impose his particular version of a moderate constitutional monarchy. No one rode that revolutionary whirlwind for very long.

In 1830, such hard-edged young republicans as Godefroi Cavaignac and Louis-Auguste Blanqui shared Lafayette's perception that the time was not yet ripe to impose a republic at the risk of civil war. It is true that in accepting his symbolic role in the July crisis, Lafayette fumbled the opportunity for some tough-minded negotiation with Louis-Philippe and his coterie that might at least have required immediate elections based on a far broader suffrage. But we do not know whether such an election would have provided results that Lafayette would have liked.

One might accept Kramer's description of Lafayette as an "intellectual" if not a creative writer or original theorist: that probably describes most of us. The general impression provided by the many quotations in Kramer's text, however, is less that of deep reflection than of speeches for the occasion. The chapter that compares the intellectual fruits of Alexis de Tocqueville's voyage to the United States with Lafayette's great ceremonial visit in 1824 is almost embarrassing, but perhaps this is unfair, as Tocqueville came to America to analyze and Lafayette to make speeches.

Whatever Lafayette's limitations, Kramer demonstrates that he was, and is, worth taking seriously and that the values he expressed and personally incarnated—an optimistic progressivism, tolerance, political and legal equality, and commitment to the public good—are also worth taking seriously in our own era of "*fin de siècle* irony and skepticism."

Alan B. Spitzer
University of Iowa

Catherine J. Kudlick. *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris: A Cultural History*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 25.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 293. $40.00.

"Everything was strange and capricious about this disease," recalled one doctor of the cholera that struck Paris during the spring of 1832. His description of its symptoms, quoted in Catherine J. Kudlick's new book, hints at the terror that this grim visitor from the east inspired among contemporaries, who watched helplessly as victims succumbed to vomiting and diarrhea, their eyes retreating into their sockets as their emaciated, icy-cold bodies turned a "bluish, almost purple color" (p. 1). In all, Kudlick notes, Paris suffered through four outbreaks of cholera: the first, in 1832, struck one of nineteen city residents and killed over 18,000; the second, in 1849, afflicted one of twenty-eight and killed another 20,000. Two lesser epidemics followed in 1866 and 1884, the latter only a year after the German bacteriologist Robert Koch had succeeded in identifying the water-borne bacillus that caused the disease.

Drawing on Michel Foucault's insights into "biopolitics," Kudlick offers a social and cultural history of the two outbreaks of 1832 and 1849, both of which followed in the wake of political upheavals. Her goal is to move beyond traditional accounts of epidemics by focusing on urban class relationships and "the role of language and discourse as forms of cultural expression" (p. 10). At the outset, she poses a central problem: namely, why the 1832 epidemic produced at all levels of society a sharp and at times violent reaction, including rioting and the murder of government officials in the hard-hit poor quarters of the city, while a relative silence prevailed on all sides in 1849. Did greater scientific knowledge of the disease promote better social harmony during the second epidemic? Had Parisians simply grown used to cholera? Kudlick does not think so.

Rather, she believes that the development of a more cohesive bourgeois identity caused the city's ruling elites to stop equating the disease with the urban poor and to cease propagating the often lurid depictions of the masses seen in earlier years, which had linked cholera to a pattern of recurring political violence from below. Cholera and revolution thus formed a "core narrative" for discussions of the disease in 1832, a time when "growing anxieties about the decaying urban environment merged with the capital's revolutionary tradition" (p. 31). When armed with new metaphors for urban sickness appearing in such popular works as Eugène Roch's epic play *Paris malade* (1832), this theme provided a powerful language of social pathology.

All this changed by the end of the July Monarchy, Kudlick says. By then, the Paris bourgeoisie had attained a more secure social position, which fostered a less arrogant and defensive stance in relation to the dispossessed and permitted a greater degree of paternalism. Moreover, the city's administrative cadres had managed to wrest from doctors control over preventive and curative measures for cholera while forging a closer partnership with the church, which ran the hospitals and was seen as a bulwark for social order. The book does an especially good job in tracing the role of the church during the two epidemics, as it does in analyzing the work of middle-class doctors, administrators, and journalists who served as "cholera's messengers" and who shaped public perceptions of the disease.

Based on archival, literary, and newspaper sources, Kudlick's study is an important contribution to the historical literature, although not without weaknesses. Among these is an occasional loss of focus in developing the central arguments. This is the result, I think, of the broad agenda that accompanies the book's self-description as "a work in the new cultural history" (p. 10) and, in particular, of the author's "interdiscipli-

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nary, sometimes eclectic approach," which uses cholera "as an opportunity for exploring larger issues" (pp. 6, 8). The result is a number of thematic digressions that at times threaten the book's clarity and coherence. Compounding the difficulty are organizational flaws that generate repetitiveness, as well as the frequent use of indirect or overworked forms of expression, such as "in the context of."

Finally, although Kudlick is correct in noting the scientific ignorance of cholera that still prevailed at mid-century, the national and international activities of Louis-René Villermé and other hygienists, whose work is examined in Ann F. La Berge's *Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth-Century French Public Health Movement* (1992), surely played a part in combating public ignorance and hysteria in 1849, if only by demonstrating cholera's relationship to economic misery. La Berge shows, too, that bourgeois attitudes toward epidemics and other public health issues exhibited a variety of political ideologies, a reminder of the need to be cautious in generalizing about the behavior and motivations of so varied and complex a group as the Parisian middle classes.

JACK D. ELLIS
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W. SCOTT HAINE. *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 325. $39.95.

There are three reasons why readers interested in the history of French popular culture will want to turn to this book. First, W. Scott Haine has carved out a broad period of time, the era between the French Revolution and the Great War, for examination. This allows him to look at the lives of workers and the world of the Paris café and tell us what changed over time as well as what stayed the same. For example, "Paris workers between 1789 and 1914 constantly spent the same percentage of their budgets on alcoholic drinks, primarily wine" (p. 91). Second, Haine addresses a range of diverse subjects. There are separate, chapter-length studies of "Regulation and Constraint," "Privacy in Public," "Work and the Café," "The Social Construction of the Drinking Experience," "Publicans," "The Etiquette of Café Sociability," "Women and Gender Politics," and "Behavioral Politics." Each yields its particular gems of information and analysis, such as the fact that the development of a national railroad system by 1860 increased the supply of cheap wine from southern vineyards and "ensured that for the first time, the average Parisian could consume wine on a regular basis throughout the day, week, month, and year" (p. 92). Third, and most important, is the impressive way that Haine has not only mastered the relevant French archival materials but also compiled a strong bibliography on the history of drinking establishments. The latter is not surprising, however, for the editor of the *Social History of Alcohol Review*.

Unfortunately, there are two negative aspects of the book that may prevent readers from fully appreciating its positive qualities. First, its organizational structure makes it difficult to find much continuity among the separate chapters; this may be due to the fact that large portions of the text were previously published in journals. A second obstacle is that the text struck me as burdened with problematic examples of academic prose. On some occasions I thought Haine might have sought more clarity when making his point. Am I alone in finding the meaning of these two statements from successive pages potientially confusing? "By 1900, workers had won the right to organize but had largely lost the opportunity to integrate work and leisure" (p. 63) and "before 1914, bosses had great difficulty in breaking the work/sociability link and instilling more formal discipline" (p. 64). Haine also displays an acute need to cite "outside experts" at every possible turn, such as when a remark by Raymond Williams about houses in the novels of Jane Austen is quoted to indicate what Paris cafés were *not* like (p. 234).

This book originated as a doctoral dissertation and is dedicated to the memory of Haine's thesis director, Edward T. Gargan, a man whose generosity of spirit touched the lives of many in the profession—including my own.

ROBERT J. BEZUCHA
Amherst College

JUDITH G. COFFIN. *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trade, 1750–1915.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 289. $35.00.

Judith G. Coffin's first book is a major achievement. She transcends the increasingly futile debate between an "old guard" of social historians and an often polemical group of new cultural historians. By interlacing analysis of economic, technological, and social processes with sensitive representations of women's work she combines the best of both approaches. Her study both challenges simplistic interpretations of industrialization and carefully situates garment workers in a complex debate about work, women, and family in industrial France.

Coffin debunks the common nineteenth-century view that sewing was always a feminine occupation, learned at home and "unnaturally" transferred to the factory. She finds that much sewing was done by men and that most garments came from the market in eighteenth-century France. Although male tailors were hostile to cheap sweated female seamstresses, no one saw women's wage work as problematic. The elimination of guild restrictions in the French Revolution and mechanization after 1830 may have made possible cheap, ready-to-wear clothing and wider webs of distribution. But it did not destroy domestic garment making. The sewing machine encouraged home work, as did improved communications and laws designed to

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reduce women's working hours in factories. The machine's spread came not from the logic of industrial production but from new forms of advertising and consumer credit directed toward women. Coffin concludes that the domestic sewing machine did much to feminize the garment industry and to create the myth of sewing as women's work. Because this happened at the same time that the domestic family economy was disappearing, home work became identified with women's work. The domestic garment industry was not a holdover but a component in an uneven path to mass production. Domestic wage work was part of a complex strategy of working-class French families to meet expanding needs in an emerging consumer economy. The two-sphere gender order so often stressed in Anglo-American studies was far less relevant in France, where low productivity did not allow married women to "withdraw" from the labor market.

Women wage-earners were, however, problematic in nineteenth-century France. Indeed, they became *the* social problem, especially in the generation after 1890. While Jules Simon and social Catholics insisted that the family's survival depended on women's work being confined to the domestic setting, the factory in the home produced tragic dilemmas. Low wages meant long hours and poor conditions, not work according to the special rhythms of family life. French investigators found seamstresses neglected family and house care duties when pressed with wage work. While Simon's romantic vision of domestic mothers' work was found illusory, the French were deeply divided about what to do.

An earlier social history of the garment worker might have culminated in an analysis of a strike. But Coffin ends her study with a skillful deconstruction of the language of labor reform between 1890 and 1915. Significantly, the complex struggles over working hours and minimum wages centered on women's domestic work. This issue hopelessly divided French labor and feminists. Fears of undercutting French markets and destroying the economic viability of domestic wage work led to a very narrow law. It guaranteed home workers not a living wage but an income sufficient to protect women from misery and sexual degradation. The French, Coffin concludes, were stalemated between protecting the family from industrialism and preserving it as an economic unit.

This is a very sensible book. Coffin skillfully adopts new approaches to cultural texts while preserving a major role for technological and economic processes. She understands the complex meanings of political language while recognizing the power behind legislation. By bringing together some of the most promising trends in contemporary modern French historiography, Coffin offers a model of culturally informed social history for which we have long been waiting.

GARY CROSS
Pennsylvania State University

DAVID BARRY. *Women and Political Insurgency: France in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's; in association with the University of Durham. 1996. Pp. xii, 213. $49.95.

David Barry has made an important contribution to the literature about women and revolution. Noting that female insurgency has been documented and explained for both the French revolutions of 1789 (by Harriet Bronson Applewhite and Darline G. Levy as well as Dominique Godineau) and of 1871 (by Edith Thomas and Eugene Schulkind), he sets out to describe and to understand the activities of women during the mid-century revolutions in Paris. Barry's research was facilitated by the trail blazed two decades ago by Charles Tilly and Lynn Lees ("The People of June 1848," in Roger Price, ed., *Revolution and Reaction* [1975]), whose work at the Archives de la Guerre at Vincennes opened the territory for others to follow. By retrieving the records of women arrested and tried during the years 1848–1851, Barry fills in many gaps in prior accounts of the period. Studying this material also allows him to speculate on the motives for female involvement in revolution. "Jobs, rents and the struggle for existence may have provided much of the motivation for action," says Barry, "but possibly not all of it" (p. 21).

Barry weaves together newspaper and archival sources, memoirs, and government reports to create a picture of the lives of the women of Paris during insurrectionary periods. He points out the connection between unemployment and prostitution by noting that of the 3,120 Paris prostitutes mentioned in an 1857 report, only thirty-six had not been previously employed in manufacturing. He shows the poor record of achieving literacy by 1867, more than three decades since the passage of primary school legislation, by the fact that only twenty-five percent of the brides that year signed their marriage registers. He notes the competition for jobs because of ongoing employment of prisoners and work done in convent workshops. This is the context for the arrest and trial information he uncovered.

Barry found information about 292 women, about two and a half percent of those arrested. Of these, 160 were judged innocent and freed after investigation; fourteen were found to have no case to answer or died in hospital; and 118 were eventually found guilty and sentenced to deportation. In practice, they remained in the principal women's prison of Paris, St. Lazare. Forty women of the group convicted are known to have built barricades, appeared armed on them, fired on troops, sounded the alarm by ringing the local steeple bell, and organized the defense of their own quarter. Barry provides many telling anecdotes from the trial records. For example, a seventy-six-year-old veteran of previous revolutions, Veuve Anne-Marie Henry, a retired dressmaker, led women in the fighting on the barricade of the Rue des Trois-Couronnes in Belleville. She demanded arms at the Mairie de Belleville with the cry

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"Kill and assassinate!" She threatened to stab those who dismantled the barricades, exclaiming that if she had a knife, she would have plunged it into their stomachs (p. 51). Marie Pittet, a woolspinner of the Rue Menilmontant, incited the men of her house to go to the barricades and tried to make her house an assault post for the rebels, declaring, "If we don't win, we'll be finished, we shall be slaves and die of hunger." Pittet's words showed the fear of joblessness and hunger that mingled with political motives (p. 70).

Barry, surprisingly, sees no role for feminist activism in 1848. This is the one area where his otherwise admirable mastery of sources appears to me to be lacking. He does not include numerous accounts from the *Voix des femmes* of women attempting to influence the political discourse. He does not include in his bibliography the 1848 and 1849 feminist newspapers, *La Politique des femmes* and *L'Opinion des femmes*, which may have altered his point of view. Certainly, the attempt by Jeanne Deroin to win a legislative seat does not indicate a withdrawal of feminists from the fray. Nor does Barry mention the continuing political activism of Deroin and Pauline Rolland, both of whom suffered trials and arrests during the Second Republic. This caveat aside, Barry has done an admirable job of introducing the undergraduate reader to a complicated period in a clear and readable manner.

LAURA STRUMINGHER SCHOR
Hunter College

ANN-LOUISE SHAPIRO. *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 265. Cloth $45.00, paper $15.95.

The title of Ann-Louise Shapiro's book refers to the various "codes" that structured the judicial cases involving women in the late nineteenth century. Shapiro has taken on the increasingly familiar terrain of crimes of passion, those acts of madness or revenge carried out with a flask of vitriol, a pistol, or a dagger. When women accussed of killing a lover or a husband conformed to traditional stereotypes, they generally fared well; if they broke them, they might well face harsh penalties. Marie Sivadon, acting in defense of her home, shot her husband's mistress; her expression of regret for her act in court cleared the way for her acquittal. Melanie Lerondeau was speedily convicted of poisoning her husband, in large part because she had been a bad wife and an inadequate housekeeper; the verdict was later overturned with the testimony of Paris experts, who found that he had died of natural causes. Marie Couffin's husband left her after the birth of her fifth child to accompany his mistress to Algeria. The startling photographs that accompany this story reveal the damage caused by her vitriol attack against the pair; nevertheless, Couffin was acquitted to universal acclaim.

Medical evaluation was often a critical aspect of the defense, particularly in cases where the crime could be tied to the weakness of the female body (or, more bluntly, to the menstrual cycle). But Shapiro also notes those intriguing cases where psychiatrists were not called in, even though the cases seemed to cry out for expert testimony. Such was the situation of Marie Victor, who attempted suicide by asphyxiation, managing only to kill her infant daughter. The court ignored her years of depression and postpartum disturbances, finding adequate explanation for her crime in the fact that she had taken a lover. And finally Anastasie Schlegel, who set fire to her husband's bed as he lay sleeping, was blamed for his years of drunken abuse: who would not drink, married to such a shrew?

Much of this landscape has been covered before and in more detail: for example, in Ruth Harris's excellent *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law and Society in the Fin de Siècle* (1989) and in Joëlle Guillais's engaging *Crimes of Passion* (1990), both cited by Shapiro. Although Shapiro has examined court transcripts in the city archives of Paris, she provides fewer specifics than one would wish on the cases she has turned up. For example, the ambiguous and confusing circumstances behind the case of the vitriol murderess Henriette Belligand, encompassing a trial transcript of some 500 pages, are summarized here in a little over a page; a deeper scrutiny might not necessarily have yielded different insights but would certainly have enhanced the reader's understanding. In addition, outbreaks of jargon sometimes mar what is generally a clearly written book (see, for example, the statement that it is "too simple to decontextualize the negotiation between accused and accusers" [p. 50]).

The strength of the study is its synthesis of much recent work on a variety of *fin-de-siècle* topics: medicine, hysteria, the justice system and courtroom drama, the press. In the final chapter, Shapiro argues persuasively that the criminal woman became merged in popular thinking with the feminist, both of them a reflection of the changing definitions of gender at the turn of the century. The women who initially "broke the codes" of the social construction of woman through their criminal behavior thus curiously paved the way for a new generation: in defining the difficulties women experienced because of their lack of political and civil rights, feminists found themselves telling much the same kinds of stories as had been told by the murderesses who had haltingly tried to explain why they did what they did.

JILL HARSIN
Colgate University

JEAN-LOUIS ROBERT. *Les Ouvriers, la Patrie et la Révolution: Paris 1914–1919*. (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, number 592.) Paris: Université de Besançon. 1995. Pp. 484.

Although this work is essentially a precise, detailed, and methodical study of selected segments of the Parisian working population between 1914 and 1919, based on the most careful and thorough research, it is

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clearly situated in the context of a debate without apparent end over the impact of World War I on French society and politics. More than a generation ago, Annie Kriegel's celebrated study, *Aux origines du communisme français (1914–1920)* (1964), accorded significant place to the prolonged war and the Russian Revolution in the radicalization of elements of the French working class and the attraction of Communism as a replacement for a timid Socialism whose leaders had been compromised by their commitment to the war. According to this view, the war was a sort of parenthesis in history, a period that released hitherto blocked forces and energies and gave them new direction and opportunities. Pushed somewhat further by Robert Wohl in *French Communism in the Making, 1914–1924* (1966), it appeared that the war, with its relentless suffering and useless sacrifice, provoked widespread rejection of all beliefs and institutions; French Communism originated in this context and owed much of its identity to it. As the war reshaped the course of Russian history, so, too, it reshaped the French left, creating, however briefly, a revolutionary appetite and potential. Other scholars interpret these years quite differently. Madeleine Rebérioux, in *La République radicale? 1898–1914* (1975), suggested that all the ingredients of a social crisis were already in place in 1914 and that the war merely accelerated its onset. Jean-Louis Robert's findings lend more substance to interpretations identified with Kriegel than to those of Rebérioux, but they allow for much greater complexity, difference, and exception than previous analyses would concede.

Readers familiar with French theses for the *doctorat d'État* will readily recognize this book of nearly five hundred pages as a streamlined, abridged version of the genre, replete with apologetic references to all that has been omitted. In the main, it draws critical evidence from and offers commentary about certain unions and workers—principally in the metallurgical and building industries—concerned with production for the war effort, key areas in the Paris region, and a number of Socialist sections in the *fédération* of the Seine. Despite the limits imposed by the genre and the research, Robert offers a rich chronological narrative of worker activities, especially strikes, noting the toll exacted by accumulated disappointments in the factories and by the war itself and, ultimately, the aspiration of some workers to total revolution. He also stresses critical differences that often separated workers from each other and from the organizations that purported to represent them. Robert resists generalizing from the most radical activities, observing, for example, that while some workers were volunteers for revolution and embraced extreme political rhetoric, a great many others were not so persuaded.

Robert offers challenging conclusions, important contributions to the long-standing debate. Chief among them is the assertion, supported by immense evidence, that Parisian workers massively supported national defense and that their support increased in times of trial and danger, such as the battle at Verdun and the German offensives. Moreover, the chronology and especially the character of strikes offer further evidence of workers' determination to defend their nation, as strikes were directed mainly against employers and for improvement in wages and conditions. But the war also accentuated class identity and sentiment across generations and differing situations of locale and employment. Notable was the absolute conviction of Parisian workers that exploitation and profiteering were intolerable at a time when great sacrifices were demanded of all. Critical, too, was the growing divergence between base and leadership, especially as union leaders moved closer to the state and looked to it to provide innovation and authority in industrial relations in the future, while many workers, albeit a minority, harbored revolutionary aspirations. Socialists paid the highest price, losing both support and relevance, as the war called into question all of their traditional values and the forms and sources of their power. Perhaps less convincing is Robert's claim that, in the immediate postwar climate, revolution was for some the link between national and class sentiments. Robert hypothesizes that in France, as in Russia, the context was all important in shaping the course of events. Hence the paradox: if the war created a revolutionary potential, it also tied French workers closer than ever to the French state, effectively ensuring that revolution was impossible.

NATHANAEL GREENE
Wesleyan University

PATRICK FFRENCH. *The Time of Theory: A History of Tel Quel (1960–1983)*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 306. $65.00.

The French theoretical journal *Tel Quel* had a tremendous influence on recent French thought and was an important—perhaps the most important—forum for a wide variety of intellectuals between 1960 and 1983. Under the editorial direction of Phillipe Sollers, *Tel Quel* gave voice to the various and competing strains of literary and psychoanalytic theory in France, including those represented by Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes, and Julia Kristeva (the journal's title was borrowed from a collection of aphorisms by Paul Valéry).

Until now, English speakers have not had access to a comprehensive historical account of the journal, which was inaugurated by Seuil to rival and perhaps supplant the *Nouvelle Revue Française* as France's preeminent literary review. The story, as Patrick Ffrench tells it, is more than a history of rivalry between publishers: *Tel Quel* was a mirror of French intellectual life after Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 criticism of Stalin precipitated the decline of both Marxism and Existentialism as dominant ideologies. Many French intellectuals used de-Stalinization as an opportunity to express alternate forms of left-wing thought

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and break away from old orthodoxies prevalent in political, philosophical, and literary discourses.

Briefly, between 1960 and 1968, the journal was eclectic, committed primarily to literary theory indebted to the structuralist Marxism of Louis Althusser and the structuralist psychoanalysis of Lacan. Disillusioned by the Communist Party's response to the student and worker uprisings of 1968 in Paris, *Tel Quel*'s staff and contributors turned to Maoism ("itself a transgression," as they saw it, "of Marxism" [p. 202]) and away from structuralism. After 1976, the naïve commitment to Maoism was superseded by a new interest in religion, in ethics, and in a "crisis" in rationalism more generally (p. 225). Articles increasingly focused on sexuality, irrationality, and the "impossibility" of theory itself: the impossibility of any rational discourse that did not inadvertently call its own foundations into question. Indeed, this particular conceptual focus defines the one coherent line that traverses all the articles that have appeared since 1968: *Tel Quel*'s contributors, following in the footsteps of such dissidents as Georges Bataille and Antonin Artaud (whom they helped to resurrect), repudiated the traditional study of aesthetics to investigate the "modalities of [literary] production" (p. 17). Finally, in 1983, the journal changed its name to *L'Infini* and changed publishers when Seuil refused to publish Sollers's *Femmes*, ending a long and finally unhappy marriage between the publisher and the journal. *L'Infini* was published by Gallimard.

This story is somewhat scattered, partly because it is a very complicated story to tell and partly because Ffrench, although comprehensive in his approach, does not provide clear conceptual frames or contexts within which to make sense of the various currents or sea changes made by *Tel Quel*'s editors. His narrative of the history of a journal he describes as being in a "permanent state" of "dissolution" (p. 269) and as a system of that which cannot be systematized (p. 236 n. 202) tends to replicate these paradoxes.

The book moves between so many conceptual and chronological registers at once that it is often hard to follow. One of the consequences of Ffrench's mostly descriptive and synchronically organized narrative is the loss of any anchor for the reader: the entire book is written in the present tense, in what may be the author's effort to replicate a "time of theory" that is not, as he makes clear, continuous with the diachronic "time" of "theory" as it unfolds between 1960–1983.

Moreover, Ffrench presumes that his readers are very familiar with very complicated French theory; he provides little real elaboration and uses very few secondary sources that might help orient or frame the arguments. This is especially frustrating because the book's subject merits a broad audience. Moreover, Ffrench does not translate French quotations, some of which have appeared in English (for example, Jacques Derrida's *Writing and Difference* [1978] or Julia Kristeva's *Powers of Horror* [1982]), and most of which are very complex. Although he may have wished to retain the complexity of the original—much of *Tel Quel*'s innovative work concerned its repudiation of the transparency of language—he has inadvertently chosen to limit the book's accessibility.

For French intellectual historians, the book provides a valuable sketch of the founding and dissolution of *Tel Quel* and its changing editorial staff and shifting intellectual allegiances. It is also a helpful summary of many conceptual innovations made by the journal's contributors.

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GUIDO MARNEF. *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577.* Translated by J. C. GRAYSON. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 304. $48.50.

Guido Marnef's book, translated from the Dutch, gives an excellent account of the growth of "underground Protestantism" in Antwerp in the middle period of the sixteenth century. An introductory section describes the commercial and cultural framework of the city. The remaining parts of the book cover the periods of 1550–1566 (repression of Protestantism); 1566–1567 (the Wonderyear); and 1567–1577 (renewed repression). During these times, the Reformation believers had to operate as underground churches; even then, the inquisition and government persecution made arrest, punishment, and execution common fates. Marnef identifies three major organized Protestant groups: Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Lutherans. The first two receive most attention. At the fringes were also the wispy clusters of spiritualists, such as the Family of Love.

Marnef uses two primary methods to describe and analyze underground Protestant churches. One is narrative, or telling the story of congregational life, based on printed and archival sources. Some episodes are quite familiar already, for example, those drawn from the martyrologies of T. J. Van Braght or A. Van Haemstede. Others are unfamiliar accounts from the archives. The most revealing material comes from Marnef's second method, his use of numbers to create a socioeconomic Protestant database of some 1,101 persons. For each entry he collected data about religion, occupation, wealth, arrests, and punishments. For comparative study, Marnef has divided his 1,101-person sample into Anabaptists, Calvinists, Lutherans, and others. The statistical material is presented in thirty-four tables and graphs.

Marnef's prosopographical statistical materials are a gold mine of information. In looking at the occupational tables, the differences in the social and economic status of persecuted Calvinists and persecuted Anabaptists are sharp. Less than half of the Calvinists were in crafts; the majority were in professions, trade, and higher occupations. Over seventy-six percent of

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Anabaptists were in crafts, and they were "absent" from the professions requiring academic training (pp. 71, 77). A large number of Anabaptists were recorded as having "no property," while none of the Calvinists were in this lowly position. The plebeian nature of Anabaptism, much theorized about by various authors, is documented here, at least with regard to Antwerp. Why people of the various occupations and levels of wealth chose their particular type of Protestantism, however, is not fully answered.

Another significant difference between Anabaptists and Calvinists can be seen in the frequency of executions. For the period 1550–1566, there were 196 Anabaptist arrests, and 117 of those arrested were executed. In the same period, eighty-six Calvinists were arrested and fourteen were executed (sixty percent of Anabaptists were executed; sixteen percent of Calvinists). Why were the Anabaptists so much more likely to be hustled off to execution? Were they more dangerous to society? Or was it a case of the authorities' picking on the little people (Anabaptists) but catering a bit more to the "more respectable" Calvinists who had education, middling social standing, and property? (p. 86). Marnef believes the latter is the case, but again the conclusion may be debatable.

Calvinists (Reformed), Anabaptists, and Lutherans were worshiping groups. Did these hidden groups also develop a distinctive culture and group life? Marnef compares Calvinists and Anabaptists, looking for evidence of their distinctive group culture in such things as the ownership of books or paintings and the choosing of baby names. Another theme, woven throughout the book, is the role of books, printing, and literacy in the emerging Protestant groups.

I find this book to be thought-provoking and informative, not only for the study of Antwerp in the sixteenth century but also as the source of concepts that may be applicable to many other cities and regions of the Reformation era.

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GERT OOSTINDIE, editor. *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 272. Cloth $45.00, paper $22.50.

The essays in this book grew out of a conference held in Leiden in 1993, which was itself inspired by Seymour Drescher's "The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective," a paper first circulated in 1992. Republished as the lead essay of the present book, it essentially incorporates the neglected Dutch experience into the findings of Drescher's earlier important book, *Econocide* (1977), which explicitly challenged the so-called Whig historiography linking abolition to modernization and to economic development in particular. Drescher's study of the Netherlands reconfirmed his earlier interpretation. The present book's title is a take-off on an apocryphal conundrum, quoted at the beginning of Drescher's essay, to the effect that everything happened fifty years later in the Netherlands. Gert Oostindie admits that this dubious axiom has some validity, at least in the case of the abolition of slavery; and, indeed, that even treatment of the subject by Dutch scholars came a half century later than everywhere else. The case of the Netherlands is especially interesting because of its apparent leadership in modernity and capitalism and its reputation as a progressive and humanistic society and culture. A recurrent theme in the book is consequently the question of why Dutch emancipation came to be declared only in 1863, instead of earlier in the century along with the British. The nine other scholars featured, most of them Dutch, posit various perspectives on Drescher's, focusing on different aspects of the problem. Maarten Kuitenbrouwer and Angelie Sens treat the evolving related developments within the Netherlands. Essays by Oostindie, Alex van Stipriaan, and Edwin Horlings examine the relationship between developments in the Netherlands and those in its West Indian colonies, the only part of the Dutch empire where slavery was significant. Robert Ross and Gerrit J. Knaap treat slavery in the Cape Colony and Southeast Asia, respectively. The remaining two contributors present an especially broad comparative framework. Pieter C. Emmer compares post-abolition dilemmas in both the Dutch and British East and West Indies; and Stanley E. Engerman attempts a scope which is perhaps too broad for such a short essay: a global view of the abolition of all types of unfree labor extending back to the middles ages.

The volume begins with an introductory chapter by Oostindie that outlines concisely the central issues in question and highlights their nuances. For example, Oostindie asks whether indirect influences from the rise of capitalism were decisive, what the role of noneconomic factors was, and when and where any such notion as an ideology supporting the superiority of free labor over unfree developed. His introduction also makes a strong case for the importance of the comparative approach that the discussion at hand demonstrates very effectively. Following Oostindie's introduction, Drescher's thought-provoking essay gives excellent momentum to the discussion that ensues from all of the contributors, ending with an epilogue in which Drescher briefly replies on the entire discussion. The result is a volume that reads like a coherent book rather than a set of separate essays. Drescher's main conclusion is that, despite the fact that he finds the Netherlands more advanced than the British in terms of major aspects of capitalism and industrialization, Dutch capitalism created no significant opposition to slavery. None of the other scholars dispute this, although there is some critique of how he arrives there. Kuitenbrouwer, for example, cautions against the kind of direct comparison Drescher makes between the seventeenth-century Netherlands and

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eighteenth-century England, viewing the English spurt in development as of another magnitude.

With regard to the timing of Dutch abolition, two points that are echoed in several of the presentations emerge as the most striking. The first, affirmed by Drescher, is that the Dutch behavior is in fact more like the norm for the New World emancipations and the Anglo-American the exception. The second is that the closer one examines the Dutch experience the more apparent it becomes that there was little interest in the Netherlands in the slavery question, in part because the West Indian colonies became increasingly less profitable and less important in the Dutch empire. A number of the essays describe a calculating pragmatism that overwhelmed the modicum of idealism that surfaced in the Dutch world on this issue. Oostindie observes that even Dutch abolitionists often shared the assumptions borrowed from the common Western tradition that saw blacks as lazy, unreliable, lascivious, barbarian, and pagan. Ross, who devotes special attention to the role of the churches, argues that in place of the question Drescher raises about why there was no mass abolitionist movement in the Netherlands, which was just as much a capitalist society as Great Britain, "the question should be 'why was there no mass abolitionist movement in the Netherlands, which was just as much a Protestant society as Great Britain?'" (p. 181). Sens, for quite different reasons, also suggests that it will be useful to pursue the question of the timing of abolition further using approaches other than that of comparing the Dutch to the Anglo-American model employed by Drescher. She proposes more comparative research that avoids such concepts as "ahead" and "behind," possibly allowing the peculiarities of the Dutch situation to be better appreciated in their own context. This absorbing volume constitutes a lively discussion that was long overdue. It is skillfully edited and well written. To the extent that the same information is encountered in several of the contributions, repetition actually helps in this instance, especially for the nonspecialist, since juxtaposition of diverse interpretations from various perspectives further clarifies them. The essays also afford glimpses of the broader outlines of Dutch history, culture, and historiography, beyond the topic of slavery, and in a comparative perspective. This is a valuable service, since Dutch history is often overlooked apart from specialists on that region. The participants agree that they have not fully answered any of the important questions raised. Nevertheless, their effort provides a very valuable resource for others who wish to try.

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JOEL F. HARRINGTON. *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 315. $49.95.

The title of this fine book is perhaps misleading. Prepared by recent historiography to believe that the Reformation *did* reorder marriage, Joel F. Harrington tells us that the reformers may have tried to do so but did not succeed, or not as fully as they desired. In part, they continued a path of attention to marriage that the Catholic Church had begun in the twelfth century and were thus no radical innovators, and in part they were reluctant to overturn existing institutions. Harrington reaches conclusions concerning the deep conservatism of sixteenth-century authorities by studying two categories of sources: canon law and its applications in the German-speaking lands by Protestants and Catholics alike, and late sixteenth-century archivalia from three confessionally contrasting territories in southwest Germany: "the Palatine-Electorate (Calvinist after 1560), the Prince-Bishopric of Speyer (Catholic throughout the period), and the imperial city of Speyer (officially Lutheran after the Augsburg Peace of 1555)" (p. 17).

Harrington also writes about the psychological tenor of the age. At the end of the fifteenth century, secular and ecclesiastical leaders saw the institution of marriage as under siege. Marriage was at the moral core of society as well as intertwined in its economic functioning. If a cure were not found for its ailing condition, human polity might founder. Even before the Reformation, both church and state fixed their rectifying eyes on marriage. Each refused to regard this sacramental yet very worldly estate as exclusively the purview of the other, and the judicial involvement of secular officials was already considerable.

Harrington has performed a great service by becoming familiar with medieval canon law as it pertained to marriage. His legal perspective follows in the train of older European scholarship but sets his work apart from most English language treatments of early modern marriage. He is able to reaffirm with authority that Protestant marriage courts ultimately adhered to canon law, which Martin Luther saw and lamented.

By means of its use of civil courts, the Reformation did afford the Protestant state opportunities to expand its oversight of matrimony. Under Lutheranism and Calvinism, the secular and religious spheres merged. Their administrators used legal coercion in the pursuit of reform, which lent the state an enhanced role as a moral authority. Both church and state assumed paternal aspects, intruding upon fathers' traditional private discipline and disposition of their children (p. 39). In sum, Harrington does detect certain gradual innovations in the second half of the sixteenth century in the treatment of marriage.

The Catholic Church simultaneously undertook to reform marriage. One of the themes running through this study is the marked similarity, despite theological differences, in Catholic and Protestant policies. The conservatism of the emerging Protestant churches was at greater odds with their rhetoric, however. These retained certain forbidden degrees of consanguinity, for instance, and hardly made divorce easier to obtain than nullification under Catholicism. Harrington perceives the Protestant discrepancy between the insistence that marriage was strictly a civil matter and the

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obvious ritual and disciplinary sanctification of the wedded estate. In Protestant thought, marital sex still contained sin. Despite their rejection of celibacy, Lutheran and Calvinist theologians retained an ascetic element in their teachings about wedded life. Their own nuptials and the visible domestic life of their parsonages may have spoken louder than their often dour writings.

In a chapter on marriage and the state, Harrington delineates three patterns of the governance of marriage after the Peace of Augsburg: in Catholic lands, a continuation of divided state and church jurisdiction; in Protestant cities, the virtual elimination of independent ecclesiastical authority; within Protestant *and* Catholic territories, "mixed" oversight, with local and regional regulatory agencies ultimately answerable to the prince (pp. 153–63). This scheme modifies earlier ones put forward by Walther Kohler, Adhémar Esmein, and Thomas Safley (pp. 101–105, 163–65). There was with the Reformation, according to Harrington, a radical shift toward neither ecclesiastical nor secular rule of marriage. Rather, the evolution toward state predominance was gradual, lasting into the modern era.

Local custom remained a barrier to the state's unimpeded expansion. Indeed, Harrington finds that territorial rulers supported traditional practice in the villages, an effective technique for promoting their own interests against those of competing corporations such as the church and the nobility. Centralization by means of legal codification and consistent application could occur, as yet, only in the urban setting.

This calm, masterful presentation of jurisdictional realities will serve as a corrective to contemporary scholars who regard the Reformation as a watershed, for better or for worse, in the history of European matrimony. The reader ought to bear in mind, however, that the witch trials ran directly parallel to the evolutionary course Harrington describes and occurred in the very same region. The men in charge of marriage, disciplinary but still moderate, departed from precedent more radically in the scale on which they hunted witches. Marriage and witchcraft are linked by that "almost pathological fear" of independent women that Harrington says "all German literature" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displayed (p. 76).

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Helmut Gabel. *Widerstand und Kooperation: Studien zur politischen Kultur rheinischer und maasländischer Kleinterritorien (1648–1794).* (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen, number 2.) Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica. 1995. Pp. 480. DM 98.

Recent studies of early modern peasant politics and protest in the Holy Roman Empire have focused largely on the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period that previously had received little scholarly attention. These studies have, for the most part, elaborated significantly on Winfried Schulze's work, based largely on material from sixteenth and early seventeenth-century southern Germany, concerning the juridification of social conflict (*Bäuerlicher Widerstand und feudale Herrschaft in der frühen Neuzeit* [1980]). Schulze contended that, after the German Peasants' War, violent agrarian unrest gave way to legal battles, as peasants sought redress for their grievances in the imperial courts and the appellate courts of the larger territories. Helmut Gabel's probing analysis of peasant resistance and politics in the lilliputian lordships of northwestern Germany—situated between the Meuse and the Lower Rhine, a region untouched by the tumults of 1524–1525 and generally regarded as being free from social conflict during the early modern period—represents a major addition to the new scholarship. His findings, based on extensive research in judicial records, reveal the rich and supple texture of peasant political culture, which provided the ideological context for resistance to lordly domination. Equally significant, he fully dispels the notion that profound social strains and divisions did not roil this particular region of early modern Germany.

Gabel demonstrates that lord-peasant conflicts were widespread and endemic through a brief survey of the protracted struggles that occurred in twelve small territories during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He then recounts in extraordinary detail the peasant resistance in one of these territories: that of Kornelimünster, an imperial Benedictine abbey near Aachen, from 1641 to 1794. This long struggle, which generated 105 lawsuits before the Imperial Chamber Court alone, reached its dramatic climax in 1699, when some of the leaders of the peasant resistance engineered the assassination of the lord-abbot, Bertrand Goswin von Gevertzhaen. In addition to identifying the causes of peasant discontent and resistance—the fiscal burdens of warfare, disputed control over the collection of taxes, restrictions on peasants' access to communal woodlands, and the financing of unjustifiably lavish princely expenditures with new imposts—Gabel deftly traces the legal arguments put forward by the procurators and attorneys for both parties during the extensive litigation. He carefully analyzes the process of consensus building and decision making among the peasants, particularly from 1749 to 1751, when they successfully negotiated a constitutional agreement with the lord-abbot that temporarily ended the conflicts. Gabel's study of Kornelimünster is, in many respects, peerless for the thoroughness with which it explores the tactics, strategies, and grass roots of peasant politics in a single lordship over a period of more than 150 years.

Gabel's principal intention, however, is to discern the essential elements of the political culture that fostered and legitimated various forms of peasant resistance, including political assassination. He provides a penetrating discussion of the norms and ideals

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—such as commonweal, reciprocity, tradition, freedom, and personal honor—that the peasants and their legal agents repeatedly invoked and skillfully manipulated, mostly in written motions submitted to the courts and commissions of investigation, to justify disobedience and rebellion. Part of the evolution of these norms and values, Gabel provocatively suggests, occurred in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with the introduction of Roman law, which underpinned peasant interests in obtaining the complete ownership of land unencumbered by seigneurial obligations. In the eighteenth century, these values underwent further change as the peasants became more familiar with the ideas of natural law and right. Thus Gabel implicitly shows that the concept of the "old law"—the peasants' customary rights and privileges whose violation justified resistance against lordly domination—had multiple and shifting meanings. He also stresses that the juridification of social conflict shaped peasant political culture. As peasants increasingly relied on litigation to defend and further their interests, they inevitably borrowed ideas and modes of thought from legal culture. Such borrowings, in his judgment, constituted significant occasions of cultural transmission.

Social and institutional changes within the peasant commune also profoundly marked political developments. In particular, Gabel argues that the most active leaders of the peasant resistance came not from the village notables, who sat on local court councils and, thus, were in various ways subordinate to non-peasant authorities, but largely from the holders of lesser communal posts that first came into existence during the seventeenth century. Moreover, these leaders vigorously championed the commune's right to participate with the lord in making decisions that directly affected the commonweal. Thus, in the lands between the Meuse and the Lower Rhine, peasant communalism began to flourish after about 1650. This view not only cautiously disputes some of Peter Blickle's claims concerning regional differences in rural political activity in early modern Germany (*Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* [1992]) but also offers important insights into the factionalism that divided rural communities locked in conflict with their lords.

Although Gabel's book focuses on small territories close to the northwestern borderlands of the Holy Roman Empire, it brings into relief larger patterns concerning the articulation of the early modern state into the imperial framework. Peasant resistance firmly checked the development of absolutism only in the smallest territories, while the large and medium-sized principalities escaped this fate. Gabel discerningly outlines the institutional and constitutional factors that account for the different outcomes and thus illuminates an important aspect of the varied and complex political arrangements that characterized early modern Germany.

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PETER H. WILSON. *War, State and Society in Württemberg, 1677–1793.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern Europe.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. PP. xvii, 294. Cloth $69.95, paper $27.95.

This book, comprehensively researched and well written, is a multilayered intellectual tribute to Occam's Razor. Studies of state systems in early modern Germany have been increasingly shaped by two models. One focuses on what Marc Raeff calls "the well ordered police state" that developed comprehensive bureaucratic systems to regulate economies and control societies. The second emphasizes "cultural competition," with rulers seeking prestige by establishing their states as centers of culture in the Holy Roman Empire and Europe at large. Both are complex intellectual constructions that minimize the significance of armed forces and foreign policy. Peter H. Wilson revises the revisionists by demonstrating the three-way synergy among war, society, and ambition that produced the medium-sized absolutist states of the late Holy Roman Empire.

Wilson's choice of Württemberg as a case study is particularly felicitous. Württemberg was close enough to both France and Austria to avoid the pressures and temptations that led Prussia and Bavaria to seek independent roles in the European system. Württemberg was also large enough to sustain a complex internal political system. Wilson begins by denying the existence of a structural tension between the state's dukes and its estates. Practice tended toward cooperation rather than conflict; complaints against infringement of the "good old law" are best understood as texts of debate rather than evidences of estrangement. What disrupted this relationship were the aspirations of its rulers.

Dynastic ambitions and a desire to aggrandize the state made Württemberg a regular participant in regional and continental conflicts. That in turn generated increasing tension between sovereigns needing money and estates determined to restrain public spending. When Württemberg's dukes sought to order the state's political structure along absolutist lines, it was to enhance their autonomy in diplomacy and warmaking rather than to protect domestic elites against internal popular threats Wilson shows did not exist. At the same time, ducal ambitions were consistently restricted by a Holy Roman Empire whose institutions, even in decline, acted to facilitate conflict resolution by negotiation and law rather than force. The result was a tendency toward balance, with estates, princes, and empire acting to check threats to each other and to the general equilibrium.

In part that involved recognizing *faits accomplis*. A

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solid case can be made for the Seven Years' War, and perhaps even the Second Silesian War, as anomalies reflecting Austrian intransigence as well as Prussian aggression. Prussia, however, was not the only medium-sized state wishing to create new facts. A crucial element in this process, according to Wilson, was the "soldiers' trade." States like Württemberg sought consistently to support their foreign policies by organizing and leasing military formations to larger and more prosperous neighbors. This was as much a matter of policy as economics. Wilson demonstrates that subsidiary treaties were seldom concluded in a free-market format with advantage to the highest bidder. The cash itself could be a secondary issue, and the agreed-upon sums were notoriously difficult to collect. Instead, both parties expected diplomatic advantages—influence on one hand and support on the other—to accrue from completed negotiations. Württemberg, for example, usually sided with the Habsburgs after driving the best possible bargain.

The "soldiers' trade" depended as well on sustainability. Wilson establishes the exceptional nature of the Prussian and Hessian models, where "social militarization" was far advanced. Württemberg was more typical in its preference for raising subsidiary forces *ad hoc* from such expendables as unemployed journeymen and "sturdy beggars." This pattern was less likely to alarm either estates or empire. It was also far less likely to provide the revenues that Württemberg's rulers considered necessary to pursue assertive and independent policies in state or dynastic contexts.

What they lacked in resources the dukes sought to make up with *virtu*. Wilson's analysis of "state strategy" in Württemberg from the accession of Regent Frederick Carl in 1693 to the death of Duke Carl Eugen in 1793 demonstrates consistent dissonance between reach and grasp. Partly as a consequence of "cultural competition," the state's rulers tended to exaggerate their own skills in war and intrigue. They correspondingly overvalued Württemberg's capacity to sustain an ambitious foreign policy given the state's undeveloped economy and the limited-threat environment provided by the empire.

In the Revolutionary/Napoleonic era, an equilibrium facilitated by a century's worth of checks and balances appeared as gridlock when maps were being redrawn and governments remade year by year. Württemberg's rulers sought wider maneuvering room by dismantling the Holy Roman Empire and emasculating estates that continued to preserve their political position and their suspicion of ducal initiatives. Eventually, Württemberg's duke became a king, sustained by a larger and more efficient army than any the state had previously known. Yet for all the effort and all the sacrifices, Württemberg remained a medium-ranking German power unable to guarantee its own security. "Vanity of vanities . . ."

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RALF PRÖVE. *Stehendes Heer und städtische Gesellschaft im 18. Jahrhundert: Göttingen und seine Militärbevölkerung 1713–1756.* (Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte, number 47.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1995. Pp. xiv, 373. DM 88.

This useful work combines social history with military history or, rather, with the study of military institutions. Extensive archival sources, primarily from the Hannoverian state archives and the Göttingen city archive, permit Ralf Pröve to analyze the administrative and personnel practices of a medium-sized German army in the first half of the eighteenth century and the relationship between soldier and civilian in a small town. At the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, Göttingen had a little more than 4,000 inhabitants, a figure that rose to about 9,000 by the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The garrison, consisting of one infantry regiment and its dependent women and children, was an important contributor to these totals. In 1740, for instance, the 735 officers and men of the regiment and their 699 dependents made up approximately nineteen percent of the town's population. Another 220 retired soldiers and their families further increased the military's presence in the community.

The fact that a regiment was quartered in the town and the very existence of a standing army were elements in the expansion of centralized authority in the Electorate of Hannover at the expense of local autonomy. But the process of centralization was still incomplete. The administrative methods of absolutism existed side by side with local rights and traditions. In the community of citizens and resident aliens—further divided into a honeycomb of smaller social and economic groups, each with its privileges and duties—the garrison functioned as another corporative entity. It was financed by local taxes and possessed such important social and economic powers as the control over traffic through the town's gates. But it had to respect the interests of other groups in the community and deal as well with the civil agencies of the central government, which often supported local complaints against the regiment. When the university was founded in the 1730s, a new corporative member was added to the town's mix. This posed special problems to the garrison, because students had the right to bear arms. To eliminate a likely focus of conflict, the magistrate proposed moving the garrison's *Hauptwache*, where a platoon was permanently under arms, from the cental market square, a favorite meeting place for students, to a less conspicuous location. Over the objection of the commanding officer, the move was made.

In the internal affairs of the regiment, however, the authority of the commanding officer and of military law was absolute. In brief sections, backed by ninety-six statistical tables, Pröve examines the elements and conditions of this military world, beginning with the Hannoverian army, and then proceeding to the specifics of the garrison in Göttingen. The subjects discussed range from the soldiers' social origins, motives for

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enlisting, and promotion patterns to the size of their families and the economic activities of soldiers on leave. But as these themes indicate, the military and civilian realms were not truly separate and cannot be studied for long in isolation. Particularly interesting are the analyses of some of these interactions: the economic burden that the garrison constituted, as well as the economic benefits it brought; the policy of quartering soldiers in private houses instead of isolating them in barracks; and the official and informal relationships between the commanding officer and the magistrate.

The picture that emerges is one of a complex, relatively efficient military society, in which firm discipline from above and deference from below were leavened by a modest but nevertheless meaningful paternalism. It was well integrated into the larger community; the inevitable conflicts of interests and rivalries between civil and military authorities could usually be resolved or smoothed over. If soldiers fought with students or workers in the streets, they also met them amicably in social gatherings. Soldiers were employed after hours in workshops and married the daughters and widows of townspeople; the church registers list citizens and students as the godfathers of their children.

The only major aspect of this world that the book barely touches on is the soldier's training for war. In a text of 323 pages, no more than two refer to the drill, tactical exercises, and reviews that made up a large part of the garrison's daily existence. But the administrative, disciplinary, and social characteristics of the garrison cannot be isolated from its military activities. On the contrary, they influenced each other, a relationship that is particularly clear between discipline and tactics but existed in other areas as well. The links between social and institutional characteristics and social and institutional purpose and performance deserve as much study as do the characteristics themselves.

Nevertheless, Pröve has written a worthwhile book that adds much specific information to our knowledge of eighteenth-century military institutions. Not least interesting is the material it provides for analyses comparing Hannoverian conditions with those in Prussia; some of these are similar, while others are quite different. It is improbable, for instance, that in Halle or Magdeburg the *Hauptwache* would have been moved to assure peaceful relations between soldiers and students.

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MANFRED RUDERSDORF. *"Das Glück der Bettler": Justus Möser und die Welt der Armen; Mentalität und soziale Frage im Fürstbistum Osnabrück zwischen Aufklärung und Säkularisation*. Münster: Aschendorff. 1995. Pp. xx, 415.

Few modern German historians have researched the history of more than one of the over three hundred sovereign states of the Holy Roman Empire. Histories of eighteenth-century Germany, in particular, have concentrated on reform of one of the small states involved in enlightened absolutism. Manfred Rudersdorf's study of Justus Möser and the social question of pauperism and beggary in the princely bishopric of Osnabrück represents the more recent trend toward sociologizing the history of poverty. Rudersdorf's approach is not that of an economic historian, even if he juxtaposes the mercantilist traditionalism of welfare ordinances with Möser's desire to cut the welfare rolls of the unemployed and able-bodied, poor beggars.

The peculiar situation of the bishopric of Osnabrück within the constitutional framework of the German Empire created by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 has increased the severity of the author's task. After the Reformation, most German states upheld either Roman Catholicism under a Catholic prince or bishop or Lutheranism under a Lutheran ruler. Where there were mixed populations, as in Osnabrück, a system of parity was introduced. Osnabrück was alternately ruled by a Roman Catholic and a Lutheran bishop. As in other Catholic states governed by an archbishop, the cathedral chapter lords elected the Catholic prince. In 1764, it was the turn of the Protestants, who appointed the still infant younger son of King George III of Great Britain, Duke Frederick of York. As elector of neighboring Hanover, George III enjoyed that privilege. The landowning nobility was Protestant, and Möser became the chief officer of its legislative estate. As such, and after spending the winter of 1763–1764 in London, Möser acted for the regency government during the minority of the young prince.

The full extent of British influence on Möser remains somewhat unclear. Many excellent engravings of English social life by William Hogarth were used to illustrate the book. Were they collected by Möser? Do they have any relevance for Osnabrück? The exhaustive and excellent bibliography acknowledges almost all known studies of pauperism in the German states. British historiography of the intricate poor law problem in English history is included. Rudersdorf has sifted the Osnabrück archive for most of Möser's memoranda and books. Three appendixes quote extensively from Möser's works of the life of the beggar. Other data include a list of Protestant and Catholic funds available for the support of the poor, the widows, and the orphans. There is a survey of how the 1770–1772 famine crisis was handled by local administrators. To avoid future crises, Möser believed in providing more work at home for the landless agricultural laborers who migrated to the Netherlands every year to work in the fields.

Rudersdorf makes use of the prevailing forms of paradigmatic analysis. The mentality of his reformers (few besides Möser) moved from enlightenment to secularization. Rudersdorf also introduces some of the new concepts now coming into vogue in early modern

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historical studies. The idea of a discipline of the idle, of the able-bodied poor, and of the unemployed seems to express them. Criticism of a declining empire with an outmoded constitutional structure and ineffectual welfare policies characterizes Rudersdorf's general argument. Möser appears to have been one of the first German bourgeois officials to reject the "well ordered" state of eighteenth-century paternalism. Yet he consistently adhered to a policy of local initiatives and local provision of the poor. The ordinances of 1766, 1774, and 1783 all repeated the emphasis on parish support of the poor, which proved inadequate when there was a real economic crisis accompanied by armies of begging poor. The modernization of the political structures during the Napoleonic era produced a rationalization and a centralization of funds used for welfare. A modern prison, supported by the estates, accommodated both criminals and workhouse poor.

Emergencies and disasters have never been easily relieved. Coping with them has always been a matter of finding additional funds, as was also the case in Möser's time. The history of such crises transcends any discussion of the economic forces at work. Rather than ideas about mercantilism and economic liberalism, those of community solidarity seem to be more useful. Möser's work took such forces into account so that his ideas could easily bridge the gap to the modern system.

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ISABEL V. HULL. *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 467. $39.95.

Beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the absolutist state in Germany renounced its moral stewardship over broad areas of sexual behavior. A range of consensual sex delicts once subject to harsh punishment (for example, fornication, sodomy, and bestiality) were decriminalized, and the Bavarian Criminal Code of 1813 even removed homosexuality and prostitution from its purview. As Isabel V. Hull argues, the significance of these measures went far beyond sex; their enactment was a key moment in the genesis of liberal civil society. Championed by absolutist reformers increasingly skeptical of the efficacy of state coercion, and envisioned by early liberal theorists as a realm of freedom autonomous from the state, civil society was now entrusted with the task of regulating itself.

The emergence of civil society as a sphere of freedom has been the object of social analysis at least since G. F. W. Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* (1821) tackled the issue. Historians customarily highlight the socio-economic aspects of this process, focusing on the rise of market society or the new forms of associational life that began to emerge in the eighteenth century. Hull, however, is interested in civil society as a sexual construct. Like Carole Pateman, she believes that modern civil society is historically rooted in profoundly gendered ideals of citizenship. Its early apostles (or what Hull calls the "practitioners of civil society") were the intellectual offspring of an Enlightenment that, for all the universality of its claims, was deeply masculinist in outlook. As the products of a literary market and institutions of sociability dominated by men, the practitioners of civil society almost without exception made active citizenship an exclusively male preserve. Hence Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, for Hull the preeminent representatives of early German liberalism, viewed women as generally incapable of active citizenship: Kant owing to their lesser capacity for reason, Fichte because of their natural passivity and state of dependence in marriage.

Oddly, it never occurs to the author to ask what German women of the period thought of early civil society and its sexual norms. Instead we are told that "though women [in the late Enlightenment] read, they did not publish" (p. 207), which presumably explains why the bibliography of primary sources does not include a single work written by a woman. According to my count, in more than 400 pages of text and some 1500 footnotes, the voices of early modern German women appear exactly twice: once in a 1654 request by Maria Anna, the regent and electoress of Bavaria, for data on the sexual delicts of her subjects (p. 71), and once in a 1713 decree by the margravine and regent of Baden, Francisca Sybilla Augusta, calling for harsher penalties against fornication (p. 96).

The problem is that German women of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did of course publish, a great deal, as a matter of fact. Not only did the German Enlightenment give birth to the first novels written by women; one of them, Sophie von LaRoche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771), has been called the first sentimental novel in Germany, the first full-fledged German epistolary novel, and the first German *Bildungsroman* to have a woman as its central character (see Christa Baguss Britt's introduction to her fine English edition of LaRoche's *History of Lady Sophia Sternheim* ([1991], p. 3). If, moreover, this nascent civil society were so thoroughly masculine, so premised on the exclusion of women from public roles, how does one account for the fact that the most important institution of intellectual sociability in the late eighteenth century was arguably the salon, and particularly the salons of Henriette Herz in Berlin and Fanny von Arnstein in Vienna? And if the exclusion of women was intrinsic to the Enlightenment project, how does one explain the publication of a feminist tract like Theodor von Hippel's *On Improving the Civil Status of Women* (1792)? Hull in fact gives an insightful analysis of Hippel's treatise, which was composed as a polemic against the failure of the French Revolution to cede full civil and political rights to women. Doubtless she is right to argue that his feminism was the exception and not the rule among late Enlightenment theorists. But if a masculinist discourse of sexual and gender exclusions

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was so deeply embedded in the putatively universalist principles of the new civil society, how could Hippel's emancipatory conclusions ever have been conceivable in the first place?

Hull's final section focuses on Bavaria and Baden and seeks to show how the sexually discriminatory norms of the new civil society found concrete expression in the law codes of Napoleonic Germany. Her treatment reveals that the decriminalization of consensual sexual delicts was more apparent than real. For although the Bavarian Criminal Code did not concern itself with delicts like prostitution and sodomy, these offenses were still subject to punishment. The police, now conceived as the regulatory agents of the new civil society, were given wide berth in punishing sexual acts deemed to be "offenses against public decency." At the same time, the relatively evenhanded treatment of women that had characterized absolutist sexual regulation gave way to more discriminatory provisions. Adultery remained a crime under the 1813 Bavarian code, and female offenders were punished more severely than male ones. In the archduchy of Baden, where a modified version of the *Code Napoléon* was introduced in 1809, the new civil code "all but made maleness a privileged *Stand*" (p. 375). So while a Baden husband could divorce his wife, she enjoyed that right only if her husband moved his lover into the house. In the name of protecting (male) privacy and securing the inheritance rights of legitimate children, the Baden code also curtailed a out-of-wedlock mother's ability to secure child support from the biological father. Overall, concludes Hull, the law codes of the early nineteenth century constructed a model of civil society that made active citizenship the exclusive preserve of the married, property-owning male. They codified a new sexual system that, in dichotomizing the male as active and the female as passive, laid the sexual foundations for the nineteenth century and its gendered polarities of public and private.

Here it is dangerous to generalize about social practices and ideologies on the basis of legal statutes, all the more so since Hull assigns an enormous amount of analytical weight to a rather small number of them. In the United States, adultery remains a felony in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan, Idaho, and Oklahoma. I would be loath, however, to draw conclusions about marital fidelity in *fin-de-siècle* America based on those statutes. In the German case, the intense debate sparked by attempts to introduce the sexual provisions of the Baden and Bavarian codes suggests anything but a consensus among practitioners of civil society. For Hull, however, these provisions signaled nothing less than the birth of the modern sexual system. Framing Hull's account is a master narrative—once dominant in the writing of women's history—according to which the transition to modernity that occurred roughly between 1750 and 1850 was a disaster for women. It marked the triumph of a "separate spheres" ideology, securely anchored in notions of sexual difference, through which women's status became purely derivative from their roles as wives and mothers.

Here is not the place to explore the limitations of this narrative, which Amanda Vickery recently subjected to brilliant scrutiny in her "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History" (*Historical Journal* 36 [1993]: 383–414). It is at any rate a narrative that Hull postulates more than proves. In the end, her book fails to persuade, above all because the women whose lives and sexual behavior were regulated are utterly invisible. Their location in Hull's "sexual system" is immobile. The reader never knows whether they resisted or complied with this system, because they do not speak. Their silence is understandable insofar as the administrative and legal sources consulted by Hull were written by men. It is baffling for a period in which novels, periodicals, and advice manuals penned by women proliferated. Did the female authors of this literature really have nothing to say about civil society? Did women contribute nothing to the new sexual system except as foils for the legislation that shackled them? Is it possible that this legislation, far from signifying women's social fettering in civil society, was a defensive response to their growing participation in it? This book not only fails to answer these questions; it never even poses them. It is, in short, a history of sexuality with the women left out.

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Doris Kaufmann. *Aufklärung, bürgerliche Selbsterfahrung und die "Erfindung" der Psychiatrie in Deutschland, 1770–1850.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 122.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1995. Pp. 361. DM 78.

Few topics in German history (at least, German history before 1900) have received more scholarly attention in the last decade than the constitution of civil society and the construction of a middle-class identity. Jürgen Habermas's inquiries into the "project of the modern" as well as Norbert Elias's theories about a "civilizing process" have greatly influenced the development of these subjects. In medical histories written about the period the most prominent and authoritative voices have been those of Michel Foucault and the adherents of professionalization theory. Doris Kaufmann combines all these perspectives to produce a work rich in ideas about the origins of a middle-class identity in Germany, about the "discovery" of psychiatry, and about the rise of medical expertise in the nineteenth century. She neither slavishly follows nor totally accepts any of her exemplars. Rather, on the basis of printed and archival materials (in particular, a series of engrossing case studies), Kaufmann rigorously tests theory against practice. The author offers a subtle, yet provocative vision of how the evolution of a specific middle-class identity derived (at least in part) from the contemplation of madness. Kaufmann skillfully weaves

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together common knowledge—for example, about the origins of psychiatry and clinical medicine at the turn of the eighteenth century—with her own sharp observations to produce a novel perspective on the roots of middle-classness that is as persuasive as it is perspicacious.

Kaufmann explores and relates four themes. First, she discusses the concept of "self-experience" as it evolved during the Enlightenment. She then considers the implications of the middle-class "change in outlook" (*Einstellungswandel*) that drove the reform of mental institutions in Prussia and Württemberg. Next she sketches a social history of the insane in the nineteenth century. She closes her work with a detailed examination of changes in the "discourse on the endangerment of the soul" (*der seelische Gefährdungsdiskurs*). Here, she demonstrates how the experiences of physicians in the early nineteenth century as well as the formation of links between psychiatry and criminology combined to alter and redirect the discourse about the self and the soul that the Enlightenment had begun.

The results are impressive: a richly textured picture of the introspective gaze as practiced and perfected by the enlightened middle classes; a portrait of institutional reform that moves beyond plans for improvements to consider daily life within institutions and battles between institutional directors and state reformers; and an analysis of why middle-class society, physicians, and village inhabitants often defined and sought to handle (not necessarily treat) madness in very different ways. Kaufmann's central argument is that, during the Enlightenment, groups that included physicians but were by no means fully represented by them embarked on a voyage of discovery into the uncharted territory of the *Ich*. The written record of this enlightened self-reflection (*aufklärerische Selbstreflexion*), found in journals such as the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, edited by Karl Philipp Moritz from 1783–1793, but also revealed in the belletristic of the day and in the thinking of philosophers like Immanuel Kant, relied on minute and careful observations of oneself and one's fellows. Such self-experiencing soon revealed the dark side of the *Ich*, the side controlled by drives and passions that were neither easily understood nor readily governed. Frighteningly apparent was the painful thinness of the line between sanity and insanity, between reason and unreason.

In her consideration of the reform of madhouses in Baden and Prussia, Kaufmann shows convincingly what other scholars have already found to be true elsewhere in Europe: that the Foucauldian idea of institutional reform as a new and more pervasive sort of disciplining is seriously flawed. As Roy Porter has argued in *Mind-Forg'd Manacles* (1987), the number of people incarcerated in this period was far too small to merit the term "great confinement." Moreover, Kaufmann distills from the rules and actualities of institutional life the analysis that no "disciplining regimen" existed to regulate minutely the lives of all inmates. Likewise, in the social history of the insane she constructs for village society, Kaufmann demonstrates how physicians and agents of the state introduced, or attempted to introduce, only quite limited reforms. The old and the new existed together (if not quite comfortably), and villagers were quick to use the new insane asylums—as they had the old *Zuchthäuser*—to incarcerate those who severely disrupted civic peace or threatened life and property.

Interesting throughout the book, Kaufmann's fine use of case studies is perhaps most striking in the final section. When the men and women of the late eighteenth century observed people, they did so autobiographically or biographically. At the same time, physicians composed clinical case histories in increasing numbers to aid them in their search for the somatic and psychic roots of disease. In her concluding section, Kaufmann deftly builds her argument on individual criminal cases. During the first half of the nineteenth century, although physicians had certainly gained in power as forensic experts, they by no means triumphed, and the conflict between different forms of expertise—the legal, the religious, and the medical—had yet to peak.

The real strength of Kaufmann's book is her ability to move on several planes at once and to combine different types of sources into a fruitful whole. The end-product not only usefully corrects the simple stories often told of the rise and progress of institutional reform and the roots of modern psychiatry but also exposes the intimate ties between reform and psychiatry, on the one hand, and middle-class consciousness or mentality on the other.

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PETER FRITZSCHE. *Reading Berlin 1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 308. $39.95.

Peter Fritzsche's book engages in marvelous explorations of interactions between turn-of-the-century Berlin, the deluge of contemporary texts about it, and the metropolitan personality that grew in its frenzied environment. In contrast to more familiar treatments of Wilhelmine Berlin as an arena of social conflict and political tensions or as the showplace of Prussian militarism, Fritzsche depicts a visually chaotic city whose citizens are united—on one level at least—as a republic of readers of mass-circulation newspapers that "calibrate" them to ever-quickening metropolitan rhythms (p. 61). Not only an acute observer of urban texts, he draws extensively on current theory about spectatorship, cultural history, and urban studies, demonstrating, as with his earlier books, an admirable ability to think widely about an emergent mass society.

Fritzsche uses "metropolis" to denote a fugitive, ever-changing city of spectacles and consumption that, between 1900 and 1914, superseded the "capital," whose laws and procedures connoted order and regimentation (pp. 3–4). A major component of this

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change, he explains, was the exponential growth of public transport, which Berliners learned to use to travel to far-removed workplaces and to browse among the array of urban diversions. But crucial in inspiring such travels—and in heightening the tension between the orderly capital and the chaotic metropolis—was the conglomerate of writings that depicted it.

Fritzsche locates the discovery of the "fugitive city", with its successions of fleeting images, in a variety of texts such as Georg Simmel's classic essay ("Die Großstadt und das Geistesleben" ("The Metropolis and Mental Life" [1903]) and Hans Ostwald's *Großstadt Dokumente* (*Documents of the Metropolis* [1905]), showing how their modernist forms corresponded to the dizzying urban instabilities. The principal texts, however, were metropolitan newspapers like Leopold Ullstein's *Berliner Morgenpost*, that assumed the role of "informative guides to the confusing protocols and hectic rhythms of the metropolis" (p. 20). Their bold experiments with eye-catching mastheads, headlines, and layout and their agitated writing style contributed to building a mass readership whose dependency grew with the proliferation of new editions. Their fragmented contents, which encompassed local news, entertainment listings, feuilleton pieces, promotional stunts, and expansive advertising, fostered a "metropolitan literacy" (p. 89) for reading a city constantly in flux. Fritzsche replicates this word-city by providing profuse examples of how newspapers motivated Berliners to throng the streets, besiege commercial establishments, and ingest an unending deluge of written "debris" (p. 96).

Like the metropolitan flux he portrays, Fritzsche develops a multifaceted argument. If newspapers made the city legible, their disorderly texts also rendered it undecipherable. If newspapers atomized inhabitants into an unending succession of individual stories, their increasingly standardized urban inventories molded readers into an undifferentiated, classless mass. If newspapers depicted the city as a formless experience, they also contributed to its rationalized rhythms of traffic to move people and goods. Such interpretive open-endedness, along with Fritzsche's insistence that his analysis not be taken as authoritative, makes readers continually aware of the rich diffuseness of his material and invites them to discover alternative perspectives to deal with it.

Fritzsche's loosely topical chapters, with their associational approach, correspond well to his premise about the fugitive city. A drawback, however, is that some themes repeat themselves—like the idea of the metropolis as an unending stream of visual impressions—while some issues of historical interpretation remain underdeveloped. To take one such issue, Fritzsche separates the metropolis from the capital, but they blur when he takes up newspapers' promotion of mass-nationalist spectacles such as the Zeppelin Days. The origins of nationalist pride in such German achievement, as evinced by journalist Conrad Alberti, might profitably be sought in earlier forms of the word-city directly linked to Berlin as capital. Similarly, the collisions Fritzsche describes between military parades, commercial traffic, and throngs of browsers also suggest the capital and metropolis coalescing, with newspapers' critiques of the traffic disruptions providing possible implications about new forms of nationalism. Fritzsche's tantalizing suggestion that the word-city of the 1900s contained two alternatives for German development—the "democratic spirit" of metropolitan freedoms versus the "machine-tempered discipline of the metropolitan crowds" (p. 233)—raises the question not only of why discipline won out after 1914 but of whether these two alternatives might have reinforced each other in Wilhelmine Berlin.

This book, like the word-city it explores, will produce a plurality of readings that disorganize and reorganize urban phenomena and their relation to German history. Its major strengths lie in the profusion of Fritzsche's ideas about the German metropolis and in the exhilarating instruction he gives to historians about learning better to use their eyes and imaginations.

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CHRISTIAN F. TRIPPE. *Konservative Verfassungspolitik 1918–1923: Die DNVP als Opposition in Reich und Ländern*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 105.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1995. Pp. 237.

This rather narrowly focused but well-researched monograph examines an aspect of the Weimar Republic's history that has been relatively unexplored in the vast body of literature on this era of German history: the contribution of the German National People's Party (DNVP) to the process of writing the constitutions of the Reich and Länder. At first glance, this topic might not seem to be worth an entire monograph. After all, the Weimar constitutions were documents providing for republican institutions and parliamentary democracy, and no self-respecting German Nationalist wanted any part of either. But Christian F. Trippe convincingly demonstrates that such a conclusion is unwarranted. Matters were more complicated, and the German Nationalists' contribution consisted of more than simply saying "no."

The most valuable part of this book is the comparative perspective on the different constitutions. Trippe examines the DNVP's constitution-making role in both the Reich and all of the states. He thus provides a much more complete picture of the DNVP than earlier studies, which largely limited themselves to the dynamics of the Reich constitutional convention. Trippe has made effective use of the relevant archival material, including that in the newly opened archives of the former German Democratic Republic.

Some of Trippe's conclusions are not new, although they effectively reinforce earlier findings. He demon-

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strates that the DNVP was an even more heterogeneous group than we thought. Gathered under the party's broad umbrella were fervent Prussian monarchists; rabid anti-Semites who disliked the Prussian monarchy almost as much as they did the new system of parliamentary democracy; and young conservatives such as Oskar Hergt, who could live with a republic provided it was what they called an *Ordnungsstaat*. Such an organism might have a parliamentary component, but the constitution should give the executive predominant rights and power.

Among Trippe's more important conclusions is that a gap between the DNVP's rank-and-file membership and leadership existed almost from the day of the party's founding. The former were always much more radical than the latter. Although many of the party's constitutional experts attempted to offer what they thought were constructive ideas rooted in the traditions of conservative thinking on the nature of state and society (the rights of property, relations between executive and legislature, and limits on civil rights), the rank and file were motivated by a visceral hatred of the new era. Moreover, their emotional obstructionism grew with time. The DNVP made some constructive contributions to the early constitutional writing process, especially in the Länder. But, once the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were made public, the rank-and-file membership identified the national humiliation with parliamentary democracy, forcing the leaders into obstructionism rather than loyal opposition.

In addition, the DNVP suffered from a lack of effective leadership. Time and again, the party was unable to take a clear position because the leaders failed to find compromises acceptable to its disparate wings. Trippe also effectively brings out the differences between the DNVP in the southern states and the northern organizations: in the south of Germany, the party had internalized liberal traditions; the northern states, however, tended to be dominated by radical elements. This was true, surprisingly enough, of the Hanseatic cities as well as more backward areas such as Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

Most specialists—and this is a book for specialists—will find the comparative analysis of the DNVP's role in the constitution-making process in the German states with that at the Reich level particularly useful. In addition to detailed descriptive analyses of this process in each of the constituencies, Trippe also provides a number of graphic summaries of his conclusions. Some of these are perhaps more confusing than enlightening, but the summary of DNVP positions on the major constitutional issues (p. 202) is especially useful. There are also helpful short biographies of the major figures in the DNVP involved in constitutional politics.

Inevitably in a book of this nature, the reader will find out more about constitution-making in, for example, Schaumburg-Lippe than he or she ever wanted to know. By attempting to encompass all of the Länder, Trippe goes into details most students of the Weimar Republic might find excessive. The writing itself is a little dry and anemic, which is not surprising in view of the subject matter but at some variance with the fervent emotionalism with which the DNVP actors viewed their task. (Trippe provides a number of well-chosen quotations to demonstrate this.)

Trippe also has a tendency to ignore political developments. The effect of the Kapp Putsch (1920) on the DNVP's role in the constitutional conventions that were still meeting is well covered, but other political dynamics, such as the election of 1920, are dealt with less adequately. Finally, Anglo-Saxon readers especially will find the routine use in the text of abbreviations from German judicial writings (such as RReg. for *Reichsregierung* or RP for *Reichspräsident*) a little disconcerting. Still, these are minor quibbles. Within its topical limitation, Trippe's book is a useful contribution to the literature on the Weimar Republic.

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HANS MOMMSEN. *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy*. Translated by ELBORG FORSTER and LARRY EUGENE JONES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 604. $65.00.

This is the English translation of a work that was originally published in German in 1989 under the title *Die verspielte Freiheit: Der Weg der Republik von Weimar in den Untergang 1918–1933*. The *Propyläen* series in which the original appeared is almost a coffee table production. The individual volumes are printed on heavy stock paper, bound in buckram, and provided with a lavish set of illustrations. This American edition is a rather more pedestrian effort. It is particularly unfortunate that the American publishers did not include the illustrations. In the original they form a valuable complement to the text. Nevertheless, we should be grateful that this masterful history of the Weimar Republic by Hans Mommsen, one of the most influential historians of modern Germany, is now available to an audience that did not have access to the German original.

Like all of the volumes in the *Propyläen* series, this book is intended for the non-specialist and educated general reader. There are no footnotes and the emphasis is on clear organization and narration rather than theory-building. Scholars will regret the lack of attribution for the numerous direct quotations, but that is the nature of the work. The generally comprehensive bibliography is grouped by subjects, which can be alternately confusing and helpful.

For many years, Mommsen has been a leader of the so-called structuralist school of German historiography, and he does not abandon his convictions here. The leitmotif of the work is that the failure of the Weimar Republic was deliberately engineered by the German bourgeoisie, and more specifically the military-agrarian-industrial complex, because these forces realized that in a parliamentary democracy they could

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not exclude the German left and especially organized labor from sharing political power. Weimar history was, as Mommsen puts it, "class conflict from above" (p. 453).

Since the economy and foreign affairs were of primary interest to the economic pressure groups and the Reichswehr, Mommsen focuses his narrative on these areas. Until the final months of the republic at the end of 1932, Adolf Hitler, the Nazis, and even anti-Semitism play relatively minor roles in the Weimar drama. Mommsen's treatment of economic and foreign affairs is superb. Keeping in mind that this work is not intended for specialists, the author makes the intricacies of Germany's tangled financial and economic web and its bungling attempts to escape diplomatic isolation admirably clear.

Specialists will find relatively little that is new in this book; there are no new smoking guns and few radically different interpretations of well-known developments. (Mommsen's discussion of the planned 1931 Austro-German customs union does add important new information on the political aspects of the project.) Instead, in a book of synthesis like this, scholars will look for specific emphases in the evaluation of key events in Weimar history and the assessment of individual actors.

It is customary for historians of both structuralist and personalist camps to see the Weimar Republic in terms of heroes and villains, and Mommsen follows this tradition. Some of his judgments are expected, others come as something of a surprise. Most surprising, perhaps, for a man with a reputation as a radical structuralist, are Mommsen's remarkably perceptive portraits of the leading Weimar actors. In his biographical sketch of Hitler there is even a nod toward the psychohistorians.

Not unexpectedly there are no clear-cut structural heroes in this treatment. Organized labor comes closest, but Mommsen is highly critical of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) during the Revolution of 1918–1919; he clearly feels that the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) had a more realistic view of the realities of power in Germany. On the other hand, the SPD receives high praise for its consistent support of parliamentary democracy throughout the Weimar era. Among personalities, Mommsen is particularly impressed by the Prussian prime minister, Otto Braun, in the author's view perhaps the only genuinely energetic and far-sighted statesman on the German left. Somewhat surprising is Mommsen's relatively favorable assessment of Gustav Stresemann. Without denying Stresemann's fervent German nationalism, Mommsen gives him high marks for attempting to stabilize the parliamentary system in the face of massive opposition from a variety of groups, including his own party.

The outstanding structural villain in this book is the German bourgeoisie, and more specifically heavy industry and the East Elbian agrarian interests. They were the "grave diggers of the Republic," and they, Mommsen insists, during the years of the presidential regime created all of the instruments that Hitler would later use to establish the Nazi dictatorship. Ranking high on the list of personalist villains are Hans von Seeckt, whom Mommsen sees as the key figure in the efforts to destroy democracy at the end of 1923; Hjalmar Schacht; and especially Heinrich Brüning. Mommsen writes a detailed, devastating, but convincing analysis of Brüning as a man who was obsessed with the reparations issue, persisted in an irrational faith in supply-side economics, and harbored a deep-seated hatred of democracy and democratic socialism.

Any criticisms? Some readers will certainly dislike the author's overall structuralist conceptualization. Mommsen is perfectly content to offer "heavy industry presented an ultimatum" (p. 401) as a causal analysis, while scholars with a more personalist bent might find that conclusion overly abstract. There may also be disagreement on points of emphasis. Mommsen's treatment of the Kapp Putsch is rather cursory, while he provides a detailed analysis of the 1926 initiative and referendum on the expropriation of the princes. Cultural and aesthetic developments do not figure prominently in the text (although here the illustrations in the German edition make up somewhat for this deficiency), and proponents of *Alltagsgeschichte* will complain that this is very much a book of history written from above.

Since this is a translation, a few comments on the English-language version might be in order. This is certainly serviceable, but Mommsen in German is a superb stylist, and this translation does not always do him justice. In general, the translators err on the side of excess in translating German terms and titles, but for some reason as pivotal a concept as *Querfront* (diagonal front) was left out. It is also a little disconcerting to find two separate translations for the same German term. *Kadavergehorsam* is translated both as "the obedience of the dead" (p. 18), and "unconditional obedience" (p. 25).

Still, these are minor quibbles. We should be grateful that this major work of synthesis, a summing-up of decades of work by a master scholar, is now available to a new, wide audience. Scholars in the field will utilize the book as both capstone and foundation of further research, while non-specialists can enjoy the best one-volume history of the Weimar Republic.

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CHRISTOPH HENZLER. *Fritz Schäffer: 1945–1967; Eine biographische Studie zum ersten bayerischen Nachkriegs-Ministerpräsidenten und ersten Finanzminister der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. (Untersuchungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 3.) Munich: Hanns Seidel Stiftung. 1994. Pp. 637.

OTTO ALTENDORFER. *Fritz Schäffer als Politiker der Bayerischen Volkspartei 1888–1945*. In two volumes. (Untersuchungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte,

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number 2.) Munich: Hanns Seidel Stiftung. 1993. Pp. 411; 413–945.

These two political biographies of the conservative Bavarian politician, Fritz Schäffer, provide myriad details about Schäffer's involvement in Bavarian and German political life from his role in the counter-revolution and the founding of the Bavarian People's Party (BVP) in November 1918 until his retirement in 1961, after serving eight years as finance minister in Konrad Adenauer's first two cabinets and then four years as Adenauer's justice minister. Both books are dissertations that reflect extensive archival research and the publication support of the Hanns-Seidel Foundation of the Christian Social Union (CSU), the successor party to the interwar Bavarian People's Party. Whereas Christoph Henzler's biography is a focused and analytically well-integrated examination of Schäffer's role as CSU politician and, in particular, as Adenauer's finance minister from 1949 until 1957, Otto Altendorfer's two-volume study is as much a history of the BVP and political Catholicism in the Weimar Republic as it is a biography of Fritz Schäffer's early political career, when he served in the Bavarian state parliament from 1920 to 1933 and headed the BVP from May of 1929 until its dissolution in 1933.

Altendorfer's study provides a huge amount of information, some of it quite new and all of it minutely detailed, from the German Revolution of 1918–1919 in Bavaria, with its unique soviet republic and white terror, to the right-wing Fatherland movement and the push to resurrect the Wittelsbach monarchy as well as to restore more states' rights and Bavarian particularism in the Weimar constitution. It also provides considerable background on the 1923 Hitler Putsch and its connections with other Bavarian *völkisch* and conservative movements; the calculations behind various political compromises made by the Catholic Center Party and its Bavarian counterpart, the Bavarian People's Party, with their political rival, the Nazi Party; and Catholic church-state relations in the Third Reich. Although Altendorfer could have written several short books about any of these topics with the mass of information he has compiled, he instead has written a biography that often fails to integrate this information conceptually with its portrayal of Schäffer.

Altendorfer asserts that his biography will test the appropriateness of the labels of nationalist, militarist, monarchist, and friend of the Nazis that previous historians have used to describe the man, whom Altendorfer himself labels as "more misunderstood than any other politician of the Weimar period" (p. 11). Yet he waits until the end of the book to evaluate Schäffer's politics, and then he does not address most of the labels he set out to contest. Instead he seems to feel that the hundreds of pages of political and social context he describes suffice to ground Schäffer's behavior in a way that will make it apparent that these labels are far too simplistic to do justice to this conservative Bavarian political figure. The patient reader will find that although some of these labels indeed correctly describe Schäffer's politics at specific moments, neither Schäffer nor German interwar conservatism and political Catholicism remained static; the rapidly changing political situation in interwar Germany, and especially in volatile places like Munich, requires a much more complex analytical framework. Unfortunately, after a cursory five-page introduction that fails to set up such a framework, Altendorfer writes close to 900 pages of descriptive narrative and then devotes five pages to his analysis and conclusions. Thus, although these two massive volumes are chock-full of interesting details and represent impressive research that should be helpful to any scholar of the German Revolution of 1918–1919, the Weimar Republic and/or the relationship of traditional Bavarian conservatism to the rise of Hitler, the reader is left to do far too much of the conceptual piecing together of narrative events.

As compared to Altendorfer, Henzler, in his post-1945 biography of Schäffer, has the advantage of dealing with Schäffer primarily within the milieu of well-known political actors at the cabinet level of early West German politics. Beginning with an introduction to the conceptual framework of his book, Henzler briefly covers Schäffer's life prior to 1945 and then proceeds to discuss thematically the Allied (in this case American) occupation period and Schäffer's role in it as one of the early members of the Christian Social Union and the man the Americans appointed as Bavaria's first postwar minister president. Henzler describes, without elucidating, Schäffer's conflicts with the U.S. Military Government over denazification-related removals of administrative personnel; his dismissal as minister president after four months, in the midst of the uproar surrounding General George S. Patton's comments comparing Nazis and anti-Nazis in Germany to Democrats and Republicans in the United States; his political "exile" from April 1946 until November 1947, during which time the Americans denied him active and passive political rights because of his alleged complicity with Nazism and advocacy of militarism and ultranationalism; and his active pursuit of his own denazification trial in order to vindicate himself.

Henzler convincingly supports Schäffer's own beliefs that his CSU political rivals, particularly Josef Müller, manipulated the Americans' suspicions about Schäffer in hopes of blacklisting him in 1946, so that they could keep him out of the CSU leadership. As the last head of the BVP, Schäffer had ambitions—and some grass-roots support—for heading the CSU all the way up until the late 1950s. His struggles within the early CSU came to a head in the fall of 1948, when he actually resigned from the CSU, albeit briefly, and flirted with joining the new Bavarian Party. This ploy was typical of his postwar political tactics, which in the 1950s included frequent offers to resign from Adenauer's cabinet when he did not get support for his financial

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policies. Although such threats may have worked in the short term, ultimately Schäffer never did secure stalwart and powerful political allies either within the CSU leadership or its sister party, the Christian Democratic Union.

Henzler provides clear evidence of how Schäffer's CSU rivals kept him in cabinet-level posts in Bonn in order to deny him the party leadership. This is not to imply that Schäffer did not excel in his role as finance minister; indeed, half of Henzler's biography deals with Schäffer's fiscal policies. Schäffer, in Henzler's view, has not been adequately acknowledged for standing up to the Allies in terms of cutting occupation and troop stationing costs and, as a result, securing more German sovereignty, or for his part in the so-called "economic miracle." It was as head of the finance ministry that Schäffer, who had tried unsuccessfully to amend the interwar Bavarian constitution by creating a strong, independent executive, was most in his element. Schäffer retired from politics in 1961, after realizing he would no longer be a cabinet member, rather than have to end his political career as a "mere" member of parliament.

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GEORG WAGNER. *Sozialstaat gegen Wohnungsnot: Wohnraumbewirtschaftung und Sozialer Wohnungsbau im Bund und in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1950–1970.* (Forschungen zur Regionalgeschichte, number 11.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1995. Pp. xv, 492. DM 78.

Millions of citizens of the new Federal Republic of Germany had been either driven from or bombed out of their homes, so the provision of housing became one of the main tasks of local and central governments during the postwar era. Housing thus deserves a central place in the story of German reconstruction. Public housing policy was also crucial to the emerging "social market economy." The determination to preserve, stimulate, and direct a private housing market informed a myriad of government programs; these are the subject of Georg Wagner's book.

The complexities of German housing policy stemmed in part from the federal structure of government, and Wagner organizes most of the book around the respective roles of the central government, the states (focusing on North Rhine-Westphalia), and local governments (the city of Bielefeld). As Bonn provided considerable amounts of money with strings attached, jurisdictional squabbles were inevitable. These often overshadowed, but were nevertheless complicated by, differences of party and ideology. The clearest ideological conflict arose from the question of whether to subsidize home ownership or rental apartments. The most important figure here, according to Wagner, was the federal housing minister Paul Lücke, a Christian Democrat who typified his party's policy and rhetoric with his strong support for home ownership as a bulwark of private property, families, and social stability in the face of Communism. However, the densely urbanized state of North Rhine-Westphalia, even when it was controlled by the same Christian Democratic-Free Democratic coalition that governed in Bonn, preferred apartment buildings that consumed less money and less land and promoted economic development by housing employees near their places of work.

Public housing had its precedents in Germany, notably the municipal initiatives of the Weimar period as well as the Third Reich's more centralized programs. It was the critical housing shortage after World War II, however, that created a wide consensus in favor of a government role in the housing market, enshrined in federal laws in 1950 and 1956 that promoted the construction of publicly financed housing. But this temporary consensus, Wagner argues, precluded any substantial debate about the principles governing housing policy. Instead, programs were driven by competing special interests (economic and bureaucratic), and budget cutters in later years faced no unified opposition to reduced public investment.

Meanwhile, the question of where to put the government's money generated endless debates that Wagner chronicles. The situation around 1950 was exceptional, because there were many people who were homeless but not poor. It proved easy, therefore, to offer public housing to these people, who could contribute to construction costs and thus permit the state to build more units for the same money. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) offered some support for subsidies to the poorest citizens, but this position proved feeble in the face of the interests of key party constituencies, including labor unions, the nonprofit housing societies, and SPD-run state and local governments. Wagner argues that there was no real SPD housing policy. Thus the poorest citizens suffered for lack of political representation, but as those better off were taken care of, new public housing in later years increasingly became available to the poor. Housing for the homeless was left largely to local governments. A further complication arose from the fact that most subsidies were reserved for specific groups, above all refugees from the east. These programs contributed to the long-term integration of the refugees into the Federal Republic, but they stirred resentments at the local level as bombed-out residents felt neglected.

The book is based on extensive research in government records, and it is in essence an administrative history, one that addresses the issues that mattered to the politicians and bureaucrats who formulated and administered these programs. Wagner judges the success of housing policies largely according to the standards of their creators and mostly in quantitative terms. Thus, for example, questions of architecture and urban form are almost completely absent from the book (Wagner notes at one point that these were neglected issues until the 1980s). Nor are housing conditions examined from the point of view of resi-

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dents. Wagner complements his research into administrative records with a statistical survey of renters in one Bielefeld housing project. The results help buttress his conclusions about the gradual expansion of housing programs to those with lower incomes. But only in this limited sense is the book a "social history of housing policy" (p. 3). Its contribution lies rather in its examination of numerous and complicated government programs (especially financing mechanisms) in an important area of social policy. The topical index (too rare in German books) is welcome, but, oddly, there is no index of personal names.

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HEINRICH RICHARD SCHMIDT. *Dorf und Religion: Reformierte Sittenzucht in Berner Landgemeinden der Frühen Neuzeit*. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte, number 41.) Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer. 1995. Pp. xv, 425; 87 figures, 25 tables, 1 data diskette. DM 128.

In this carefully constructed study, Heinrich Richard Schmidt takes on three of the most influential "teleological" interpretations of early modern society and religion: Max Weber's notion of "rationalization" (*Rationalisierung*); Norbert Elias's conception of the "civilizing process" (*Zivilisierung*); and Gerhard Oestreich's formulation of "social disciplining" (*Sozialdisziplinierung*). All three, Schmidt argues, take as their point of departure for the study of the past norms only fully articulated in the present. Second, they rely upon a normative literature to make claims about the behaviors and values of all of past society. "Is it," Schmidt asks, "at all permissible, to develop historical categories out of normative claims?" (p. 1)

Schmidt's answer is no, and he constructs another approach to answering the question, what is the relation of religion to the emergence of modern society? Schmidt does not take up prescriptive literature at all but turns to the consistorial court (*Chorgericht*), which adjudicated the "offences" (*Delikten*) of residents of two villages, Vechingen (from 1435 inhabitants in 1723 to 2180 in 1818) and Stettlen (from 140 inhabitants in 1606 to 606 in 1811). The ideal against which the court judged behavior was the Ten Commandments, and its pronouncements evince a nuanced sense of how providence and divine justice operated in human society. At the center of church discipline, Schmidt affirms, was the need to make the commune worthy of celebrating the Lord's Supper (p. 13). This shaped the focus of the consistorial court, the sorts of cases it addressed, and the parameters and very nature of its authority.

Before turning to specific kinds of cases, Schmidt differentiates between "religion" and "church." With the first, he addresses Keith Thomas's construction of a shift from "magic" to "religion," a chronology of the "*Entzäuberung der Welt*," or, in English, secularization. The adjudication of swearing suggests refinements to Thomas's thesis. Swearing was treated first as magical invocation, largely a feminine form of revenge; then, increasingly, as a masculine form of blasphemy against God's providence; finally it became no more than an expression of asociability. Under "church," Schmidt addresses another teleological thesis,"Christianization": that process of catechization and indoctrination by which the unwashed and illiterate became seventeenth or eighteenth or nineteenth-century "Christians." Here, Schmidt points out both the broad "popular" and rural acceptance of Christian standards for the evaluation of behavior long before the Reformation and the persistence of roughly the same level and degree of resistance throughout the early modern period. The relation of early modern societies to Christian morals was essentially different, Schmidt asserts: throughout, it was not opposition between non-Christian and Christian but a dynamic among Christians as to what constituted "Christian" morality.

Schmidt divides the cases of the consistorial court into three kinds of offenses pertaining to "sexuality," marriage, and "neighborliness." For each of these areas of research, Schmidt offers qualifications and refinements of definitions. Sexual transgressions that resulted in pregnancy were adjudicated differently according to the relative poverty of the woman; in all cases, marriage to the father of the child was the premier goal. In the period from 1600 to 1800, love emerged as a defining value for the determination of an effective marriage—*pace* Edward Shorter—although Schmidt also argues that love operated in decisions to marry within villages long before the Reformation made divorce easier legally. The consistorial court's overriding concern in the adjudication of relations between "neighbors" was the restitution of the harmony that, as Schmidt points out, was a *prerequisite* for participating in Communion, not, as John Bossy would have it, a consequence.

Much of Schmidt's conclusion is embedded in the very structuring of his analysis. As soon as one shifts the perspective of analysis from the normative pronouncements of distant theologians to the actual practices of historical individuals, those norms lose their broad, universalizing definition. Within the dynamic of village life, such pronouncements lose the agency in the determination of human behavior that Max Weber presupposed; at most, if they are known or discussed at all, they are treated as a part of a much more complex discourse composed of the values of individuals, households, and village. The teleological constructions all posit an endpoint that historical participants in the dynamic of morals adjudication, from the judges through the accusers and claimants to the defendants, would not have known. And in presupposing a state or a broad agency, all those constructions silence the dynamism of local conflict, the voices of women who sought love in marriage and propriety in the conduct of their husbands, as well as of judges who sought resolution of conflict that the entire commune might take Communion.

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There is a twenty-three-page English summary at the end, which provides a rough but accurate account of the preceding analyses and conclusions. Throughout, main theses are presented in boldface type and references in italics in the text.

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HANNE SANDERS. *Bondevækkelse og sekularisering: En protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark og Sverige 1820–1850* [Peasant Revivalism and Secularization: Protestant Popular Culture in Denmark and Sweden 1820–1850]. Summary in English. (Studier i stads- och kommunhistoria, number 12.) Stockholm: Stads- och kommunhistoriska institutet, Stockholm University. 1995. Pp. 392. 170 KR.

Hanne Sanders has written a very detailed and extensively investigated account of the religious revival movement in Denmark and Sweden during the first half of the nineteenth century. She challenges traditional Scandinavian historiography on several levels. She is very persuasive in her main thesis that this revival movement was primarily conservative, a response by independent peasants to the changing economics of the developing market economy. Sanders effectively demolishes the idea that this was a generational or feminist response and proves that the movement's basic unit was the household, led by its usually male head. Women and younger people joined as members of the household of a revivalist, not independently in opposition to him.

Sanders discusses three types of revivalism: minister-led, conventicle, and an ecstatic group called "shouters" (*roparna*). She views all three types as existing on a continuum that became progressively more individualist and anti-authoritarian or anti-government. Even the leaders, in the rare cases where such can be identified, were not charismatic. The different groups, although definitely part of the same movement, nonetheless need to be seen as spontaneous and unorganized. As such, they can not be considered as part of the late nineteenth-century popular or folk movements, which have traditionally been seen by historians as part of the development toward modern, secular, democratic society. Sanders agrees that the revival movement was popular, but only the sense that its members did not come from the elite. She further argues that revivalists were essentially reactionary in their responses, opposed to modernization.

Sanders characterizes a secular society as one in which belief is personal rather than defined by the dominant culture. Since the revivalists individually chose their beliefs, instead of simply following the dictates of the state church, Sanders sees their movement as a modern secular one in spite of itself. I have a little difficulty with this concept, as the revivalists' belief structure, based on individual faith, would seem to place them squarely in a fundamentalist tradition dating back to Martin Luther.

Sanders states several times that she is interested in taking a comparative approach to her topic. Revivalism, she says, was common throughout the Protestant world in the early nineteenth century. To make her point, she has chosen to compare the Danish and Swedish experiences. To an American, this seems obvious; Denmark and Sweden are both part of Scandinavia. But the histories of the Scandinavian countries have been intensely national. Scandinavian historians have not recognized the existence of a "Scandinavian" history, so Sanders's comparison of Denmark and Sweden becomes comparative in the Scandinavian sense. This is to be commended, but I wish that Sanders had gone beyond her two home countries. There is no mention, for example, of the Second Great Awakening in the United States, a religious movement that would seem to have had much in common with the movements Sanders discusses. They all took place in pre-industrial agrarian societies with predominantly independent peasant or farmer-owners.

Sanders's book is her doctoral dissertation. The Scandinavian custom of publishing all dissertations as books has the advantage of making academic investigations immediately available to the general public, but a dissertation is not a book. Part of the purpose of a dissertation is to demonstrate that one is capable of doing the historical research. Sanders spends pages and pages describing her archival investigations, sometimes only to prove the absence of material. This is information that belongs in footnotes, as it slows down the reading of the text.

In addition, Sanders needs a definition of "revivalism"; she has none. Somehow she manages to write over 300 pages with scarcely any mention of what the revivalists actually believed until chapter seven, when she argues the Protestant nature of their beliefs was based on their reading of the Bible. Future historians may be able to tell much about the areligious nature of late twentieth-century Scandinavia from the way Sanders handles, and ignores, the topic of religion in a book about a religious movement.

Overall, Sanders has written a good dissertation. She has amply proved that she knows how to go about doing historical research and, in the process, has brought out several new ideas about how to approach the history of the early nineteenth century in Denmark and Sweden.

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ANGELA DE BENEDICTIS. *Repubblica per contratto, Bologna: Una città europea nello Stato della Chiesa*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 23.) Bologna: Mulino. 1995. Pp. 481. L. 56,000.

Under Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) the city of Bologna became part of the papacy's temporal domain in Italy. Like many independent territories coming to

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terms with centralizing monarchies in the late Middle Ages, Bologna (speaking through its leading families) promised to be a loyal subject city in exchange for papal recognition of its local laws and institutions. The *ancien régime* everywhere in Europe was constructed of such agreements, which produced "absolutist" kingdoms composed of a mosaic of special privileges and exemptions that limited in practice the power of kings. Angela De Benedictis argues that Bologna's leading families regarded their 1447 agreement with Nicholas V as a contract between equal parties and thus as a kind of "constitution" mandating relations of reciprocal respect between the city and the papacy. Her book focuses on the agreement, analyzing each occasion on which it was referred to by Bolognese officials or writers over the next four centuries. The last occasion was the 1831 revolt against papal rule, when Bolognese revolutionaries proclaimed the return of their original state of liberty because the papacy had violated the pact made in 1447.

De Benedictis is the author of two books and many articles that treat in detail the law and administration of Bologna in the early modern period. This book is resolutely focused on ideology rather than actual practice, and it is thus best understood as a kind of theoretical supplement to her more specific political, legal, and institutional studies. What theory informs this effort? De Benedictis particularly acknowledges her debt to the work of Otto Brunner and to German historians of late medieval urban communities. She has clearly been strongly influenced by the constitutional strand in the history of law, much of it devoted to the cities of the Holy Roman Empire; her bibliography shows her extensive reading in German urban history and in the local history of Bologna. The result is a book that has virtually no point of contact with the historiography of the *ancien régime* state and its cities as it has been elaborated by French, Anglo-American, and most Italian historians.

De Benedictis takes a romantic view of the local community's pleas for its privileges, seeing this as a positive sign of proto-federalism and ignoring the way it served the class interests of a very limited number of ruling families (Bologna's senate was a hereditary body of fifty). She invokes the 1447 agreement as a bulwark of liberty against the absolutism of papal monarchy, as if we were still using the rhetoric of the revolutionaries of 1831 and as if the notion of absolutism had never been subjected to subsequent scholarly refinement. Absolutism may have meant "despotism" to Thomas Jefferson and his progeny, but historians in the latter half of the twentieth century have generally regarded it as far too inefficient to be despotic. To De Benedictis, the contract of 1447 does not mean different things in different contexts. It does not matter whether the papacy ignored it, as it frequently did (and indeed refused to sign it after 1621). It is also a matter of indifference to De Benedictis that the actual institutions by which Bologna was governed during this period, including the hereditary senate, were not mentioned in the document and were in fact established later. With a kind of textual fundamentalism, she reifies the agreement of 1447 and treats every subsequent reference to it as the sign of unbroken, and of course ahistorical, continuity. The continuous thread is the desire that the rights of the locality be respected.

This book will be useless to most historians, despite its ample and interesting bibliography, but it is in fact more disturbing than its mere lack of utility might suggest. By ignoring the bulk of historical scholarship on the early modern state, by glorifying the foundational role of a single text, and by arguing for its unchanging interpretation over time, De Benedictis has departed from the customary practices of professional history writing. Yet her erudition, her academic position, and her prior publications will endow this book with an aura of professional legitimacy that may be all too useful to those in Italy with a conservative political agenda. Or, more accurately, perhaps, if it is unfair to characterize as conservative those who would detach the "republic" of Bologna from Italy and attach it to Europe, it is all too useful to those with a radical political agenda.

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JAMES W. SASLOW. *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 323. $45.00.

In the spring of 1589, the Medici court staged a month-long series of events in Florence to celebrate the nuptial union of Grand Duke Ferdinando I with the French princess Christine de Lorraine. The wedding *feste* included the bride's triumphal entry into the city; a football game (*giuoco di calcio*), animal baiting, and a knightly joust in Piazza Santa Croce; a mock naval battle in the courtyard of the Pitti Palace; and various religious rituals and processions. The centerpiece spectacle was the performance (actually several repeat performances) of elaborately staged *intermedi* or musical interludes, in the newly redesigned proscenium theater in the Uffizzi.

These allegorical tableaux, which combined instrumental music, song, dance, dazzling costumes, and spectacular dramatic effects to glorify the reigning couple, proved a landmark episode both in emerging court pageantry and in the development of opera; as such they have long attracted scholarly attention. James W. Saslow's purpose here is less to rehearse again the complex allegorical meanings of the *intermedi* or of the iconography of the ephemeral triumphal arches created for Christine's formal entry into the city (although he does identify their mythical and historical subject matter, and the extensive illustrated catalogue that follows the text provides a comprehensive reference source for all the known visual materials that record the wedding events). Instead, Saslow focuses on the year-long course of planning, preparation, and

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often hectic backstage activities that led to the actual performances.

Indeed, as this book makes clear, the production aspects of the wedding pageantry reveal as much about the historical meaning of these festive events as the visual and dramatic imagery they created. The various creative, design, and production teams with their manifold labor and supply needs required an unprecedented level of coordinated administrative direction. The demands for efficiency and cost containment paralleled the same administrative concerns that marked other aspects of grandducal administration. That is, fine arts management manifested the same impulses toward centralized, bureaucratized control that characterized other, more prosaic domains of Medici governance. Especially revealing in this regard are the technological innovations that so dazzled the audiences for the *intermedi*. These theatricalized celebrations of timeless dynastic order drew on the same technical resources and expertise that were being deployed in the fortifications, port facilities, city planning schemes, hydraulic engineering projects, and other public works undertakings that provided key foundations to the resources of the Medici state. Stagecraft and statecraft were thus integrally connected, and both were productive of, and manifestations of, the fundamental late Renaissance theatricalization of the spatial environment. This is the implied meaning of the book's subtitle regarding the Florentine wedding festival as *theatrum mundi* (theater of the world).

In remarkably detailed manuscript ledgers, here fully investigated for the first time, the supervisory team for the wedding *feste* recorded the payments to the casts, stagehands, and design and production crews as well as the myriad expenditures for costumes, sets, and stage apparatus. These archival sources permit Saslow's inquiry into how conceptual intentions were translated into material realities, with all the attendant last-minute adjustments and modifications. This approach to the history of court spectacle also enlarges the sphere of the participants and spectators involved in such events and allows an exploration of how various audiences "read" the pageantry they witnessed and what it meant to them. This is an important book, which shows why linking the concerns of social and cultural history more fully elucidates both, how works of art are created, and how they are themselves productive of social and political processes.

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VOLKER HUNECKE. *Der venezianische Adel am ende der Republik, 1646–1797: Demographie, familie, haushalt*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1995. Pp. x, 466.

English-speaking readers will know the theme of this book—the demographic decline of the Venetian nobility, as partial cause of and metaphor for the decline of the Venetian Republic—from James Davis's *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility* (1962). Since that time, a great deal of work has appeared on the subject in Italian, especially from Piero Del Negro, Renzo Derosas, and Giuseppe Gullino. Most of that work has come in the form of focused monographs, however, a high proportion of which deal with individuals or particular families. While research is vital and expanding, its pieces remain scattered.

To a certain extent, Volker Hunecke offers a synthesis. He cites the main positions of recent historiography, and his notes and bibliography provide ample reference to secondary sources. His primary contribution, however, is an original study of the later Venetian patriciate, based largely on aggregate data. The scope is roughly comparable to that of Davis's book, but the research is far greater. On the basis of what must have been extraordinarily laborious archival work, he has reconstructed the genealogies and prosopographies of some 300 lineages (*casati*) and their 700 plus households (*case*), read their testaments, and calculated their patrimonies for the better part of a century and a half. At every juncture, he breaks down the aristocracy by its various internal fault lines—rich *vs.* poor (five gradations), ancient (*lunghi*) *vs.* very old (*curti*) *vs.* recently admitted (the "aggregated"), politically active *vs.* inactive—and tests each set of categories.

The book is also straightforward. Demography is destiny here, particularly demography of a structural sort. The chapters look at well-established topics such as nuptuality, age at marriage, fertility, infant and maternal mortality, class endogamy and exogamy, distribution of wealth, family extinction, and household composition. (Curiously, there is little discussion of dowries.) Hunecke is more concerned with establishing patterns and correlations than with establishing causality or meaning. *Why* Venetian patricians opted for demographically suicidal levels of marriage restriction is not much explored, although he does cite some contemporary critiques (that nobles preferred conservation of wealth over preservation of lineage; that nobles were losing civic-mindedness, refusing to do their share to keep their ranks populated). Hunecke's preference for the sociological rather than the cultural does, however, give the book consistency and focus.

He also achieves focus because his topics and data, while copious, always return to the issue of decline. Hunecke is cautious here, and rightly so. He demonstrates, for example, a fifty-five percent decrease in participation in the Great Council between the first half of the sixteenth century and the last half of the eighteenth (p. 41). Does this necessarily indicate an absolute decline in the numbers of the patriciate? Hunecke carefully considers alternative explanations, such as a decline in the proportion of nobles entering the council, or a rise in the number of nobles entering the clergy, or a simple correction in numbers after the unprecedented influx of the Renaissance. Throughout, he is respectful of variant interpretations, of ambiguities, and of limitations of data.

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Still, in the main, Hunecke endorses the many and familiar subthemes of the demographic decline of the Venetian nobility, documenting previously posited positions rather than attempting major revision. He does so with a concentration of data that no historian has yet brought to bear and that amply supports his conclusion of the "continual demographic hemorrhage of the patriciate" (p. 45) and the "galloping extinction of patrician families" (p. 48). All the pieces are here: a striking decline in fertility (p. 81); a rise in the age of marriage for both men and women (pp. 184–85); very high family attrition rates (nearly half of *case*, and nearly a third of *casati*; a sharp fall in the proportion of households with children (p. 302); and decline in the nobility as a proportion of the overall population. While largely staying clear of politics, Hunecke demonstrates that the wealthier strata of nobles—occupying the highest offices—exhibited lower rates of fertility and marriage (pp. 81, 194), leading to the "demographic offensive of the *plebei* (poorest nobles)" (p. 347) and reducing the republic's traditional leadership pool.

This book sets the standard for its field. It will be interesting, in the future, to set it beside the emerging literature of social and cultural history. The effect can only be reciprocal illumination.

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Adolfo Bernardello. *La prima ferrovia fra Venezia e Milano: Storia della imperial-regia privilegiata strada ferrata Ferdinandea Lombardo-Veneta, (1835–1852)*. (Memorie classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, number 61.) Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arti. 1996. Pp. xv, 553.

In 1835, a decade after the first train ran on the Stockton-Darlington line in northern England, the engineer Francesco Varè and the merchant Sebastiano Wagner asked the Chamber of Commerce of Venice to consider the construction of a railway line from Milan to Venice. This book concentrates on the political, financial, managerial, and administrative problems confronted in building the projected Ferdinandea line connecting Lombardy and Venetia. It is a welcome addition to the scant historiography on the origins of the railway in the peninsula, which includes such works as Andrew Wingate's *Railway Building in Italy before Unification* (1970) and Alessandro Piccioni's *La nascita della ferrovia in Italia* (1974). Unlike these surveys, Adolfo Bernardello's study provides an in-depth examination of railroad construction in pre-unification Italy, exploring the issues in all their complexity. It relies on exhaustive documentation, a good part of which is archival and unedited. In addition to Italian state, regional, and private archives, the author has utilized the royal household, court, and state archives of Vienna as well as the general administrative archive there. Bernardello is an expert on Lombard and Venetian bourgeois society and its enonomic initiatives between 1815 and 1866.

The first several chapters of the study trace the administrative and business aspects of the early phases of the railway enterprise, providing insights into the thought and practices of entrepreneurs and financial circles in Milan, Venice, and Vienna; regional rivalries in northern Italy; and as the rivalry of Metternich and Kolowrat. The Emperor Ferdinand's approval of the joint stock company in 1837, while settling certain issues, did not resolve others. The precise path of the railway line was debated; the organization of the company was likewise bitterly contested, with Salomon Rothschild, who represented the stockholders, insisting that the company should have two sections: one in Milan and the other in Venice. The prospect of having a divided directorship horrified Carlo Cattaneo, secretary of the Lombard section. He firmly opposed the notion of having two engineers responsible for the project—one covering the Lombard terrain and the other the Venetian area—arguing that the proposal smacked of "medieval superstition." Convinced that the railway line required unity of command, he denounced those who favored dual direction as confusing the economic order with the linguistic, converting the issue of control into one of language, dialect, and local custom.

Cattaneo also disagreed with those who sought a longer line that would dip south into the countryside, opting instead for a shorter northern route more richly endowed with people, industry, and capital. He foresaw that the line would have to rely primarily on moving people rather than goods, attracting residents more than foreigners, and concentrating on transporting short-distance rather than long-distance travelers. He therefore opted for a line running from Milan through Brescia, Peschiera, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Fusina, and ending in Venice. The precise route remained problematic, with the merchants of Bergamo, the third most populous city of Lombardy, petitioning for inclusion. Disagreement over these and other matters led to Cattaneo's dismissal, but this did not resolve the company's problems. Military considerations had to be taken into account in mapping the final route as well as political and administrative hurdles in importing the English steel required for construction. Other technical problems hindered the project, especially the building of bridges over various rivers (most notably the span projected over the Lagoon of Venice). The value of the company's shares fell, forcing its directors to seek state subsidies. Construction moved more slowly than projected in the first half of the 1840s and more slowly still following the economic crisis of 1846–1847 and the revolutionary upheavals of 1848–1849. After 1849, strategic and political reasons on the part of the government and the financial and economic concerns of stockholders led to the termination of the company and the nationalization of the line. Bernardello's detailed account of these

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developments does not make easy reading, but specialists will find it invaluable.

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GIOVANNI MONTRONI. *Gli uomini del re: La nobiltà napoletana nell'Ottocento*. Rome: Meridiana Libri. 1996. Pp. xxvi, 195. L. 38,000.

In his elegantly written and extensively evidenced monograph, Giovanni Montroni sets out to retrieve the southern Italian nobility from the stereotype of an inflexible caste incapable of responding to change. Concentrating on the continental *Mezzogiorno* (as opposed to Sicily), he suggests that the challenges of the nineteenth century were met by a progressive reshaping of noble identity in an effort to maintain distinction and legitimacy through the Bourbon and Savoyard dynasties.

Following the disappearance of their feudal privileges, Montroni argues, the nobility needed a new mechanism to legitimize their position and rank. They turned to the ennobling institution itself, the monarchy. A noble's status was gauged by attendance at court and proximity to the sovereign. A tripartite division arose, with aspiring nobles who did not enjoy full access to the court preferring to reside in Naples rather than join the marginalized provincial nobility. This was an ironic inversion of the situation in the eighteenth century, when powerful provincial barons frequently formed an open opposition to the throne.

These internal divisions were reproduced in the marriage market, where partners of equal distinction were preferred to matches made for advancement or material gain. This tendency intensified following unification, when leading noble families contracted marriages with members of the European aristocracy rather than dilute their line through alliances with the bourgeoisie. Younger sons were sent into traditional careers such as diplomacy and the military rather than the professions. Only in the provinces did the distinctions between nobles and a broader landowning elite become increasingly blurred.

Such social strategies were complicated, however, by an increasingly egalitarian family structure in which patriarchs paid more account to the wishes of their offspring. Furthermore, they faced the "impossible conundrum" of maintaining the unity of the family estate while providing for all of the family members, leading to increasingly complex conditions governing trusts, bequests, and dowries that deferred many of the monetary transfers foreseen in these arrangements and drove up indebtedness.

The Risorgimento forced a further reinvention of nobility. Although titles were recognized by the new state, their close association with the exiled Bourbons led the Neapolitan nobility to be branded as untrustworthy members of the new Italy. Their collective response was to restructure their identity around the "noble virtues" of religiosity, bravery, and fidelity, demonstrated by their ancestors' alleged record of distinguished military service to all the rulers of the *Mezzogiorno*. These virtues, like titles, were transmitted through the blood and so would not be found among those newly ennobled by the Piedmontese crown in recompense for their part in unifying the Italian kingdom.

Among the "traditional values" (re)discovered by the nobility was the intimate connection between landed estates and titles. In the post-unification period, the rural component of noble estates was enlarged by acquisitions made in the ecclesiastical land sales, while industrial and urban-based activities were shunned. Estates were highly vulnerable to the agricultural depression of the 1880s and could not carry the levels of indebtedness occasioned by the previous land purchases, providing for all the members of the family, and financing the social and political activities considered incumbent upon the nobility. Forced to sell land and lacking ready capital, many nobles essentially became *rentiers*.

Montroni concludes that the classic figure of the absentee noble landlord who rented out his lands, once held to be a permanent feature of the southern scene, only dates from the end of the nineteenth century. Previously, nobles had often farmed a part of their holdings directly, and they paid considerable attention to the commercial opportunities offered by the distant markets for Mediterranean products. Montroni's explanation of this change returns sociocultural factors to the center of debate about the agrarian structures of the south that have recently focused on the Weberian rationality of the pre-unification economy. It is noticeable that he does not hesitate to invoke the vocabulary of "backwardness" when arguing that responsiveness to the market was not accompanied by a modernization of methods that might have raised agricultural productivity.

Without falling into the trap of retrospective advocacy, Montroni advances a convincing interpretation of the conduct of a group that has been frequently excoriated. His account raises two crucial questions: first, how far is what he observes for the Neapolitan nobility applicable to the Sicilian? Second, how were the nobility's efforts to restructure their self-image received by the rest of southern society?

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FRANKLIN HUGH ADLER. *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism: The Political Development of the Industrial Bourgeoisie, 1906–1934*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 458. $59.95.

This study examines the transition from liberalism to fascism in Italy from the perspective of major industrial organizations—particularly the Industrial League of Turin, founded in 1906, and the General Confeder-

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ation of Italian Industry (*Confindustria*), founded in Milan in 1919—which aspired to speak for all industrialists. The focus is on "corporatism," a term that, in the literature on fascism, stands for a system of political and economic decision-making based on the representation of organized interest groups in government. Theoreticians of the fascist corporate state claimed that the representation of management and labor in government enabled fascism to combine the best features and avoid the defects of both capitalism and socialist collectivism. Fascists called corporatism the "third way," believing that it solved the problems of industrial society and was the way of the future; the twentieth century, they said, was the century of corporatism.

As Franklin Hugh Adler points out, industrialists were generally wary of the doctrine and its advocates. With some exceptions, they rejected corporatist notions before World War I. Economic mobilization during the war accustomed them to dealing with government, but once the war was over they wanted to dismantle economic controls. When the fascists seized power in 1922–1925 with little or no help from business, corporatism became part of the political agenda. Still suspicious but unable and unwilling to oppose the regime, industrialists cooperated in enacting corporative reforms so as to influence the outcome in their favor. The tactic paid off, and the laws that the regime enacted between 1926 and 1934 did not deprive industrialists of their organizational autonomy and managerial prerogatives.

The story thus outlined is familar to specialists who are acquainted with earlier studies by Mario Abrate, Piero Melograni, and myself, all of which questioned in various ways the validity of older interpretations by Daniel Guerin, Ernesto Rossi, Gaetano Salvemini, Angelo Tasca, and others who saw a close alliance between fascism and big business. Adler rounds out the picture with significant details and offers some perceptive observations on the tensions felt by industrialists torn between their laissez-faire preferences and the necessity of dealing with an activist regime that had an agenda of its own. Adler does not deny that industrialists fared well in the regime, but he ascribes their success to vigilance and resourcefulness rather than to any fundamental affinities with fascism.

There is a strong theoretical dimension to Adler's work that deserves comment. Interest in corporatism revived in the early 1970s as scholars, particularly political scientists, took note of a growing interdependency of government, labor, and management in advanced industrial societies. Philippe Schmitter attracted much attention with an article entitled "Still the Century of Corporatism?" (*Review of Politics* [1974]). Adler applies Schmitter's distinction between societal and state corporatism to the Italian case, suggesting that societal corporatism developed spontaneously in the liberal period and during World War I and that the fascist reforms of 1926–1934 (state corporatism) in effect institutionalized a process already underway.

Adler's approach raises some questions. Regardless of how significant societal corporatism may have been in pre-fascist Italy, the fascists themselves valued corporatism mostly for its propaganda value. Benito Mussolini was never committed to corporatism; Alfredo Rocco, who had been its chief theoretician before the war, jumped ship in the 1920s; and Giuseppe Bottai, who wrote profusely on corporatism and served as minister of corporations, was ambivalent at best. Bottai's virtual silence on the subject in his diary suggests that not even the minister of corporations took corporatism seriously. And, in spite of the best efforts of the regime's propaganda machine, corporatism never caught the popular imagination. Marco Palla makes the point that corporatism was little more than propaganda in *Fascismo e stato corporativo* (1991), one of several recent books on the subject of fascism and bureaucracy not mentioned in Adler's footnotes, which list few works published after the 1970s (the absence of a bibliography or bibliographical essay is regrettable). Perhaps not even the industrialists took corporatism seriously. They did not take fascist benevolence for granted and did what they had to do to protect themselves, but they worried more about markets, supplies, and currency problems than about the lucubrations of corporate theorists. Corporatism is a weak handle for the heavy clay pot that was the fascist regime.

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EMILIO GENTILE. *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy*. Translated by KEITH BOTSFORD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 208. $49.95.

Emilio Gentile is one of Italy's most prolific and influential students of Italian fascism, and it is good to have this thoroughly researched work, published in Italian in 1993, available in a worthy English translation. It treats fascism's "internal symbolic universe" of rituals, symbols, myths, monuments, and commemorations, showing how these served the fascists' totalitarian aspiration to remake Italian society. Readers who know the work of George L. Mosse, to whom Gentile expresses a particular debt, will find some familiar accents, but there is special value to a systematic treatment of this dimension in fascist Italy, which, the author makes clear, pioneered much of the modern political use of symbol and ritual.

While recognizing that it entailed elements of opportunism, demagoguery, and manipulation—and that it was extreme, even ridiculous, on occasion—Gentile insists that the fascists' overt use of ritual, myth, and symbol must be taken seriously, not dismissed through sarcastic caricature or moralistic denunciation. Fascist leaders sought genuinely "to educate and convert," and their efforts had a significant, though uneven,

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impact on Italian society. Through its use of this symbolic dimension, fascism satisfied, or seemed to satisfy, the human need for spiritual community and meaning that, particularly since Emile Durkheim, we have come to locate at the interface of society and religion.

Even in this sensitive account, the fascists' overblown rhetoric grows wearisome, but Gentile nicely characterizes the realm of ritual and symbol within fascism, giving a feel for the textures involved. He is especially helpful on the cult of the Duce, the role of commemorative exhibitions, and the problematic relationship between fascism and the Catholic church. Despite its considerable value, however, this study is abstract and one-sided in its portrayal of fascism and merely preliminary in its explanatory dimension.

In Gentile's account, fascism appears more unified and consistent in its aims than it was in fact. The author invokes such widely disparate fascists as Paolo Orano, Alfredo Rocco, Giuseppe Bottai, Giovanni Gentile, and Achille Starace as if they all spoke with the same voice, when quite different purposes fueled their embrace of the new totalitarian politics. The sense that fascism was deeply fissured along several axes emerges, obliquely, in the final chapter on the cult of Duce, where it becomes clear that Benito Mussolini was essential as the harmonizer of conflicting impulses. But the author has given us no sense of such internal conflicts, so the need to play this role occasions some surprise. In seeking a common core, Gentile neglects a key reason for the increasing emphasis on the symbolic dimension in fascist Italy: to cover the paralysis that resulted from the incongruence of the impulses at work.

From the start, moreover, that symbolic dimension was wound around the quest for concrete institutional change, which soon focused on the corporativist transformation of the Italian state, intended to involve people in public life through the workplace. Yet Gentile hardly mentions corporativism, although it was essential both to the fascist claim of grandiose achievement and to the ongoing struggles over direction. Fascism's internal symbolic dimension was crucial, but it cannot be understood in isolation from the wider dynamic of the regime's development.

To explain the strength of the religious political impulse in Italy, Gentile outlines the limitations of the nineteenth-century Risorgimento and traces the subsequent imperative "to make the Italians." In concluding, he also offers a brief glance at the wider religious dimensions of modern politics since the French Revolution. Although offering a useful start, these inquiries do not come together to shed significant new light on the historically specific sources of the totalitarian impulse. More specifically, Gentile's treatment of such categories as freedom, irrationalism, and myth is too conventional to add much on the explanatory level.

But with his accent on political sacralization, Gentile invites some fresh thinking about the origins of totalitarianism. And in highlighting the innovative totalitarian thrust of Italian fascism, he corrects the widespread tendency, traceable to Hannah Arendt, to view Italian fascism as merely authoritarian and thus less significant than German Nazism and Stalinist Communism. As Gentile makes clear, central questions about the totalitarian impulse do not revolve around terror or mere power for its own sake. Nor, if we seek the sources of that impulse, is the degree of implementation in practice the criterion of significance. In bringing Italian fascism, political sacralization, and totalitarianism together as he has, Gentile has made a major contribution not only to Italian history but to our ongoing effort to grasp the contours of the modern political experiment.

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GIORGIO PETRACCHI. *Al tempo che Berta filava: Alleati e patrioti sulla Linea Gotica (1943–1945)*. Milan: Mursia. 1995. Pp. 245. L. 28,000.

The title of this book (literally "when Berta was spinning or weaving") is an old Italian folk saying. Metaphorically, it refers to "a fabled time, a kind of golden age" that is contrasted with a present "in which man has lost every hope and [is] a prey to a sort of psychological depression" (p. 5). Berta herself was probably Berta di Toscana, the ninth-century wife, successively, of two rulers whose domains encompassed Tuscany. Something of an early feminist, she was active in public affairs and won renown for her sagacity and determination.

The Berta allusion is an apt symbol for Giorgio Petracchi's monograph for several reasons. This is an account of an Italian resistance group known as XI Zona Patrioti, which operated in the western Apennine region of Tuscany after Italy's surrender in September 1943. It did so in cooperation with both the Italian royal administration in the south and the advancing Allies, especially the American OSS. The coded signal chosen to send the group into action, conveyed by the BBC in London, was "La Berta fila," and a principal contact between XI Zona Patrioti and the Americans was an elderly monarchist called Tullio Benedetti, who adopted the *nom de guerre* of Berta. Trading on these connections, Petracchi depicts the partisans in their heyday of 1943–1945 as the incarnation of the dream of national renewal, a second *risorgimento* or golden age that was betrayed in the aftermath of World War II.

The members of XI Zona Patrioti, Petracchi insists, were not puppets of the Allies and the "Badogliani." Their leader in the field was Manrico Ducceschi, a natural rebel and devotee of Ernest Hemingway's novels. He assumed the name of Pippo, which Giuseppe Mazzini had used in his clandestine correspondence a century earlier. But while Ducceschi in this way indicated his liberal republican sympathies, his partisan band contained members of all persuasions, even some Communists, and his "formula for national

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liberation" was less political than a "profound ethical renewal" (p. 103). The fate of such idealism after 1945 was epitomized in Ducceschi's own postwar end: shortly before his suicide in 1948, he was in touch with the Americans with a view to mounting another resistance movement in the event of either a Communist coup or Soviet aggression. Factionalism had triumphed over fraternity.

Petracchi is the author of several well-regarded works on the impact of Soviet Communism on Italy. Here, his subtext is the Communist role in the Italian anti-Fascist resistance; not only did the Communists, on Bruno Togliatti's orders, shun and traduce the XI Zona Patrioti in 1944–1945 but, it is darkly hinted, they were responsible for the resistance group receiving less than its due in postwar literature. In seeking to counter the leftist bias of resistance historiography, Petracchi reflects a recent trend; Gian Enrico Rusconi's *Resistenza e postfascismo* (1995) attempts to do this on a broad front. In a sense, Petracchi's book is the more convincing, in that it constitutes an archival and detailed study, even if the portrayal of XI Zona Patrioti seems rather eulogistic in so scholarly a work. On the other hand, its narrow scope and dense detail will restrict readership to a nucleus of specialists. Nonetheless, the book is a palpable strike in the still lively war of words over the transmission of the "internal frontiers" of resistance into post-liberation Italy.

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CHARLES MCCLELLAND, STEPHAN MERL, and HANNES SIEGRIST, editors. *Professionen im modernen Osteuropa/ Professions in Modern Eastern Europe*. (Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Series 1, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, number 207.) Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, for the Zentrum für kontinentale Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen. 1995. Pp. 504.

In the last decade and a half, scholars have begun to write the social history of the central European middle classes. To take this step, historians had to transcend the ascriptive assumptions of "proper" middle-class behavior contained in both Marxist and modernization theory and expand beyond the narrow, normative Anglo-American notions of middle-class distance or independence from the state that governed much postwar sociological research into middle-class groups. Middle-class occupations generally classified as the learned professions quickly emerged as a focus of research. The early 1990s saw a flurry of publications, notably by Charles McClelland, Konrad H. Jarausch, and Hannes Siegrist, that persuasively established the existence of a previously overlooked "German concept of profession" that extended to all of central Europe.

The collapse of communism in eastern and central Europe in 1989 expanded the geographic and cultural canvas of inquiry into the history of the learned professions. Analyses of that collapse that emphasized the reemergence of civil society (the victory of the "public sphere" over the state), or that urged the rapid construction of a civil society to prevent relapse into authoritarianism, all pointed to the professions as important components of a healthy, pluralist civil society. Eastern and central European scholars themselves, together with their western colleagues, turned to study the history of the professions in the newly liberated lands. This volume of eighteen essays (in English and German), edited by McClelland, Stephan Merl, and Siegrist, represents the first fruits of a research group that held conferences in Bielefeld in 1993 and 1994.

The essays are grouped into five sections. The first four focusing on individual learned professions: lawyers (primarily private practitioners), physicians, teachers (including university professors), and engineers. The fifth section is devoted to "multiprofessional perspectives" and provides case studies from Poland, Odessa, and Prague. Although many of the essays are primarily descriptive, this is not only necessary and useful for scholars of western and central Europe who may be unfamiliar with professional structures farther to the east, but also indicative both of the early stage of research since 1989 and of the linguistic and archival complexities of the scholarly field. Social historians will find these essays an enrichment of their understanding of European social structure and an important source for comparing the spectrum of efforts by learned professions to realize their collective project of social mobility and, occasionally, broader projects of social and political reform.

Three overarching themes tie the essays together. Most striking is the institutional similarity of professional structures, or at least of the ambitions of professionals for the structures of their professions, across time and place. For example, whether in Russia, Budapest, Bulgaria, or Prague, lawyers practiced within, or clamored for, lawyers' chambers with independent panels of professional self-discipline. Three reasons emerge for this similarity. First is the reality of the Habsburg Empire which, despite concessions to Czech and Magyar demands for greater local autonomy after 1867, provided a powerful institutional model and framework for the disparate peoples within its borders. This volume reminds us once again of the vitality of a political unit too often dismissed as decadent throughout the last century of its existence. The second reason for the institutional similarity was the propensity of Russia, and other eastern European states such as Bulgaria, to adopt models at least in part from German-speaking central Europe. From universities themselves, the producers of professionals, to curricula, to identity-defining institutions of professional self-government (seldom fully attained), the German model exerted a powerful influence over both state and profession as they contended to attain their conflicting goals. Finally, levels of prestige and sources

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of social recruitment in the hierarchy of professions were remarkably similar regardless of location. The legal professions ranked highest and recruited from the highest social categories, with physicians and engineers (with some exceptions for recruitment of engineers from the nobility in Russia, which had a notoriously large aristocracy) possessing less prestige and stemming from a broader social base. Again, patterns already found in western and central Europe echo farther east.

The second theme that runs through the essays is the paradox of the simultaneously unifying and corrosive impact of nationalism on the structures and development of learned professions. Professions both led and benefitted from the emergence (or in some cases preservation) of nationalist sentiment and identity in the Czech lands, among Magyars in Hungary, and especially among the stateless Poles prior to 1918. The creation of "national" organizations of lawyers, physicians, economists, or secondary school teachers placed professions in the forefront of overcoming local isolation and traditional territorial identity and replacing it with a national consciousness. Although the growth of national ties among professionals helped to create one national group, however, it did so by defining that against another "nation." In Bohemia and Moravia, the "other" was the Germans, and essays on lawyers, physicians, teachers, engineers, and even economists depict how professional associations bifurcated into parallel, ethnically defined lines, preserving a dualism that bedeviled the later Czechoslovakian republic until its demise. In Hungary, nationally exclusive professional development from the early days after the defeat of Béla Kun's soviet republic manifested itself in virulent anti-Semitism, including limitations on admission of Jews to the bar and a curious volatility in professional perceptions of public-sector and private practice positions for Hungarian (meaning Magyar and Christian) physicians. For some professionals, like Slovenian engineers, who were well-integrated into dominant professional structures under the Habsburg Empire, only the creation of Yugoslavia in 1919 brought about the creation of a "national" system of professional production, governance, and reproduction. However the sequence worked, these essays show that one reason for the perceived "weakness" of eastern European professions and professionalization is the very national, religious, and ethnic diversity that so characterizes the region.

Finally, these essays direct the historian's attention to the crucial role of the state in shaping the array of institutional options open to professions. Professional life and development in eastern Europe involved constant negotiation between professional associations and the state, with the former testing and probing the limits of self-development beyond which the state would intervene for its own, usually authoritarian, purposes. Further, the state often emerged as the arbiter to which contending factions among professions would turn to settle disputes that could not be settled within the bounds of the professions themselves. Finally, the state often placed its own goals and policies foremost, leading to ironies such as the inability of the anti-Semitic physicians' association in Hungary to obtain satisfaction from the anti-Semitic government. If the new scholarship on the history of the professions in western and central Europe has refocused attention on state-profession negotiations, these new essays on eastern Europe confirm the importance of that theoretical breakthrough.

Most of these essays concern the history of eastern European learned professions prior to 1945 (only one deals exclusively with post-1945), and, indeed, most focus on the period before 1914. Direct lessons for the present, therefore, can only be drawn with great caution, across the gap of three regime changes. Still, of particular interest are essays about the geographic settlement patterns of lawyers in Prague (Stanislav Balik and Jiri Pesek), development of a Czech economics profession before 1914 (Catherine Albrecht), and learned professions in the city of Odessa (Guido Hausmann). Although an index would improve the utility of this volume, it nevertheless provides a helpful introduction to eastern European professions for scholars of other geographic areas and extends and expands the theoretical and methodological advances of the past two decades' scholarship on the central European learned professions.

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FREDERICK KELLOGG. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 265. $32.95.

According to Frederick Kellogg, "Romanian state-making" was a five-staged process beginning in the revolutionary events of 1848 and ending in "the completion of ethnic unity following World War I" (p. 2). His book focuses on the third and fourth stages, "the accession of a foreign prince in 1866," and "the winning of sovereignty in 1880" (p. 2). But the book's scope is not limited to these two events. Between their brackets, it ranges over the issues of foreign trade and industrialization; the handling of the Jewish question; the financing and construction of railroads; and Romanian relations to other Balkan independence movements, to the Ottoman Empire, and to Russia, that not-entirely-disinterested friend of their efforts to break from Ottoman suzerainty. Kellogg follows the interplay of Romanian political, economic, and diplomatic strategies and those of France, England, Austria-Hungary, Prussia (later Germany), Italy, and Russia. Often these powers' pressures and interventions had the unintended effect of spurring Romanian elites to greater heights of patriotism and ethnic nationalism.

Kellogg has written an old-fashioned book about Romania's efforts and international struggles to break away from the Ottoman Empire, achieve unity and recognition by the European powers, and make eco-

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nomic strides. The book is old-fashioned because it consists of narrative rather than argument supported by narrative and because its focus is purely political. To its credit, the book is based on ample archival and other primary sources. But the author's manifest familiarity and engagement with the secondary literature of the last few decades is puzzlingly scant. Kellogg turns over some of the ground broken by other recent studies by Daniel Chirot, Carol Iancu, Fritz Stern, Andrew Janos, Barbara Jelavich, and William Oldson, and one can and should build on such work. Even when Kellogg, very rarely, refers to other authors, however, it is always in footnotes rather than text and only to document disparate facts rather than to address their findings. Historiographically this book is inadequately aware of recent literature and arguments to make a major contribution. That is not to say that there are not many fascinating stories told here, among these the circumstances and negotiations that led in 1878 to Romania's returning Southern Bessarabia to Russia in exchange for the larger Dobrogea. While the first part of this story is often mentioned in standard accounts about Bessarabia, the link with Dobrogea has rarely been made.

Kellogg concentrates on the state-making aspirations of the Romanians in Wallachia and Moldavia and not those of Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina. To make this clear, he sprinkles the term "Danubian Romanians" throughout his study. This is not the only case of awkward phrasing. An example of overwrought prose occurs right in the introduction: "Eddies of romantic national convictions coursed from Transylvanian Romanians through Carpathian mountain passes to fellow Romanians in the Danubian principalities . . . where they blended with liberal rivulets" (p. 1). The adjective "identic" occurs twice (pp. 54 and 96). In a more substantive vein, Kellogg is often guilty of imprecision. A table summarizing Romanian commercial trends provides only percentages but no sense of what, and in what units, the total is valued at. I would like a better sense of the proportion of the problems and reactions discussed in order to know, for example, how many foreigners were being shielded by consular jurisdiction (p. 40); whose views were represented by the anti-Jewish legislation prepared in 1868, about which Kellogg writes "this project reflected the attitudes of many Romanians" (p. 50) without arguing the point at all; which and how many "Danubian Romanians trembled at seeing their country become a satellite of any power" (p. 106); and which and how many "Danubian Romanians" were "vexed and frustrated" by the Congress of Berlin "proposals and injunctions" (p. 192). That the Romanians featured in this book can only have been a small, if important, elite is masked by such wording.

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HUGH RAGSDALE. *The Russian Tragedy: The Burden of History*. Foreword by ROBERT C. TUCKER. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1996. Pp. xix, 306. Cloth $61.95, paper $21.95.

Hugh Ragsdale has written "a very personal interpretation of the awful fate of modern Russia" focusing on "the indispensable tradition of political authoritarianism" (pp. xiv-xv). Absolutism is the hero of Ragsdale's story. Kiev fell because of "the absence of that absolutism" (p. 10), and when the Mongols destroyed the remains of Kievan political institutions, Russia "was halfway home to absolutism" (p. 13). "Home" is key here: Ragsdale considers absolutism the natural condition for the benighted Russians, a people famous for their durability but "nowhere known for a positive work ethic" (p. 220).

Ragsdale's infatuation with Russian "otherness" is the dimension he adds to a familiar story of absolutist rulers and a hypertrophic state that "overfleeced but undergoverned" Russia. Unfortunately, he consistently eschews nuance. Even geography falls victim to hyperbole: when the Russians move east to escape the Mongol scourge in Kiev, they settle "next door" to Latin Catholic Europe (p. 15).

Not all readers will share Ragsdale's inclination to dismiss counter-forces to absolutism in Russian history. Many might agree that a one-sided discussion of absolutism can be informative, but the presentation here suffers from contradictions, errors, and inexplicable choices regarding what to include. For example, we learn (p. 11) that the political center shifted northeast to Suzdal in 1169. The Mongols appeared in 1240. Yet we are also told (p. 14) that the shift to the northeast was a result of the Mongol invasion, which took place seventy-one years later. Ragsdale describes Russian religion as a faith of "fatalistic submission," yet he notes that serfdom had to be imposed to prevent peasants from running away and otherwise avoiding their obligations and that half the believers were schismatics. Joseph Stalin is characterized both as a mediocrity and as "the evil genius of the revolution" (p. 232). The Russian state is both an obstacle to economic development and the only entity capable of mobilizing for development.

Rather than exploring these contradictions, Ragsdale presents them in snapshot summaries that obscure rather than elucidate the complex character of Russia's history. He prefers caricatures to populate a "tragedy," not the complex and ambiguous multifaceted personalities that would people a less deterministic universe.

Some decisions regarding what to include are highly idiosyncratic. There is a discourse on Thomas Aquinas but no mention of the emancipation of state peasants. (Would this confuse the one-sided portrait of Nicholas I?) The stalking of Alexander II merits six pages, but the narrative moves from Operation Barbarossa to Stalin's death in a mere two pages. World War II, the event that virtually all survey research suggests was *the* major formative experience in modern Soviet history, gets a few paragraphs, equally devoted to Germans

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and Russians. The treatment of 1905 is based on secondary sources more than two decades old and focuses almost entirely on Gapon, without mentioning the Union of Unions or the liberals.

Ragsdale's focus is overwhelmingly on Russia. Ukrainians appear only to die in large numbers during collectivization and its attendant famine or to be treated more horribly by Adolf Hitler than by Stalin. The possibility that national aspirations, first of all among the Baltic peoples, played as great a role in the dissolution of the USSR as the failure of Mikhail Gorbachev's economic reforms receives only passing mention.

Finally, some errors should be noted. The "third element" was a term coined by the governor of Samara to describe the intelligentsia employees of the *zemstvo*, not the *zemstvo* liberals who were "neither government nor masses" (p. 87). V. I. Lenin's slogans in April 1917 were "Land, Peace, Bread" and "All Power to the Soviets," *not* the "Constituent Assembly" (p. 179). (Lenin later correctly perceived the Constituent Assembly as a threat to his plans.) Most historians would take exception with the claim that Alexander I was the "only real reformer" in the nineteenth century (pp. 73–74). The assertion that the reforms of Alexander II "did little to liberalize control of publishing" (p. 256) ignores the proliferation of periodicals, including independent journals, in the decades following the Crimean War.

The book has some merits. Ragsdale does a credible job discussing foreign policy. Chapter five presents a broad excursion into Russia's rich nineteenth-century literature. If the treatment is selective, one could say the same about any survey. But it is also achronological, ignoring changes over time, and it is not really integrated with the rest of the book. Ivan Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* (1852) is deemed "instrumental" in the decision to emancipate the serfs (p. 114), but elsewhere emancipation is described as "motivated chiefly by military considerations" (p. 84).

Those who want a summary of Russia's "tragic" history that is compact, deterministic, and unencumbered with messy nuances may find that this book will do nicely.

HARLEY BALZER
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MAUREEN PERRIE. *Pretenders and Popular Monarchism in Early Modern Russia: The False Tsars of the Time of Troubles*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 269. $59.95.

In recent decades, the Time of Troubles (1598–1613) has received far less scholarly attention than the preceding reign of Ivan the Terrible. Moreover, the interpretative scheme and agendas of S. F. Platonov's great work (*Ocherkipo istorii Smuty v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI–XVII vv.* [3d ed. 1910]) on the Troubles have continued to dominate the scholarly landscape. In the last few years, however, scholars in Russia and abroad have taken a fresh look at the complex events of these years and their broader implications. Maureen Perrie's book on pretendership during the Troubles is an important contribution to this process of reappraisal.

Perrie's work has many strengths. She analyses meticulously the published sources on the Troubles, including some neglected by Russian scholars; judiciously sorts out their often confusing, contradictory, or fantastic testimony; and reflects on the political and cultural meaning of pretendership in Russia, illuminated, in part, by parallels with pretendership elsewhere in late medieval and early modern Europe.

Working almost exclusively with published primary sources, she carefully differentiates her arguments and conclusions from those of the leading Russian scholars of the Troubles, past and present, and from K. V. Chistov's pioneering study of pretendership (*Russkie norodnye sotsial'no-utopicheskie legendy XVII–XIX vv.* [1967]) as one type of "popular-utopian legend." While giving due credit to Chistov's imaginative work, she criticizes him for uncritical use of sources, such as invoking the statements of members of native elites or foreigners as evidence of the convictions of the peasant masses. In extreme instances, she notes, he used evidence of rumors that can be documented as circulating only in Poland as expressions of popular attitudes within Muscovy. Moreover, Perrie believes that Chistov's treatment ignores the extent to which the pretenders tried to give convincing common-sense explanations of their origins and claim to the throne.

Perrie concludes that pretendership was an independent force in the Time of Troubles, not just a reflection of the ambitions and needs of contending groups and classes within Russian society. Once a pretender appeared and attracted support, his cause took on a life and momentum of its own. At the same time, as the author's narrative strategy shows, the pretenders' campaigns are virtually impossible to separate from the other political, social, and diplomatic struggles of the Troubles. Moreover, although support for the pretenders legitimized rebellion against the ruling monarch, none of the false tsars or tsareviches presented a program of radical social change; at most, the pretenders attempted to reward their loyal subjects and punish traitor's to their cause—in other words, those officials and ordinary people who remained loyal to the regime against which they were rebelling. Thus, the campaigns of the pretenders divided Russian society vertically rather than horizontally along class lines. The most that the pretenders' supporters hoped for was a "world turned upside down," one in which they and their allies would achieve wealth or power in the traditional hierarchical order of society.

One of Perrie's most helpful contributions is her examination of the religious implications of pretendership. Following the work of B. A. Uspenskii, V. M. Zhivov, and others, she stresses that, in the eyes of their supporters, pretenders bound themselves to the symbolic language of sacred monarchy and that, con-

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versely, when exposed as frauds, pretenders neatly fitted into the category of anti-tsars, apostates from Orthodoxy, or practitioners of the black arts. In other respects, Perrie's treatment of the ideology of pretendership echoes received wisdom. In her view, Muscovite political thinking offered only one possible justification for rebellion: support for the "true" tsar rather than the usurper on the throne. At the same time, her concrete treatment of her material lends support to the recent arguments of Daniel Rowland and Valerie Kivelson that "popular monarchism" in Muscovite Russia contained implications that could be invoked to justify protest or rebellion.

In a word, Perrie's book is a thoughtful and stimulating contribution to the ongoing reevaluation of the Time of Troubles.

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WAYNE DOWLER. *An Unnecessary Man: The Life of Apollon Grigor'ev*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 286. $55.00.

"Organic criticism" is the expression that Apollon Grigor'ev chose to define his approach to literature, and it is cruelly ironic that his own character and life should have belied the wholeness and health it implied at almost every turn. Born (like Alexander Herzen, like his close friend A. A. Fet) out of wedlock to a lower-class woman and a wealthy tsarist official, he received the best education (cultivated ambiance, polyglot tutors, Moscow University courses taught by the likes of M. P. Pogodin and T. N. Granovsky) that money could buy. Add to that ebullience, personal charm, and a brilliant, original mind, and you have a seemingly surefire recipe for success in this world. Tragically, however, this son of a neurotic, smothering mother (she combed his hair daily until his late teens) and a weak-willed father whom he despised soon revealed a self-destructive streak, which manifested itself in a disastrous marriage, chronic alcoholism, and a spendthrift, bohemian lifestyle that repeatedly brought him to debtor's prison. The miracle is that, these excesses notwithstanding, Grigor'ev had become, by the time of his death from a stroke at the age of forty-two, a prolific and widely read literary journalist who regularly contributed to some of Russia's most influential "thick journals," such as *Otechestvennye zapiski* (Notes of the Fatherland), *Moskvitianin* (The Muscovite) and *Vremia* (Time). Indeed, despite a sometimes dauntingly opaque expository style and views that regularly challenged the predominantly liberal-radical *Zeitgeist*, Grigor'ev's highly original criticism made him the most influential non-radical critic of his age. It is the chief virtue of Wayne Dowler's excellent study that he is able to expound with clarity and force the kernel of Grigor'ev's sometimes tortuous thought and make apparent his importance and relevance to the modern reader.

But what exactly *is* "organic criticism"? A sometimes exasperatingly fluid concept that transcends the merely literary and proclaims the interconnectedness of all phenomena, it is, I think, best understood in terms of two overlapping polarities: the authoritarian versus the "democratic" and the exclusionary versus the catholic. Specifically, although Grigor'ev was a foe of popular, republican forms of rule, he nonetheless made a cult of the Russian demos or *narod* (which he somewhat mysteriously identified with the merchant class as depicted in the plays of A. N. Ostrovsky), deplored the hierarchical centralization imposed by Moscow (later St. Petersburg), and even upheld the cultural integrity of such non-Russian minorities as the Jews and the Ukrainians! What is more, even though he rejected as abstract, constricting, or downright wrong-headed such diverse "isms" as liberalism, idealism, materialism, radicalism, and aestheticism, these same strictures sometimes make him sound as exclusionary as the ideologues he criticized.

All (or almost all) of this makes Grigor'ev sound like a crypto-slavophile in pursuit of that "living life" (*zhivaia zhizn*) that has vanished from the face of modern, "civilized" Russia and must somehow be recovered. And while it is true that, as Dowler points out, Grigor'ev explicitly rejected such key Slavophile tenets as "holy Russia's" messianic role in world history, the demonization of Peter the Great, and the placing of a "wreath on the lousy heads of the Russian muzhik," the Slavophile aura that has, almost from the beginning, surrounded Grigor'ev's name cannot be denied. For with his acknowledged indebtedness to J. G. von Herder and F. W. J. von Schelling, his apotheosis of the "humble hero" in Russian fiction, his exaltation of *pochvenichestvo* ("closeness to the soil"), and his essentially religious world view, Grigor'ev was, as his close and admiring collaboration with Fedor Dostoevsky on the *Vremia* staff attests, clearly a Slavophile "fellow traveller." Indeed it is in that capacity that, as Dowler shrewdly notes, Alexander Solzhenitsyn would, a century later, invoke the name of Grigor'ev as one whose ideas might show his increasingly compassless countrymen, soon to be shorn of their empire and groping for a viable set of values, a way out of the wilderness.

RICHARD GREGG
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THOMAS M. PRYMAK. *Mykola Kostomarov: A Biography*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 263. $60.00.

Panteleimon Kulish, author of *Povest ob Ukrainskom narode* (1846), not Mykola Kostomarov, was the first historian to write a history of Ukraine focusing on the common people. Kostomarov came to be regarded as the founder of the populist school of Ukrainian historiography, however, because he provided a theoretical rationale to explain why the ruled rather than rulers should be the object of historical study, and he made

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"the people" the subject of most of his published work. Similarly, although A. P. Bestuzhev-Riumen had noted the decentralized nature of Kievan Rus before him, Kostomarov figures as the founder of the "federalist" trend in Russian historiography. Thomas M. Prymak's book, the only English-language biography of this important historian, traces his life and work chronologically, without deconstructive discursive asides about the representational meaning of text. Prymak concentrates on Kostomarov's role in cultural politics and his contribution to the modern understanding of Russian and Ukrainian nationhood. He provides an outline of the intellectual milieu, a summary of Kostomarov's major works, and accounts of his debates with contemporaries on issues related to Ukrainian history. The conclusion offers a particularly succinct summary of the man and his ideas. Primarily descriptive rather than analytical and based only on published sources, Prymak's book is not a definitive study, but it may be recommended to anyone interested in nineteenth-century Slavic intellectual history.

Half-Russian by birth and brought up as a Russian speaker, Kostomarov was unable to study in St. Petersburg or Moscow because his widowed mother was too poor to finance him. Finishing university in Kharkiv and then getting his first jobs in Ukrainian provinces, can account for Kostomarov's becoming a Ukrainian with dual loyalties rather than a "Little Russian." A nationalist in his youth, he was a founder of the first modern Ukrainian political organization, the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, and the author of its manifesto. Arrest and exile shook him profoundly, and for the rest of his life—like his contemporary the Russian historian Vasilii Kliuchevskii—he avoided politics. As a moderate liberal, neither Westernizer nor Slavophile, in later life he frustrated both radicals and conservatives. Kostomarov did not attempt to take his ideas about Ukrainian nationhood to their logical conclusion in print because he knew that they would be censored. He confined his defense of Ukrainian interests, therefore, particularly on the need to use the Ukrainian vernacular in education, to letters and an article written for Alexander Herzen's émigré newspaper. In his domestic publications Kostomarov's interpretation of Ukrainian-Russian relations was loyalist: despite different origins and character "Great Russia" and "Little Russia" shared a single "historical process" and the latter, therefore, once freed from Polish rule in the mid-seventeenth century, had no reason to be independent of the former.

This biography does not critically judge Kostomarov's populist understanding of the relationship between people and government nor its legacy for Ukrainian historiography. Absent as well is elaboration and proof of the claim that Kliuchevskii "unhesitatingly accepted" Kostomarov's socioeconomic characterization of Kievan Rus (p. 199). Students of Russian historiography (N. L. Rubinshtein, A. N. Tsamutali, George V. Vernadsky, and M. V. Nechkina) do not mention such an influence, nor does Robert F. Byrnes in his recent biography of Kliuchevskii (although Byrnes does note that Kostomarov's national ideas had no impact on Kliuchevskii's conception of Russian history). Specialists might also question how Kostomarov's works "completely dismantled the monolithic and unilinear scheme of Russian history which had been devised by Nikolai Karamzin" (p. 122), if this particular interpretation continued to dominate historical writing about Eurasia in Russia and abroad into the next century.

Finally, it is not clear why Prymak identifies Karamzin as the founder of the dynastically based judicial-statist school in Russian historiography (p. 104). Karamzin might be better classified as the historian who reformulated into modern terms the idea that Kievan Rus was inhabited by a single people ruled by a single dynasty first from Kiev and then from Vladimir and Moscow—an idea whose origins may be traced through Muscovite chronicles back to the Laurentian codex of the *Primary Chronicle* (1377). The narratives in these chronicles provided an account of "Russian" historical continuity that begins with events in Kiev and then shifts northeast to focus on events in Muscovy. Concomitantly, Kostomarov's focus on "the people" of "Little Russia," defined ethno-linguistically, becomes significant as a modern adaptation of an idea whose origins may be traced not only to Ukrainian "cossack chronicles" (p. 185) but back to the Hypation codex of the *Primary Chronicle* (1423). The narratives in these chronicles provided an account of "Little-Russian-Ukrainian" historical continuity focused on events in central and western Rus that imputed no political primacy either to Russians or Muscovite princes.

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ROBERT F. BYRNES. *V. O. Kliuchevskii, Historian of Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 301. $39.95.

To take on the life and work of Russia's most famous historian, Vasilii Osipovich Kliuchevskii (1841–1911), can only be described as a daunting task. Reams have been written about him; his *oeuvre* was large and diverse, his methodology was elusive, as were his views on a variety of social and political issues, and his personality was enigmatic. Moreover, the external aspect of his life was a biographer's nightmare: he almost never went anywhere or did anything outside his routine of teaching and writing ("books are the signposts in the life of the historian" was one of his better-known aphorisms). His rootedness in Moscow became almost as legendary as Kant's in Königsberg.

In this new book on Kliuchevskii, the first general study since the appearance of Militsa Vasil'evna Nechkina's massive "life and work" tome of 1974 (*Vasilii Osipovich Kliuchevskii: istoriia zhizni i tvorchestva*), the late Robert F. Byrnes demonstrates that a great deal remains to be said about Kliuchevskii's work and

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Weltanschauung. Byrnes has done an admirable job of sifting through Kliuchevskii's published and unpublished writings and the vast corpus of Kliuchevskiana. His treatment of this material is everywhere sober and judicious. He sheds considerable new light (at least by comparison with Nechkina's work) on Kliuchevskii's long career as professor of Russian secular history at the Orthodox Ecclesiastical Academy in Sergiev Posad, where he spent two days a week for thirty-five years between 1871 and 1906 (we think of Kliuchevskii primarily in his role as professor at Moscow University), and on several other relationships, both professional and personal. Byrnes is particularly good at pointing out the numerous ambiguities and paradoxes in Kliuchevskii's work (is it too farfetched to say that Kliuchevskii elevated ambiguity and paradox to the level of historical method?) and worldview. His book is without doubt a significant addition to the still growing body of Kliuchevskii studies.

At the same time it must be said that Byrnes is much better at reminding us of the complexities of his subject than at analyzing them. Basic in this regard is Byrnes's refusal to grapple with the central problem of science and art in Kliuchevsky's *oeuvre*. What is to be made of this propounder of typical mid-nineteenth-century positivist notions about historical laws and his related discounting of the role of the individual (and of ideas) in history, whose lectures at the university were a rare form of performance art? Without histrionics, he used words, intonation, and a few props in such a way that his auditors got the impression that he had actually lived in the sixteenth century and conversed with various historical personages. These lectures, given almost continuously from the 1880s until shortly before Kliuchevskii's death in 1911, became major cultural events in the life of Moscow. Almost the entire student body at least audited them, as did many representatives of the local intelligentsia; ministers of state and peripatetic cultural icons like Fedor Chaliapin sat in on Kliuchevskii's lectures when they were in town. The year-and-a-half or two-year cycle of lectures was transcribed by students and lithographed beginning in the 1880s; when these were taken over, painstakenly polished, and published by the author in his old age, they became instant classics of modern Russian literature. Through the spoken and written word, Kliuchevskii's *Course of Russian History* over the years reached an enormous audience and, as Byrnes marshals considerable testimony to show, it *was* Russian history for several generations of educated Russians, despite its far from catholic treatment of that history (religious life, culture, and ideas mostly absent, no consideration of the impact of the Mongol invasions on Russian history, etc.).

It will not do to dismiss Kliuchevskii's subscription to a scientistic model of history as a youthful diversion of the arch-scientistic 1860s: he propagated these ideas, rather awkwardly, in a methodology course that he gave in the 1880s and apparently held on to them to the end, inflicting them on his readers in the introduction to the first published edition of his course, which began to appear in 1904. But Byrnes undertakes no systematic analysis of Kliuchevskii's views on historical theory and method. More significantly, aside from references to the power of his images, quotations from appreciative contemporaries, and the like, Byrnes makes no attempt to come to grips with the structure of Kliuchevskii's narrative. Over the last quarter-century, especially in this country, writing on historical theory and method has focused mainly on problems of narrative. Much of the work of Louis Mink, Hayden White, Jack Hexter, and others is directly applicable to a text like Kliuchevskii's *Course of Russian History*, but Byrnes has recourse to none of it. The application of narrative theory to Kliuchevskii's great work, potentially very fruitful, remains on the agenda.

In a couple of short chapters, Byrnes does deal suggestively with Kliuchevskii's contribution to Russian national consciousness in a manner parallel to David Carr's interesting argument about the role of shared historical narrative as a component of community identity (*Time, Narrative, and History* [1986]).

In sum, this is a valuable contribution to the scholarship on Russia's most famous, and in many respects most problematical, historian. The editors at Indiana University Press should have done something about the many repetitive phrases that mar the otherwise straightforward narrative. I suspect that the editors are also responsible for paring down the notes to the point (only eight or nine per chapter in a work that is in constant dialogue with texts) that one is unable to locate the sources of many of the memorable phrases that Byrnes carefully culled from Kliuchevskii's writings.

TERENCE EMMONS
Stanford University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

SUSAN P. MCCAFFRAY. *The Politics of Industrialization in Tsarist Russia: The Association of Southern Coal and Steel Producers, 1874–1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 299.

Writers from V. I. Lenin to N. I. Tugan-Baranovsky to Alexander Gerschenkron have characterized Russian industry by a number of stereotypes. According to them, Russian industry deviated significantly from European industry in its high level of industrial concentration, dependence on state orders, and dominance by foreign capital. Susan P. McCaffray provides an industry study against which we can test these propositions. The Association of Southern Coal and Steel Producers came into existence in 1874 as the first major industrial association in Russia and became a pattern for later Russian industrial associations, such as the Association for Trade and Industry. Permission for its constituent assembly came from the highest level of the tsarist bureaucracy, who saw it as a convenient device for gathering information about the

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industry. Although the Southern Association had to deal with diverse interests within its ranks (large vs. small producers, domestic vs. foreign owned concerns, accommodation of the growing importance of steel in the Donbas region), it presented a common front to the Russian government and to other industries.

The Southern Association's close links with the imperial government were used to lobby for concessions that were important first to the coal industry and later to the steel industry. Specifically, the Southern Association lobbied for and got favorable freight rates from the railroads, which were both state owned and privately owned. So successful was the Southern Association that private rail companies were forced into insolvency by the low rates set by the Ministry of Transportation. To prevent railroads from diverting rolling-car capacity away from the coal industry, the Southern Association succeeded in getting a Temporary Fuel Transport Committee established that dedicated a specific share of rolling stock to coal transport. The Southern Association also successfully lobbied for tariff protection. The Southern Association producers periodically received assistance from the military and police against striking workers.

The Donbas coal and iron industries, like most mining activities, developed in relatively underpopulated regions, and they had to deal with the problem of attracting labor to a business with hard working conditions and high accident rates. Faced with what they perceived as perennial labor shortages (until the turn of the century), producers relied on providing wages and working conditions that would attract sufficient labor to the industry. The typical coal and iron worker of the time retained his or her ties to the countryside, and employers sweetened the employment offer with small plots of land that had to be sacrificed if the worker left the company. Although McCaffray describes the miserable working conditions of the time, she also recognizes that employers were meeting workers' opportunity costs and that labor was simply being allocated by the market mechanism.

The Southern Association provides an interesting case study of clashes between the new industrialists of Russia and landed interests. This clash can be seen in the Southern Association's perennial disputes with the zemstvo local government over what it perceived to be excessive taxes on industry and light taxes on estates. Given the estate-based nature of zemstvo representation, coal and iron producers were, in effect, not represented, and they ended up paying higher zemstvo taxes due to the fact that their assets were periodically revalued while the estate lands escaped revaluation. The charitable impulses of the zemstvos can be better understood in this light: someone else—namely, the industrialists—was paying for their programs.

Much has been written about the "monopoly syndicates" that were created at the end of tsarist rule. Although members of the Southern Association participated in the first two syndicates—Prodamet and Produgol—these marketing syndicates were created independently of the Southern Association. McCaffray's account of the Prodamet and Produgol syndicates shows that they had rather limited monopoly power. Although they accounted for more than fifty percent of industry sales, many producers were not members, and there was massive cheating on the marketing arrangements. Like other cartels, the Russian syndicate-cartels of this period were naturally unstable. Interestingly, Russian consumers provided a fairly effective countervailing force, forcing sympathetic government officials, at times, to act against the cartels.

After the 1905 revolution and the introduction of a weak parliamentary system to Russia, the Southern Association dealt with the question of gaining appropriate representation for the interests of its industries. Interestingly, members decided against forming their own political party. Various officers of the Southern Association were instead elected to the dumas as candidates for established parties, under the principle that this would be the way industrial interests would be represented.

McCaffray's book provides a valuable case study of what it was like to do business in Russia between 1874 and 1914. Hers is a welcome addition to a literature that has relied too much on theorizing and too little on case studies. She pictures Russian industry as heavily influenced by state intervention, but, in the case of coal and steel, this intervention was typically in the interests of the producers, given the Russian state's interest in the development of its own heavy industry. The state appeared ready to help out in terms of suppressing worker unrest. State orders were distributed on the basis of bribes. Doing business in Russia was not easy for the foreigners who invested in the Donbas region. What McCaffray describes, however, is not an atypical pattern for countries at the relative level of economic development of Russia at that time.

PAUL R. GREGORY
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ROY R. ROBSON. *Old Believers in Modern Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 188.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, some ten percent of the population of the Russian Empire belonged to the Old Belief, descended from the seventeenth-century schism in the Russian Orthodox church. Old Belief was almost entirely confined to ethnic Russians, who made up a little less than half the empire's population, so one Russian in five could be counted in this group. The historiography of Old Belief has not matched its importance, and Roy R. Robson's useful study of the period 1906–1917 goes far to fill this gap. In 1906, the imperial government released the Old Believers from the many restrictions on their worship and activities that had been in force since the seventeenth century and that had made their status lower than that of Protestants or Catholics (and

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most non-Christians) in Russia. Robson surveys the reaction of Old Believers to this fundamental change, covering liturgy, architecture, the various ways they responded to the surrounding world, and the challenges of the new status for their internal affairs.

Responses to the end of restrictions varied, according to Robson, less by the formal theological position of the various groups than by their social and geographical environment. Groups with their main base in Moscow or other central regions tried to adapt to the new situation while those that were strong in Siberia, the Russian north, the Urals, or other remote regions resisted change. The attempts at adaptation varied as well. Some tried to advance moral programs like temperance that were of potential benefit to Russian society as a whole; others only tried to modernize some of the customs of Old Belief, such as resistance to modern technology. Similarly, attitudes to the state varied. The law of 1906 specified that the Old Believers were to organize themselves in "communities" that would have rights as legal entities and could conduct their own affairs. For the groups in central Russia, this was a great opportunity to normalize religious life but, in the far provinces, Old Believers thought it merely another trick of the Antichrist, the Russian state.

Robson seems to have intended no more than a survey of the main problems, and he has succeeded well in providing a helpful introduction to the era. Nevertheless, the result is often more tantalizing than satisfying. He does not formally survey the main groups and their evolution in those years; this undoubtedly makes the book more readable but lessens its value. There is no such work in any language, and the interested reader will have to delve into the earlier history of Old Belief to understand many of the disputes Robson chronicles. I also wish that there were people in this book. We learn what decisions were made at meetings and what was written in various periodicals, and in the course of this we learn a few names, but we have no sketches of leaders, spokespersons, or even those who wrote in the periodicals. It is hard to believe that the large number of printed and archival sources Robson consulted were all so impersonal. Many excellent ethnographic, journalistic, and even literary portraits of the communities exist but find no place in his work.

Gratitude is in order, however, for the mere existence of such a book: based on a wide variety of sources, intelligent and covering a wide and often confusing subject with clarity and grace. Robson is rightly skeptical of the relevance of existing anthropological theory to his subject, although he discusses it in some detail. Robson's work should be the starting point for future research into Russia's most important religious dissenters in the last years of the old regime.

PAUL BUSHKOVITCH
Yale University

CHRISTOPHER READ. *From Tsar to Soviets: The Russian People and Their Revolution, 1917–21*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 330. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

It may surprise historians who do not specialize in Russian history that there is still no full-bodied history of Russian society during the 1917 revolution. Fourteen years have passed since Ronald Suny published his essay, "Toward a Social History of the October Revolution," in this journal, and many important studies, using new sources and influenced by the developing historiography of social history, have appeared since then. In this book, Christopher Read, the author of two fine books on the Russian intelligentsia in the early twentieth century, addresses the need for a synthesis of recent scholarly work by focusing on the "experiences," "autonomous revolutionary activity," and motivations of "the ordinary Russian population" (pp. 5, 7). Equally important, Read aims his book at nonspecialist "general readers." At a time when the most widely read history of the Russian revolution (by Richard Pipes) stakes a claim to being a "comprehensive view of the Russian Revolution" while openly dismissing the importance of lower-class social groups as historical actors, Read's thoughtful discussions are welcome, as are his efforts to craft a coherent interpretation that is cognizant of the multiple actors who shaped events and sensitive to the complexities of human experience and motivation.

To his credit, Read is asking important and hard questions: Why did people participate in the revolution and what were they seeking? What did they really want when they supported the Bolsheviks or other parties? He repeatedly acknowledges the complexity, contradictions, and ambiguity in the answers and, indeed, in all of the relationships of the revolution. The largely thematic structure of the book and the extended discussions of the roots of revolution in the late 1800s (especially modernization and the responses of the tsarist state) highlight Read's determination to look for the dynamics of the revolution below the surface of the familiar narrative of events. Similarly, his arguments are attentive both to large social and economic processes and to particular and local circumstances and needs. Indeed, the multiplicity (and conflict) of revolutionary processes in 1917 are at the center of his interpretation. In particular, he outlines the brief concordance and increasing "collision" between the popular revolution—which he characterizes as mainly concerned with "mundane" matters of immediate material need, although he also mentions anarchist dreams of liberty—and the Bolshevik intelligentsia's ideological dreams of modernist transformation by conscious elites.

As far as it goes, this is fine and useful. To be sure, the book presents no new evidence or arguments and so will be of limited interest to scholars. But Read intends his account to be mainly a stock-taking of the research of others during the last twenty years, for the benefit of general readers. Even so, much is missing. Part of the problem is that Read views his subject, "the

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ordinary Russian population," rather too narrowly and too uniformly: leaving out the messy but broad margins of lower-class life; barely acknowledging the important fractures of gender, ethnicity, education, skill, and experience; and ignoring altogether the developing public sphere (press, mass entertainment, schools, clubs, societies) that involved people from varied nonelite urban groups.

A still greater limitation is the way Read understands popular motivations and actions. Like much of the older social history he cites, Read treats rational and practical calculations as primary and defines rationality rather narrowly. Although he recognizes the weight of cultural traditions in shaping expectations and goals, he gives rather short shrift to cultural change and innovations, to the influence of ideas and images (especially new ones), and to the power of emotional and moral feeling to drive and shape action. He could have probed more deeply into popular attitudes, values, and imagination.

Ultimately, I found Read's portrait of human experience and action in the revolution to be rather superficial and bloodless. He makes good use of familiar statements by party leaders; he does not, however, draw on published documents from the Communist Party archives (though this may be a function of when his research was completed) or recent work on the cultural dimensions of Bolshevik ideology. We rarely hear the voices of ordinary Russians (the best sources for which would be newspapers and archives that Read does not make use of). Read's own frequently stated appreciation of the "richness and complexity of the revolution" and his opening declaration that "the building block of each revolution was the individual" whose real-life experiences and motivations must be sought "beneath the abstractions with which one is forced to deal" (pp. 1–2) made my disappointment all the greater.

MARK D. STEINBERG
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GEOFFREY SWAIN. *The Origins of the Russian Civil War.* (Origins of Modern War.) New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. xiv, 296.

This volume examines events underlying the outbreak of the civil conflicts that plagued early Soviet Russia. Geoffrey Swain contends (as does Vladimir Brovkin) that the Red-White struggle was but one aspect of the Russian Civil War(s); the first real struggle, claims Swain, was a nascent Red-Green conflict embraced by V. I. Lenin during the early fall of 1917. The prolonged threat of German invasion allegedly hindered the new Soviet government from pursuing its preferred conflict, but when the German peace was ensured, Lenin returned with alacrity to the repression of the Green movement, that is, the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs). Crucial to this analysis are the following points: that both the alleged early Red-Green conflict and the later Red-White one resulted from pointed choices by Lenin, who wished to vanquish the SRs as the chief threat to his party's hegemony, and by *revanchist* White officers who overthrew the various supposedly viable democratic SR-oriented governments; that the Whites constituted no serious threat to the Soviet government for many months after October 1917 and Lenin knew this; and that Lenin consciously rejected the lively possibility of renewing the war with Germany during the spring of 1918, with Allied aid and in cooperation with the entire range of non-Bolshevik socialists (plus Left Communists) solely because of his implacable will to pursue the Red-Green civil war.

The text consists of brisk, very clearly presented narratives of a series of events that Swain deems important to his case: the Kornilov revolt, the post-October Railroad Union negotiations, the ill-fated Constituent Assembly, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and its tortured aftermath (including secret negotiations with the Allies), and the birth and development of the various SR-oriented governments, culminating in the (he believes) potentially successful Siberian Directory overthrown by White officers. The sources are primarily secondary, enhanced by brief forays into Russian and British archives.

Swain's central thesis is provocative and, in some respects revealing (he make good points about Lenin's fixation on civil war, his indifference to its potential cost to society, and the vast Bolshevik versus SR struggle). Still, is it not overdrawn? As long as early White counterrevolutionary troops remained in the field (through February 1918), Lenin did not focus singlemindedly on the so-called Greens or SRs, nor does the author offer any evidence, assertions aside, that at that early time the Bolshevik leadership somehow distinguished a Red-Green from a Red-White conflict and preferred the former. Has not Swain shed an extrapolating light backward? Furthermore, his identification of the Green movement with the SR party is idiosyncratic. What about the Left SRs, about whom he says little and who by 1918 had far closer ties with the peasantry than did the SRs? What about the usual definition, unmentioned by Swain, of the Green movement as peasant-oriented armed resistance to both Reds and Whites? Finally, Swain's description of the SRs as pro-peasant and as proponents of peasant socialism (his sole comments on SR programs) is inadequate to the complexity of neo-populist theories about Russian development as explained in existing studies; nor does he develop the topic of the mid-1918 SR-peasant relationship. Since his thesis revolves around the Green-SR nexus, these are telling flaws.

Swain fits many things to the Procrustean bed of a brilliant idea. He rushes too quickly through too much material with the result that he is not always soundly grounded in the nuances of the 1917–1918 movements and events. This is unfortunate, as several chapters are models of historical exposition and aspects of his general theory have potential merit in explaining certain of Lenin's decisions. Should we, by the way, return

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to the demonization of Lenin, upon whom the archives shed an ill enough light as it is?

MICHAEL MELANCON
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VLADISLAV ZUBOK and CONSTANTINE PLESHAKOV. *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 346. $29.95.

Despite the plethora of books on the origins and course of the Cold War, none have provided a documented inside account of the Soviet role in that conflict. Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov are the first to help close the gap by drawing on official archives opened since the Soviet collapse.

During the 1980s, Zubok and Pleshkov got their grounding in the realm of Soviet policy-making at the Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies, "this pragmatic and infinitely cynical think tank" (p. xi) of the Soviet regime. Their book traces the period from the genesis of the Cold War under Joseph Stalin to its climactic peak in the Cuban Missile Crisis under Nikita Khrushchev. The danger of hot war did not again reach such a pitch, though the contest continued until Mikhail Gorbachev ended it.

Calling for rethinking of the Soviet role in view of new evidence, the authors say that the "human factor," or how personality skewed policy, has been underplayed in the literature. They offer a revealing account of the actions of Stalin and his lieutenants and then of Khrushchev and his circle. The new evidence does not always speak for itself, however, but remains open to interpretation. Zubok and Pleshakov portray a Stalin who stumbled into conflict with the United States and the West rather than acting on a carefully planned and executed offensive strategy. They do not deny that Stalin was the "bad guy" in the story, but they argue that the contest grew out of his poor statesmanship and false expectations, especially in his inept efforts to draw Germany to the Soviet side. They say he envisioned a unified Germany attracted to the communist orbit rather than its splitting into two hostile parts (a result his actions helped produce).

Though Stalin initially may have intended to bide his time and not invite war, he seems not to have doubted that conflict with the West was in the cards at some future time. Milovan Djilas, recalling a Soviet-Yugoslav meeting in April 1945, was startled by Stalin's bald statement that "The war shall soon be over. We shall recover in fifteen or twenty years, and then we'll have another go at it" (see Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin* [1962], pp. 114–15).

In any case, the authors' contention that, in accord with Leninist doctrine, Stalin did expect the Western powers to fall out among themselves after the war rings true. He thus could play a waiting game and hope to pick up the pieces from an internecine conflict among the "capitalist" powers. Stalin's hope was more ideological than realistic. Not only did he see intramural conflict in Europe as "inevitable" on doctrinal grounds, but he believed that the conflict, would redound to the advantage of the USSR and lead the way to communist victory in a "two camp" struggle with capitalism. Paradoxically, his actions in Europe produced the opposite of his ideological expectation; the Western powers formed a common front against him.

Whether Zubok and Pleshakov are on point about Stalin's original intention or not, they make a strong case that ideological doctrine played a key role in Stalin's and later Khrushchev's thinking. It goes without saying that neither Stalin, nor Khrushchev after him, wanted to engage American power in ways disadvantageous to themselves, but they did not hesitate to challenge the West where they thought it was vulnerable. Khrushchev as much as Stalin viewed the world through Marxian lenses, seeing it gripped by a zero-sum struggle and seeing himself as a protagonist in it.

Khrushchev's character contrasted with Stalin's, however, and here the authors are on the mark in pointing up the impact of personality in the Kremlin's conduct of the Cold War. Stalin was a cautious but ruthless player; Khrushchev was a gambler and a bold bluffer. And despite his talk of peaceful coexistence, it was Khrushchev who took the world closer to nuclear war than Stalin ever did by placing nuclear missiles in Cuba. Here, also, Zubok and Pleshakov make a good case that the underlying reason for Khrushchev's action was ideological. They claim that his primary motive—a motive Khrushchev expressed publicly—was to ward off an expected American takeover attempt in Cuba and save the communist beachhead in the Western hemisphere. According to the authors, installing missiles in Cuba to overcome U.S. nuclear missile superiority was a secondary motive. A setback in the forward march of communism was evidently a more serious consideration for Khrushchev than the missile gap.

Despite his brinkmanship in Cuba, Khrushchev had earlier opened the way for dropping long-standing Leninist and Stalinist doctrines by declaring that the East-West struggle would be settled in communism's favor without violent revolution or global war. He stressed "ideological" rather than literal combat and, after the brush with nuclear war in Cuba, moved toward détente with the West. Khrushchev thus tempered the doctrine on struggle, but it was Gorbachev who dropped the zero-sum idea entirely and arranged an end to the Cold War.

Zubok and Pleshakov come close to showing that ideology, not geopolitics, was the primary cause in Soviet conduct. They shy away from this conclusion, however, cautioning against interpreting communist conduct "in terms of either geopolitics or ideology" rather than as "the result of the symbiosis of imperial expansionism and ideological proselytism" (p. 3). Yet, a theory of Soviet conduct would, in the last analysis, have to explain the order of causation. Perhaps the

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ideology itself contains the answer, namely, its *telos* of a world communized was the first cause and Soviet imperial expansionism the efficient cause of Soviet conduct. Once the Soviet *telos* was undercut by setbacks in geopolitics (in Afghanistan, for example) and then challenged internally by *glasnost'* the Soviet enterprise collapsed. Ideas, indeed, have consequences.

CARL A. LINDEN
George Washington University

VOJTECH MASTNY. *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 285. $30.00.

The end of the Cold War does not spell the end of Cold War history. It is now possible not only to conceive of the conflict as history but also to study it as history, Vojtech Mastny points out. Consequently, the thrust of this book differs markedly from that of Mastny's *Russia's Road to the Cold War: Diplomacy, Warfare, and the Politics of Communism, 1941–1945* (1979). Raising questions that were almost unthinkable at the height of the Cold War, the present work aims to consider not only the Western perception of the Soviet threat but also the "putative" Western threat to the Soviet Union and their intricate interplay. Stalinist despotism proved more horrendous than even the most perfervid Cold Warriors imagined. How, then, does one explain the fact that Soviet aggression and Communist subversion did not materialize on a scale remotely approaching Western worst-case projections? The Western perception of a Soviet threat was at the essence of the Cold War, Mastny holds, but then asks: "Could it be that the threat was an empty one and its costly containment an aberration?" Were Western assessments of the Soviet threat tragically flawed, or did containment thwart a real threat?

As in his 1979 book, Mastny locates the source of that threat in Joseph Stalin's insatiable pursuit of security at the expense of everybody else's security. That craving was the root cause of growing East-West tension, notwithstanding both Stalin's and his Western partners' desire for manageable relations. The Cold War, although both unintended and unexpected, was nonetheless predetermined, because the root of Stalin's insecurity was more internal than external. In order to justify and bolster his despotism, he needed tension abroad. In short, so long as Stalin ruled there was little or nothing that the West could have done to avert or abbreviate the Cold War.

What, then, did Stalin really want? He realized that Europe, beyond his realm as constituted by February 1948, was beyond his grasp. Nowhere outside what Moscow regarded as its security zone did he foresee the establishment of communism. What Stalin really wanted was a Western Europe that was undivided, but so fragmented and weak that none of its states would be capable of resisting his will.

This largely inferential analysis of Stalin's intentions is followed by a peerless account of his blunders in foreign affairs. These blunders, Mastny contends, stemmed from Stalin's notion that Soviet security depended on control of Eastern Europe, above all Poland. That notion generated his incoherent policy toward postwar Germany, his belated rejection of the Marshall Plan, the Prague coup, his needless break with Tito, and his monumental blunder of giving Pyongyang the green light to invade South Korea.

Mastny presents the most informative and richly documented account we have of Stalin's dealings with Mao Zedong, Kim Il Sung, Josip Broz (Tito), and lesser Communist leaders, based on communications drawn from previously inaccessible archives. He has tapped the pertinent collections in Moscow, Prague, and East Berlin and has mined the revealing, archive-based studies produced by the new generation of Russian scholars. Most significant, he even gained limited access to Russia's new archival *sanctum sanctorum*, the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation, which contains the Stalin files and other material regarded by Moscow as still too sensitive for general release. The greatest surprise to come out of the Russian archives so far, Mastny avers, is that there is no surprise. The previously top-secret papers corroborate much of what Moscow said publicly; the Kremlin, in fact, did not keep two sets of books on foreign affairs. The archives simply allow one to see how Stalin piled blunder on blunder in foreign affairs while unleashing Communist security organs to butcher scapegoats both at home and in the People's Democracies.

Although Mastny aimed to explore Soviet threat perception, he failed even to mention the overriding military threat—a real threat, not a flight of paranoia—that the paranoiac Stalin had to face. Until well into the Khrushchev period, the United States enjoyed overwhelming strategic superiority. It had the capability of reproducing new Hamburgs and Dresdens, not to mention new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis, while the USSR lacked the capability of inflicting any material damage on the U.S. mainland. Painfully aware of his vulnerability, Stalin ordered a crash program in intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) development.

Apart from a gibe at the doctrine of "Mutual Assured Destruction" (MAD) as peacekeeper, Mastny has but one criticism of U.S. Cold War policy. The government failed to shorten the agony of the Cold War when Washington passed up the opportunity to impose a settlement on Stalin in his last weeks when his regime was supposedly tottering. This judgment ignores a fundamental lesson of the Cold War: the chimera of attempting to translate strategic superiority into absolute political advantage. Moreover, all proposals to parley with Stalin, whether made by Winston Churchill, Walter Lippmann, Henry Wallace, or even George Kennan, were given short shrift by Washington. The Truman administration acted as if any suggestion advanced to negotiate with Stalin would slow the U.S. drive to achieve the level of strategic superi-

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ority supposedly required to compel the Kremlin to surrender unconditionally.

Mastny concludes that the United States correctly perceived and successfully thwarted what proved to be a genuine threat from the USSR. Indeed, he recommends that the West pursue the same policy to deal with similar threats in the future.

A new printing should correct the misdating of the two major events in Nazi-Soviet relations. The Non-Aggression Pact bears the date August 23, 1939, not August 25 (p. 15); Adolf Hitler launched Barbarossa on June 22, not in July 1941 (p. 16).

ALBERT RESIS
Northern Illinois University

MIDDLE EAST

TARIF KHALIDI. *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 250. $54.95.

The study of historiography has been one of the flourishing fields within Islamic history in recent years, especially though not only for the early period of Islam. With the major exception of Franz Rosenthal's *A History of Muslim Historiography* (1968), this work has mainly been monographic in scope. At first glance, Tarif Khalidi's book seems to constitute a survey of the field, which would be highly welcome. But Khalidi has something else in mind. His object of study is historical thought in classical Islam (mostly *ca.* 600–1100 but including later developments). This is a difficult object to identify. Much as in medieval Europe, history held a tenuous place among the sciences in the Islamic world, even though it was popular among readers and attracted many sharp minds. Historical thought can only be located, if at all, through forays beyond the genre of historical writing itself. Khalidi has accordingly organized his study into four modes of thinking or "epistemic canopies" under which history grew through interaction with other sciences and literary genres.

The first of these is "history and *hadith*." *Hadith* refers to brief reports, with normative and didactic force, of sayings or deeds ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad or to those around him. Khalidi traces various styles of historical writing emerging from old Arab concerns (such as genealogies) and from Quranic and other religious sciences. He presents a developmental scheme in which authors are identified with discrete tendencies or points of view. This is an area where controversies have raged with particular fury, as scholars such as Albrecht Noth, Stefan Leder, and Robert Brunschvig have questioned the validity of such schemes. Khalidi does not fully engage these adversaries, disposing of Noth and Leder in a footnote (p. 16) and omitting Brunschvig's discussion of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam (p. 67). But he does provide vivid and original accounts of the main historical writers of the early period, including the great Tabari.

The second canopy is "history and *adab*." *Adab*, as Khalidi says, is often translated as *belles-lettres* but might better be understood as *paideia*, a combined esthetic, moral, and educational ideal. Khalidi gives a fine account of the workings of this and similar values within Arabic historical writing and thought. Since what Khalidi calls the "*hadith*" mode has received far more attention, this chapter is needed and welcome. The third canopy, "history and *hikma*" (wisdom, philosophy), includes epistemological writings by theologians who had at most only a subsidiary interest in history strictly speaking. On so broad a canvas, the specifics of historical thought can become vague, but at the same time the reader gains insights into philosophically oriented historical writers such as Masʿudi, Miskawayh, and Biruni. Finally, the fourth canopy, "history and *siyasa*" (broadly speaking, politics), incorporates the political element into a fascinating discussion covering a wide range of texts and contexts and culminating, quite naturally, in Ibn Khaldun.

Medieval Arabic historical writing is, in and of itself, an enormous topic, and by taking "historical thought" as its object this book makes it even more so. At times it verges on becoming a general intellectual and cultural history, for which it is too short; more could have been said about the historical writings and writers. Nonetheless, Khalidi has produced a fine book, based on deep learning and extensive research and written in an accurate and clear English style. It integrates discussions of different modes of thought and literary genres—until now mostly considered separately—into a single, balanced presentation that will now become required reading for all students of medieval Islamic civilization.

MICHAEL BONNER
University of Michigan

AFAF LUTFI AL-SAYYID MARSOT. *Women and Men in Late Eighteenth-Century Egypt*. (Modern Middle East Series, number 18.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 189.

Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot has for many years been a leading force in the historiography of early modern and modern Egypt. Her latest publication is one of a number of recent studies on Ottoman Egyptian politics and society, on the one hand, and Ottoman women, on the other. This book is not so much a monograph as a summation of the scholarly consensus on late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Egyptian society and women's place in it, with a critique drawn from the author's research in Arabic and European archival and narrative sources. The book is organized according to different sectors of Egyptian society; indeed, the discussion of particular status groups sometimes threatens to obscure the focus on women.

Like Kenneth Cuno in *The Pasha's Peasants* (1992), Marsot treats the period under scrutiny as one of

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transition in Egypt, as local grandees sought increasing economic and political autonomy from the Ottoman Empire while investing heavily in international commerce. Similarly, she emphasizes continuities between the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries rather than portraying Muhammad ʿAli Pasha's regime (1805–1848) as a radical departure from the preceding political reality.

Marsot's study, like other recent publications on pre-modern Middle Eastern women, stresses the activities of elite Muslim women, above all the wives and daughters of Egypt's military and administrative elite and Muslim religious authorities (*ulema*), the class of women best represented in primary sources. Marsot gives due weight to the political framework within which these often formidable women operated and the analogous role of Ottoman imperial women. Notwithstanding, she tends to portray Egypt as a breed apart from the rest of the Ottoman Empire. She does not treat the role of imperial women as paradigmatic for elite women in the provinces, preferring to give more weight to continuities with the women of the Mamluk sultanate.

Marsot's categorization of Egypt's different social groups is occasionally problematic. She divides Egypt's elite into an "alien" group, comprising the Ottoman administration and the military grandees, and an "indigenous" group, comprising the *ulema* and overseas merchants. In fact, these groups were inextricably intertwined, especially by the late eighteenth century; Marsot's chapter on indigenous elites notes intermarriages between the military elite and the families of merchants and *ulema* (pp. 87, 95). In addition, certain of the merchant families and leading *ulema* were themselves relatively recent arrivals to Cairo.

Artisans—that is, craftsmen and small-scale merchants—and the rural population are encompassed in a single chapter, on the grounds that class distinctions were not clear cut. This is, of course, true; nonetheless, I wish Marsot had devoted a separate chapter to rural society and its interaction with the elites based in Cairo. She reexamines the findings of André Raymond and Gabriel Baer on urban craft guilds and the peasantry and draws rather more pessimistic conclusions than either of these scholars. Marsot seems to regard the economic crisis of the late eighteenth century as the culmination of generally declining economic and demographic conditions under the Ottomans, and she stresses the "alien" rulers' oppression of the peasantry. In a final chapter on the transition to the nineteenth century, Marsot deconstructs Judith Tucker's argument (in *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* [1985]) that nineteenth-century market forces weakened Egyptian women's economic position; she attributes economic setbacks more to the machinations of local elites (including Muhammad ʿAli's program of centralization) than to Egypt's incorporation into the European-dominated world economy. Whether or not one agrees with the author's reassessments, one must appreciate her lucid presentation of the historiographical debates.

The book contains a few minor inconsistencies and lacunae. The enterprising Salun Khatun (pp. 58–63) is presented in the body of the text as the freedwoman of ʿUmar ÉCavuş Mustahfizan, but in Appendix A she appears as the freedwoman of the Chief Black Eunuch Beshir Agha. Moreover, several of the *aghas* with whom Salun conducted transactions were clearly palace eunuchs, implying a sustained relationship between Salun and the imperial palace that warrants further investigation. The concubine Sitt Shuwaikar is confused with the daughter of Muhammad al-Barūdī (pp. 54, 63, 88); both were wives of the grandee Ibrahim Katkhuda al-Qazdağli.

Like all of Marsot's writings, this book is engaging and highly readable. Undergraduates, graduate students, and scholars in other fields will find it an accessible overview of later Ottoman Egyptian society, the role of gender therein, and key issues in the historiography of this important topic. Although there is no bibliography, three appendixes summarizing Muslim court cases add to this work's attraction, especially for newcomers to the field.

JANE HATHAWAY
Ohio State University

MARGOT BADRAN. *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 352. $35.00.

In recent years there has been an outpouring of interdisciplinary scholarship on women and gender issues in the Middle East. An important contribution to this growing body of literature, Margot Badran's book is also a useful resource for non-Middle East specialists. It examines more general issues such as the complex relationships among feminism, nationalism, gender, and religion as well as the potential benefits and pitfalls of women's organizing for social and political change. The other major strength of the book lies in its rich historical analysis, grounded for the most part in primary sources by and about women. These sources include memoirs, letters, essays, journalistic articles, fiction, treatises, and extensive oral histories.

The book is divided into three parts, comprising twelve chapters, which are ordered both chronologically and thematically. Part one deals with the period from the 1880s to the beginning of the 1920s, which marked the emergence of gender awareness among middle and upper-class Egyptian women. Particular attention is devoted to the lives of Huda Sha'rawi and Nabawiyah Musa, respectively an upper-class founder and leader of the first organized feminist movement and a middle-class activist in education and the workplace. Among other issues examined in this section is the establishment of new institutions by and for women and their gradual infiltration of male-dominated public institutions. Finally, Badran provides a nuanced analysis of both the collaboration and ten-

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sions between feminist activism and the nationalist movement during the period prior to Egyptian independence in 1922.

The book's second part, which forms its core, deals primarily with the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU), the first explicitly feminist movement. Founded by Sha'rawi in 1923, the EFU addressed such issues as the gendered division of labor within the family, women's education, state-regulated prostitution, and women's basic political rights of suffrage and citizenship. The last part of the book is devoted to the emergence of a pan-Arab feminism during the late 1930s through the 1940s, when the EFU played a key role in mobilizing Egyptian and other Arab women around the Palestinian national cause.

By tracing the emergence and practices of a distinct movement for gender equality in Egypt, Badran challenges both the prevalent claim that sisterhood is global and feminism universally applicable and the counter claim that views feminism as a Western imposition with no resonance in the Middle East. For Badran, feminism involves "ideas and actions expressed individually and collectively about personal life, family life, societal life; about being Muslim or Christian, about being a member of the Egyptian nation" (p.3). Her treatment of feminism as a political discourse, which is both similar to and different from nationalism and Islam, marks an original and valuable contribution to debates on the relationship between state and civil society in the Middle East in general and in Egypt in particular. The book's major flaw, however, lies in its rather narrow focus on the lives and struggles of elite Egyptian women; what is missing is a careful analysis of the role of socioeconomic conditions in structuring relations among women, between women and men, and between women and the state. Yet, despite this shortcoming, Badran's book is an excellent resource for historians, for feminists both in and outside Middle East studies, and for scholars who study the interplay of religion, nationalism, and state politics.

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MICHAEL GILSENAN. *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and Narrative in an Arab Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 377. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.00.

Michael Gilsenan has produced a fascinating study of the myriad ways that violence and honor are mediated and understood in Lebanon. His book is based on anthropological field work conducted in Akkar, the northernmost region of the country, in the early 1970s, just before the outbreak of the long war from which Lebanon is only now beginning to emerge. Gilsenan's book is also informed by his reading in narrative theory and by historical documents principally in Arabic and French.

Akkar is an impoverished hill region where agriculture is the mainstay of the local economy. Ottoman officials and French scholar-colonialists portrayed Akkar as peripheral, violent, and unchanging, a portrait that Lebanese planners reinforced in the post-independence era. Gilsenan finds that the local residents of Akkar fostered in their own discourses much the same view of their society as did the government officials and experts who investigated the region, although his evidence indicates that Akkar was not insulated from the many changes Lebanon experienced in the twentieth century. This discrepancy has been noted elsewhere in the Arab world. For instance, Beshara Doumani has shown in *Rediscovering Palestine: The Merchants and Peasants of Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900* (1995) that the local inhabitants of central Palestine in the nineteenth century created for themselves an undeserved reputation as conservative and inward-looking that latter-day historians have reinforced.

Society in Akkar is characterized by a hierarchical structure comprising three strata. The *beys* or lords of the region are the big landholders. The typical *bey* uses small landholders, known as *aghas*, to administer his property, control peasant sharecroppers and agricultural laborers, and challenge other *beys*. Gilsenan devotes much of his attention to the *aghas*, who are his principal informants, and their ambiguous intermediate roles as servants and potential rivals of the *beys* merit examination.

Gilsenan's anthropological eye is trained on the local narratives of honor. As the dominant political and social figure, the *bey* established the dominant narrative against which all other narratives were judged. His honor was paramount, and he maintained it by fostering two different sorts of narrative: one of the protection and access he and his family provided the local community; and the other of how his family acquired wealth and power by any and all means, including acts of violence against members of the local community. *Aghas* could also compete for honor and used narratives strategically to acquire and maintain status. Their honor was much less stable than the *bey*'s. The loss of an *agha*'s land to a *bey* resulted in a loss of honor, and while *aghas* might use narratives to challenge their *beys*, they were more likely to use them to undermine, by humiliation and ridicule, rival *aghas* and peasants who could not compete for honor. In this way, narratives were powerful instruments of violence in the competition both for scarce material and scarce symbolic resources.

With the expansion of the Lebanese economy in the 1950s and 1960s, sons of *beys* began to abandon Akkar for the city. They sold their lands and invested in urban real estate and in decadent lifestyles for which Beirut became especially infamous. The sons of *aghas* also headed for the city, where they recreated their roles as middlemen and enforcers, promoting the interests of their kinsmen by providing them with employment and protection. They competed with elements from other

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regions of Lebanon for jobs in the dominant service sector, where competition was increasingly expressed in class and regional terms.

Interestingly for a book that deals with violence in Lebanon, religious sectarianism is completely missing. This is because the area of Akkar that Gilsenan studied is populated almost entirely by a single confessional group, Sunni Muslims. Still, it is worth noting that experts have often blamed sectarianism for Lebanon's long history of violence, when, in fact, other forces such as class and regionalism have been important contributors. Because Gilsenan was unable to gain access to women in the course of his field work, they are also missing from his analysis, save for his brief foray into the ways that sexual violence against women eroded male honor.

Gilsenan's contribution is at the intersection of anthropology and history. In conception and structure his is principally a work of meticulous micro-anthropology lodged in a framework of interpretation that hinges on extracting meanings from multiple historical narratives. Regrettably, he does not systematically compare expressions of violence and honor in Akkar with what is known about other parts of the Middle East and the wider Mediterranean world. But Gilsenan does provide a feast of interpretation and insight that will bring historians to the table.

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AFRICA

JOHN H. HANSON. *Migration, Jihad, and Muslim Authority in West Africa: The Futanke Colonies in Karta*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 218. $39.95.

John H. Hanson's book breaks new ground by focusing on the Umarian colonies in Karta, which were settled by Fulbe migrants from Futa Toro (the Futanke) following the conquest of Karta by Shaykh Umar Tal in 1855–1857. Hanson builds on David Robinson's research into the career of Umar Tal, whose holy war drew recruits from his homeland in Futa Toro. Umar Tal was able to tap into and exploit a growing Fulbe consciousness of their role as a chosen people in West African Islam. The colonies in Karta were founded at a crucial moment, just before the French defeat of Umar's army at Medine in 1857–1858. That defeat led to a strategic withdrawal from the upper Senegal valley and a new commitment to redirect the holy war to the east. After 1859, when Shaykh Umar departed to establish a new capital for his "empire" in Segu, the colonies in Karta had an ambiguous status within the larger Umarian community. Karta was still useful as a trade link with the Senegal valley and the Atlantic economy and as a base from which recruitment drives could be launched into Futa Toro, which served as a reservoir of new recruits for the Umarian armies. On the other hand, Umar and his successor, Amadu, saw no need for large permanent settlements in Karta and repeatedly tried to convince the Futanke to leave.

The ambiguous status of Karta provides an opportunity for Hanson to explore the motivations and consciousness of the Futanke who participated in the mass migrations remembered in oral traditions as the *fergo Umar* and the *fergo Nioro*. The ideology of migration was based on the obligation of Muslims to leave territories coming under European control (*hijra*) and to wage holy war (*jihad*). For many migrants, these religious obligations were intertwined with the hope that holy war would be rewarded with the acquisition of land, slaves, and cattle. Hanson's creative reconstruction of migration is based on contemporary letters in Arabic, Arabic chronicles, oral traditions, and French archival sources. His book is the best account so far of *jihad* from the bottom up, as it focuses more attention on participants than on leaders.

Hason explores the history of the Futanke who settled in Karta and created new identities for themselves. Many of the settlers acquired land and slaves and produced surplus grain for the regional economy. Others earned a living as soldiers in the garrison towns of Karta, raiding communities that refused to submit to the new order. Futanke soldiers and officials also protected caravans carrying salt and gum arabic, which provided the basis for an expanding regional economy. The development of these interests led many of the settlers in Karta to resist recruitment drives for the *jihad*, refusing requests from Amadu, Umar's son and designated successor, to honor their obligation to participate in 1872–1873 and again in 1884–1885.

Much of the second half of the book uses a narrative strategy to explore this crisis of commitment to the *jihad*. Hanson argues that three separate crises marked the history of Umarian Karta and that these events were not merely fraternal struggles for leadership or factional conflicts but can be explored as "social dramas" in the sense defined by Victor Turner (p. 6). Although the crises are not without their own interest, they each have a distinct historical status and do not readily transform themselves into Turnerian social dramas. The first crisis is not mentioned in contemporary documents or remembered by the Futanke but is deduced from the failure of the settlers to leave Karta with Umar in 1859. By contrast, the third crisis, which pitted Amadu against a brother who rebelled against his authority in 1884–1885, is remembered as the central event of nineteenth-century Karta. The incompatibility of these narrative episodes works against the author's purposes.

Hanson's book concludes with an original account of the conquest of Karta by the French. During the late nineteenth century, French colonial officials waged war on what they imagined to be a hostile and fanatic "Tukolor Empire." Hanson's book demonstrates that the "empire" was a fiction of the colonial imagination. The French battled a federation of successor states, linked together by their origins in Shaykh Umar's *jihad*, but prone to fragmentation and differentiation.

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Tensions between new recruits from Futa Toro and established settlers led to conflicts, as did struggles over authority within the Umarian federation. The French conquest ended with the expulsion of thousands of Futanke settlers from Karta, who were forced to retrace their path to the Senegal river valley.

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MAHMOOD MAMDANI. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 353. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Mahmood Mamdani's powerful new volume challenges the established wisdom of Africanists concerning the European colonial impact on Africa and Africa's postcolonial settlement. Written as a response to contemporary African "crises," the book draws on Mamdani's personal experiences in Uganda as the country emerged from the depredations of Idi Amin and Milton Obote and on South Africa's transition from apartheid to majority rule. The overarching themes of the book are deceptively simple and seemingly uncontestable, yet they need to be measured against competing explanations that have held sway in the literature. The chief characteristic of "late colonialism," the term that Mamdani uses to identify European rule in Africa, is a bifurcated, albeit powerful, colonial state and separate communities—privileged citizens and unprivileged subjects—of colonial peoples. Mamdani stresses the chasms that colonial rule opened up between Europeans and "natives"; urban dwellers and rural peasants; and civil society, where European legal systems prevailed, and customary law, where native courts and African chiefs enforced laws said to date from pre-colonial times. In Mamdani's view, the colonial state had two sides. In the major cities, Europeans enjoyed the political and legal rights that they would have had in Europe. The urban locales inevitably became the site of protest on the part of African city-dwellers, who demanded for themselves the rights that had been granted to Europeans. In contrast, customary courts and rule through collaborationist African chiefs occurred in the countryside. Here, a decentralized despotism flourished and artificially constructed tribal identities came into being.

It would be difficult to dispute the significance of the distinctions that arose in colonial Africa between what Mamdani calls citizens, mainly Europeans and a few privileged Africans, and subjects, rurally based African peasants. The author is surely correct in noting the divided nature of African protest movements. In the cities, elite groups sought to deracialize the urban polity. In the countryside, peasant forces used the language of ethnicity to protest the autocratic nature of colonial authority. By independence, African nationalists had succeeded in Africanizing the civil and military bureaucracies, but they had failed to detribalize and democratize the countryside.

Mamdani is a lumper. He searches for the unities of colonial and postcolonial Africa. But readers need to be sensitive to meaningful distinctions that are blurred or even completely ignored if they are to make the best use of this impressive reworking of recent African history. For analytical purposes, it is instructive to see the apartheid regime of South Africa as unexceptional, the logical culmination of colonial rule in a semi-industrial setting. Similarly, British and French colonialism have more in common than scholars have acknowledged. Mamdani claims that the crucial problem for the colonial rulers of Africa was not how to mobilize labor and exploit the continent's resources but a more fundamental concern: how to rule vast numbers with small administrative and military cadres. Yet, is it not an overstatement to claim, as the author does, that Europeans in Africa gave up their civilizing mission in favor of law and order agendas? By the same token, the distinctions that have dominated colonial historiography between settler and non-settler regions and between British and French rule disappear too easily. While readers will applaud the author's attack on South African exceptionalism and his depiction of apartheid as a particularly brutal and oppressive variant of law-and-order colonialism, Mamdani pays too little attention to the religious and racial philosophies that undergirded apartheid. Mamdani's database would appear to be strongest for East and South Africa and less secure for West Africa (where he cites George Padmore's interpretation of Nigeria and Jean Suret-Canale's analysis of Francophone West Africa).

These latter cautions are meant to remind readers that the author's iconoclastic perspective produces important reconfigurations of colonial and postcolonial Africa but does so with some element of overstatement.

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RUTH IYOB. *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*. (African Studies, number 82.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 198. $49.95.

Ruth Iyob has written a useful outline of Eritrea's pre-national political history. In the partisan turf of Eritrean studies, her monograph is the best synthesis of the past decade, because her analyses flow from data and text and not from prejudice or the needs of propaganda. Iyob seeks "to explain why Eritrean resistance endured in face of Ethiopia's diplomatic, military, and political prowess" (p. 5). Her research leads to the conclusion that, during the armed struggle of 1961–1991, Eritrea's nine ethnic groups "developed an all-encompassing national identity . . . [and] a sense of solidarity" (p. 1), which coalesced into "a pragmatic

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and mature movement able to defeat Black Africa's most prestigious and well-equipped army" (p. 5).

The resistance movement destroyed Addis Adaba's "regime of truth" (p. 25), in which Eritrea figured as *terra irredenta* needed to complete the pan-Ethiopian nation and ensure unity. Such propaganda had attracted the support of the Organization of African Unity, whose members clung to the continent's boundaries as defined by the colonialists, and of the United States, which was more or less in alliance with Ethiopia. The Eritreans, on the other hand, fought to free their country from colonial hegemony, pointing to Ethiopian unity as coerced and indicting the Addis Ababa regime as a conquest state "involved in . . . brutal oppression" (p. 41).

During the immediate postwar period, Eritreans failed "to construct a coalition capable of establishing an unified . . . nation-state to counter Ethiopia's claims" (p. 61). The former colony was federated to Ethiopia in 1952 and annexed as a province in 1962, at a time when armed opposition already had begun. Rather than develop the counterpoint of war and politics, Iyob dwells on the latter. Her narrative reveals that the freedom fighters succeeded only when they had abandoned their religious parochialism for pan-Eritrean nationalism. This was accomplished in 1981 by the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF). Led by secular Christians and Muslims, the front followed a "selective, pragmatic (even eclectic) application of Marxist philosophy adapted to the particular context of Eritrea's national liberation struggle" (p. 124).

Its approach to fighting the Ethiopian army, from 1981 to the victory of 1991, comprised "flexibility, discipline, pragmatism, and innovation" (p. 124). By 1988, the EPLF had captured enough Soviet weaponry to transform itself into a conventional force utilizing tanks and other heavy weapons in positional warfare. Its program now included a multi-party system and a mixed economy; anti-American and anti-Zionist rhetoric disappeared from its propaganda. When *de facto* independence came in 1991, after the fall of the unpopular socialist regime in Addis Ababa, it could be fairly claimed that the EPLF had built "a national identity . . . based on the identification of Eritrea as an integral part of the African colonial experience" (p. 123).

This small book is refreshing for its scholarly objectivity. A larger and more important study might have included several chapters on the war for Eritrean independence, since that struggle is a case where nationalism and morale overcame better military technology and larger forces. Future scholars will also have to gather more oral testimony concerning political and military events and undertake a more thorough reading of the published materials in French, Italian, and Amharic. Documents produced in Ethiopia and by Ethiopians are especially important, since, as Iyob claims, "modern Eritrean nationalism was a by-product of Ethiopian hegemonic domination" (p. 96). Finally, I would be pleased to read about the Eritrean-Ethiopian relationship since 1991 and to know whatever prognostications a political scientist can make about the future of these interdependent countries.

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ASIA

GLEN DUDBRIDGE. *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T'ang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's* Kuang-i chi. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 256. $59.95.

With the opening pages of his book, Glen Dudbridge plunges us into a world that, within sinological circles, remains little researched and only imperfectly understood. This "other world," as Dudbridge refers to it, is more psychological than physical; the central subject of the book is spirit possession. For narrative purposes, Dudbridge has selected the *Kuang-i chi* (Great book of marvels), a collection of strange tales compiled in the middle of the eighth century by the obscure scholar Tai Fu. But more significant than his reliance on this collection is his interpretation of its contents as "a literature of record, not of fantasy or creative fiction" (p. 16). While this interpretation clashes with the prevailing view of medieval anecdotal literature promoted by modern Chinese theorists, Dudbridge's hypothesis—"that the *Kuang-i chi* and its like preserve, at many points, the oral history of a remote age" (p. 6)—is nonetheless intriguing.

Apart from the tales themselves (many of the few hundred of which are merely outlined in an appendix), Dudbridge at first provides only sparing primary evidence in support of his argument. Chapter two is devoted to the analysis of a preface to the *Kuang-i chi* written after Tai Fu's death by his friend, Ku K'uang (d. 806?). Dudbridge regards this preface as a document that "speaks for ordinary, forgotten men," the citizens "of a vanished society" (p. 18). But there is little about this recondite and possibly corrupt document that, with any conclusiveness, bolsters such a view.

In three of the book's remaining five chapters, however, Dudbridge builds a more convincing case by concentrating on the social relevance of the types of stories evident in the *Kuang-i chi*. These include such major categories as ghosts, returns to life, rewards, gods, dreams, and animals. Dudbridge especially exploits these categories in chapter three, and they enable him to extrapolate what kinds of forces were at work in Tai Fu's world. In chapter four, these varied categories of stories are combined in an elucidating discussion of the evolving practices of the temple cult at Mount Hua, which is one of China's five sacred peaks. Chapter seven examines the "parallel continuum for sexual and marital relations between living and dead mortals" (p. 161).

Different from the rest are chapters five and six. In

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the former, Dudbridge fruitfully assembles three different types of evidence—dynastic history, stone inscriptions, and anecdotal sources—to provide three different perspectives on a single historical event: the suicide in defeat of the sixth-century loyalist Yü-ch'ih Chiung, which permitted the establishment of the T'ang's forerunner Sui dynasty (581–618). In the latter, Dudbridge uses three *Kuang-i chi* tales associated with the Yüan Ch'ao rebellion (762–764) to underscore his claim that such tales, taken together, can comprise an "oral history."

Dudbridge expresses his awareness that labeling as "oral history" all of the stories in the *Kuang-i chi* is problematic, but he offers no credible defense against this obvious criticism. Other equally obvious shortcomings simply go unaddressed. Representativeness is one immediate issue because, whereas examples of T'ang anecdotal literature are plentiful, Dudbridge has based his claims almost exclusively on one source. The numerous instances in which his primary topic of spirit possession intersects with Buddhism—arguably the signature belief system of the age—are largely unexamined.

Still, we must also acknowledge the merits of Dudbridge's effort. Chief among these is the value of his book in sharpening our awareness of the inherently blurry line between the fictional and the documentary in medieval accounts of the strange. One may criticize his decision to overemphasize the factual elements of these tales, but the motivation behind it—the desire "to catch people from the past functioning and articulating at certain points in their existence" (p. 15)—is a fully understandable urge to any historian.

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EDWARD L. FARMER. *Zhu Yuanzhang and Early Ming Legislation: The Reordering of Chinese Society following the Era of Mongol Rule*. (Sinica Leidensia, number 34.) New York: E.J. Brill. 1995. Pp. x, 259.

In 1368, the rise of the native Chinese Ming dynasty ended decades of the rule of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). Among the various rebel groups, Zhu Yuanzhang emerged as the founder of the new dynasty. Adopting Confucian moral teachings as the ideological foundation of the new era, the founder went further with his new plans, or as the author of this volume puts it, new legislation aiming not only at the restoration of Chinese traditions but also at the restructuring and shaping of society and culture with rituals, regulations, and codified law. Edward L. Farmer describes and analyzes the new legislation and regulations and has translated important instructions and regulations from Zhu Yuanzhang for his descendants as well as the officials and people. The translations in appendixes occupy about half of the volume (pp. 114–229).

The author shows us two aspects or two faces of Zhu Yuanzhang. On the one hand, he was a diligent ruler, working extremely hard to eliminate the alien Mongol influence and to build the new dynasty that he wanted to consolidate so that it would last for generations. On the other hand, he was very suspicious of his prime ministers and officials. Even though the emperor encouraged the officials and people to report directly to him, those who dared to do so would risk their lives if the reports proved false after investigation. Moreover, Zhu Yuanzhang did away with the position of prime minister, and purged and executed a large number of officials who were accused of being evil and treacherous. Consequently his distrust of the officials and his monopoly of power resulted in the enhancement of an unprecedented autocracy in Chinese history that was to exert profound influence on the following Qing conquerors, and even the rulers of modern China. The author points out, however, that politically the Ming institutions were not very stable. The elimination of the prime ministers created a vacuum to be filled by grand secretaries and eunuchs.

The translations of Zhu Yuanzhang's ancestral instruction, the great commandment, the placard of people's instructions, and the contents of the Ming code show the reader that the Ming founder's social and legal regulations and laws were directed at all the people, from high officials to village leaders and heads of families. Zhu Yuanzhang's program of education and "enculturation" (p. 36) was to morally transform the people with orthodox cultural and social values. In addition, the role of the law was Zhu Yuanzhang's central concern, and his legal system was used for the control of the people, especially the officials. Although trade and commerce continued to grow during Ming times, the imperial government managed to control ideological and cultural matters so that development was limited and new ideas were difficult to bring to maturity. The author's remarkable in-depth analysis is important for anyone who would like to know something about traditional Chinese autocracy and its influence in modern times. There is only one point that the author does not discuss in comparative perspective. Graded justice was practiced in previous dynasties, but there is no reference to this point and there is no comparison between the Ming and previous practices. From the author's brief chapter on this subject, readers without some knowledge of Chinese history might get the impression that it was a Ming innovation.

The translations are generally accurate and readable. One questionable translation concerns "barbarians": "Although they have land, the land is insufficient; although they have people, the people are difficult to control" (p. 119). The original actually means that the Ming should not acquire "barbarian" land and people, and it should be translated as "if we acquire their land, the land is insufficient; if we acquire their people, the people are difficult to control."

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RICHARD VON GLAHN. *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 338. $55.00.

By the beginning of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), China's monetary system was firmly based on the circulation of silver and bronze coins. The strengths and weaknesses of such a system were the subject of frequent debate at court and among China's scholar elite, and they played a decisive role in tax policy, the evolving relationship between central and local government, the development of state mining policy, the expansion of Qing political control in southwestern China, the evolution of China's early modern banking system, and China's hard-line stance leading up to the Opium War.

Given its importance, it is surprising that so little has appeared in English on Chinese monetary theory or the implementation of monetary policy in practice. Richard von Glahn has undertaken an ambitious project, addressing both subjects in a brilliantly constructed treatise that covers most of the late imperial period. It is a work of meticulous archival research that is conspicuous for its narrative quality. Von Glahn tells of Chinese officials and scholars, their predispositions about the role of the state in the monetary system, and how these were played out in policy against the vagaries of natural mineral endowment, foreign relations and foreign trade, market expansion and contraction, bureaucratic corruption, merchant and consumer interests, and international bullion movements. At the same time, von Glahn is careful to avoid the pitfalls of Chinese exceptionalism, keeping his discussion firmly rooted within contemporary debates on monetary policy and the price revolution in early modern Europe. He provides an important Asian case study for students of global economic trends, while his cogent explanations of recent models of international trade and prices will make his study accessible to scholars without a background in economic theory.

Von Glahn begins with an examination of classical Chinese monetary theory, noting that, from the earliest treatises, Chinese thinkers equated the value of money and the value of goods with the relative quantities of each. The role of the ruler was to regulate the money supply in order to achieve a balance that would both encourage production and maintain the purchasing power of the people. The notion that the state should control the amount of money in circulation was a powerful argument against the acceptance of private coinage, played an important role in the introduction of fiat currencies and was the basis for efforts to demonetise silver. While the facts of China's shifting reliance on full-bodied and debased bronze coins, paper money, and silver is fairly well-known, the content of the debates which preceded and grew out of these shifts is not. Von Glahn's careful reconstruction of late imperial monetary theory makes it clear that Chinese intellectuals had a sophisticated understanding of the market. While classical theory was the foundation upon which this understanding was based, there was considerable variation in attitudes toward the functions of money and the role of the state in controlling the money supply. Moreover, by the seventeenth century, a substantial number of Chinese officials saw silver as a commodity as well as a source of payment, and recognized the role of foreign trade in creating jobs for Chinese producers at home. Even less well understood by historians are the market forces and institutional constraints that drove these shifts in monetary policy and monetary analysis. Von Glahn's discussion of the late Ming attempt to reimpose the dominance of bronze coin demonstrates dramatically the limits of state power. It also provides striking evidence of the ability of consumers and merchants to influence state policy through the marketplace.

Von Glahn ends his book with a daring re-examination of the role of silver during the Ming-Qing transition that challenges the widely held belief that a contraction in the flow of silver into China in the seventeenth century led to an economic crisis which precipitated the fall of the Ming Dynasty. He attacks the problem on three fronts. Cognizant of the limited quantitative data available for this period, von Glahn argues that the volume of Chinese silver imports in the early seventeenth century was not as high and that the decline in foreign imports during the 1630s and 1640s was not as sharp as crisis theorists estimate. Von Glahn also questions the link posited between the fortunes of the Chinese economy and bullion flows between the Americas and Spain. Finally, he questions the theoretical foundations of crisis theory, drawing attention to recent work on European price movements that is certain to stimulate new research on China's domestic and international markets during this critical period in early modern Chinese history.

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HILL GATES. *China's Motor: A Thousand Years of Petty Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 326. $35.00.

Anthropologist Hill Gates has written an important, engaging, and readable book about China that will be of interest to historians. Gates addresses topics of concern to Chinese anthropology—such as the Chinese family and lineage organization, gender and sex, marriage practices, and folk religion—while simultaneously proposing a powerful thesis about the dynamics of Chinese history over the past thousand years (the late imperial period, covering the last four dynasties).

Setting out to "find a vision of China at once Marxist and not Eurocentric" (p. ix), Gates abandons the usual problematic centered on why capitalism did or did not develop in China and proposes instead that China for the past thousand years has had a "social formation" combining two modes of production—the "tributary mode of production" (TMP) and the petty capitalist

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mode of production (PCMP)—neither of which was able to achieve complete dominance over the other. After defining and explaining these concepts and conceptualizing "motion in the system" as competition and struggle between the two modes of production, Gates then uses her rubric to reinterpret many of the problems anthropologists and historians of China have grappled with over the past forty years. In brief, Gates's formulation is a major contribution to the conceptualization of late imperial Chinese history.

Of particular interest is Gates's treatment of women in China, a story that is woven throughout most of the chapters in the book. Gates argues that commodity production, especially of textiles by women, held the potential to give women greater equality within the Chinese family, but that the values of women's subservience articulated by the dominant official and gentry class were accepted by the male heads of commoner families as a means to control the surplus value created by the women. Thus, although capitalist impulses that emerged during the Song dynasty (960–1279) held the promise of building on the equality women had obtained during the Tang dynasty (618–906), Gates argues that they were "met by a determined TMP counterrevolution whose misogynist values are epitomized in Neo-Confucian politico-familial philosophy" (p. 49). Gates also uses the TMP/PCMP rubric to analyse folk religious beliefs about power and about the relations between men and women.

Gates's book challenges the influential, marketing system-based "macroregional" conception of "the structure of Chinese history" developed by G. William Skinner. Gates argues that Skinner's bottom-up, "naturalistic market model" (p. 62) with macroregions defined by physiography (mostly, drainage basins) ignores the "extreme artificiality of the Chinese transport system," built as it was to meet the tributary needs of state officials. In part, Gates says, this is because Skinner sees state officials merely as "administrators" rather than as a class managing large parts of the Chinese economy through the tributary mode of production (TMP). Gates proposes instead to view Chinese spatial development as a consequence of varying combinations of weak or strong TMP and PCMP. The result is a theoretical model that is very similar to Charles Tilly's in *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* (1990); indeed, a comparison of these two theoretical constructs and their applications to European and Chinese history would doubtless reveal much about each.

In her final two chapters, Gates examines and compares the recent histories of Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC). Unlike most historians who are interested in explaining change, Gates focuses on continuities over the past thousand years, seeing the PRC in terms of the tributary mode of production and Taiwan as a particular combination of TMP and PCMP that has proven highly resistant to, and competitive with, the forces of international capitalism.

By developing the theoretical construct of Chinese culture over the past thousand years as a combination of the tributary and petty capitalist modes of production, Gates sheds new light on topics of concern to anthropologists while providing historians with a powerful (if as yet unproven) tool with which to explore the dynamics of change in Chinese history.

ROBERT B. MARKS
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JONATHAN PORTER. *Macau, the Imaginary City: Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present.* (New Perspectives in Asian Studies, number 195.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. x, 240. $27.50.

Jonathan Porter's book is not so much an examination of a city as an evocation of a place in time, a Macau that is about to be lost, transformed by south China's rampant modernization and threatened by reintegration with China in 1999. Of the two, Porter holds that communism is a lesser threat than modernization as high-rises already are wiping out whole neighborhoods. The Macau of this study is an imaginary city because much of what Porter lovingly describes, the hidden alleys and open esplanades of the Portuguese sectors together with the altars and gracious courtyard homes of the Chinese, is already gone. This city of the past evoked in this charmingly discursive book is one Porter has known intimately for almost thirty years.

Founded in 1557 near a village in Xiangshan County, on a tiny peninsula in the Pearl River delta of south China, Macau was built by Portuguese traders and missionaries. In contrast to Hong Kong, China never relinquished sovereignty over Macau and sometimes exercised it. Macau never became a full-fledged colonial emporium like Singapore, Shanghai, or Hong Kong but instead was conditioned by its own particular spatial and temporal situation and its isolation, linked to—but on the periphery of—two worlds. Porter draws on Chinese primary sources, including Xiangshan gazetteers from 1750, 1827, and 1920, as well as European accounts of the city at various periods to remember Macau's long and romantic past.

The book is organized both chronologically and thematically. It opens with an account of the Portuguese venture in Asia. Turning to boundaries, Porter finds two kinds. A spatial barrier consisted of the sea and a wall across the narrow part of the peninsula that prevented the Europeans from penetrating any farther into China, but a second, perceptual boundary also existed between the two cultures. In spite of such limitations, the two cultures were integrated in Macau, in contrast to the more usual colonial pattern of a dual city with separate sectors for Asians and Europeans. The early stages of the city's history are recounted from its first inception as a fort to a military station, followed by the church and a Jesuit college that endured until 1835. Jesuits used the city as one of the major way stations for missionaries on their way to Asia, for Macau was the threshold to China.

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Next the focus turns to Macau's visitors, real and imaginary. Perhaps the most famous was St. Francis Xavier, who died on a nearby island without reaching the city. Matteo Ricci, that formidable Confucian scholar, stopped briefly in Macau on his way into China. Portugal's greatest poet, Luis Vaz de Camões, who may or may not actually have visited the city, is locally believed to have written part of his epic, *The Lusiads*, there in the late sixteenth century. No matter, illusory celebrities are as important as actual ones and children's festivals today commemorate the poet's sojourn; a grotto overlooking the harbor is dedicated to him.

In a section devoted to the culture of everyday life, an elegant depiction of children's dances and the seventeenth-century Portuguese mania for tilting on horseback keeps easy company with a digression on Macau's prominence in late twentieth-century Grand Prix auto racing. The city's recent emergence as Asia's casino gambling capital is touched on only lightly, but gardens and parks figure conspicuously, as do food, dress, and Chinese and European perceptions of one another. The spiritual geography of the city merits attention with descriptions of the city's Chinese temples and shrines, old and new, and visions of its many Christian churches. This slim volume closes with a chapter titled "Illusions," which returns to the opening theme of the elusive nature of Macau, its ephemeral creations, and its isolation, embracing both past and present.

Theoretic issues and analytical devices that scholars of Chinese urban history have been applying lately have no place in this book. Specialists will search in vain for discussions of modernization, central-place theory, imperialism, world economy, or the emergence of the bourgeoisie. Nor do we see the effects of colonial or post-colonial studies or hear the voices of subalterns. This book is not intended to address such concerns, nor is its bibliography up to date in these matters. Rather, it shares a certain poetic ambiance with Keith Schoppa's *Xiang Lake* (1987) and offers insights into the cadence of daily life similar to those in David Strand's *Rickshaw Beijing* (1989). Porter's book reminds us that a city should be savored, not just analyzed.

LINDA COOKE JOHNSON
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LAWRENCE D. KESSLER. *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951*. (The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, number 61.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 212. $24.95.

This history of the Jiangyin mission station of the former Presbyterian Church of the United States (the "Southern Presbyterian" Church) gives evidence of more than the "American missionary community in China" noted in the book's subtitle. Lawrence D. Kessler unfolds the twentieth-century experience of Jiangyin, a city of modest size on the Yangzi River about 100 miles from Shanghai, from the perspective of American medical missionaries and missionary educators who were on the scene. The book reflects exhaustive research in missionary and church archives, personal accounts, and other materials (including United States diplomatic documents and some Chinese sources that corroborate or extend archival findings), leading the author to conclude that the mission was part of Jiangyin city's history more on the basis of its secular activities—a hospital and schools for boys and girls—than its religious message.

Kessler plays this theme with effect, showing what he labels the "social gospel" at work in American missions coincident with rising nationalism and modernization in China. While the pioneers of the mission literally were run out of town in 1896 and had to reclaim the station with help from the United States consul, three decades later Jiangyin city officials held a grand celebration for the missionaries in recognition of their contributions to the community.

What accounts for the altered reception by the Chinese, and why did the 1925 celebration mark the "pinnacle of success" (p. 65) for the Jiangyin station? Kessler explores these questions with reference to the political instability of China in the last years of the Qing dynasty and well into the new Republic. Competitors for local political authority engendered armed conflict that episodically brought Jiangyin residents to the missionary compound for protection under the mission's privilege of extraterritoriality, and missionaries even took on the role of peacekeepers who initiated negotiations to clear up local troubles.

The Jiangyin station was testimony to growing corporate enterprise by way of its relationship with the First Presbyterian Church of Wilmington, North Carolina, which provided the station with over four decades of targeted giving. Important to this relationship were missionaries from the Wilmington church, particularly Dr. George Worth, who was at Jiangyin for the duration of his career. With his own salary covered by a trust fund set up by his father for the purpose, Worth was bold in his pursuit of others' philanthropy. His identification of the mission's needs and constant letters home show Worth to have been a model steward of the station's patronage, which also included the long-term support of the Women's Auxiliary of the Wilmington Presbytery for the mission hospital and money contributed by members of the Jiangyin elite for an X-ray machine.

What happened to diminish the high esteem Jiangyin city seemed to provide the missionaries in the mid-1920s and to reduce the high profile of the mission even before the Chinese Communists established a new national government in 1949 and signaled the end of China missions? Kessler offers several points of explanation, including Jiangyin's relatively successful transition to Chinese management of missionary enterprises (as mandated by China's Nationalist regime in the late 1920s), the drying up of funds provided by

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the home church's large-scale donor (cotton merchant James Sprunt), the disruptions of China's war with Japan, and the diversification of Southern Presbyterian missionary objectives in the late 1940s.

Kessler's argument that the Jiangyin station was successful through secular mission activities affirms other studies of the history of China missions and seems unsurprising. The implication that secular missions came with the so-called social gospel of the late nineteenth century, however, neglects the medical and educational institutions that were part of the Anglo-American Protestant missionary effort in China decades earlier. These concerns aside, the book is a valuable depiction of American humanitarian expansion and an excellent context for analysis of American-Chinese interaction. Kessler's narrative and many interpretive insights, such as the notion that expensive advanced equipment and adequate overseas funding delayed Chinese ability to assume indigenous control of missionary operations, make for productive reading.

SUZANNE WILSON BARNETT
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PIPER RAE GAUBATZ. *Beyond the Great Wall: Urban Form and Transformation on the Chinese Frontiers*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 378. $49.50.

Piper Rae Gaubatz's book is an originally conceived study that will be most appreciated by geographers, urban historians, and those who do research on nineteenth and twentieth-century China. Gaubatz has chosen five cities—Xining, Lanzhou, Hohhot, Urumqi, and Kunming—located at the boundaries or beyond the borders of what has been considered China proper for most of the last five millennium through which to investigate the social, political, cultural, and visual issues of frontier settlement and society.

Although historically the Chinese have been very aware of their land and sea borders, no Chinese scholar up to this century has attempted to articulate a shared ideology of border settlement. In the West, only Owen Lattimore, beginning more than fifty years ago, addressed such questions, often from the point of view of one who traveled and resided there. Thus, for comparative and theoretical issues, Gaubatz has rightly turned to the work of John Reps, Richard Wade, and Frederick Jackson Turner. For the most part, she has interpreted data gathered during fieldwork at all five cities in the 1980s.

Gaubatz's thesis is that distinctive, multicultural elements not present in China's major urban centers (cities on the north central plain or in the southeast) exist in cities on the Chinese frontier, and that urban centers on the Chinese frontier link both the native and non-Chinese and the urban and rural populations. The Chinese frontier is shown to be a point of exchange where trade has been more successful to Chinese aspirations than conquest. In order to prove these points, Gaubatz has examined population growth and composition in each city through history, city plans, local or regional records, and architecture. Crucial to her investigation are the presence of non-Chinese ethnic and religious populations (such as Uyghurs, Mongols, or Muslims) in all five cities.

Gaubatz's book consists of an introduction followed by ten chapters. In the first and second chapters, the reader will find historical background and descriptions, including historical and contemporary maps. For each city's history, Gaubatz relies primarily on secondary accounts in Chinese. Anyone who has seriously investigated these cities will find the discussion of first-millennium A.D. ethnic groups too general, perhaps even superficial.

The argument in chapter three is that China's frontier cities do not fit into conventional categorizations. Gaubatz supports her idea with evidence, and others who have studied Chinese cities should have no reason to dispute her claim. In chapters four through six, the five frontier cities are examined in comparison to standard morphological and conceptual models of Chinese cities. The author does a fine job of defining the necessary components of Chinese urbanism, features such as textual prescriptions, idealized norms including the relation between the city and the human body, site selection, Chinese geomancy, and standard institutions. The text moves into distinctive aspects of urbanism on the Chinese frontier, especially Muslim and Lamaist (Buddhist) elements in the cities surveyed. Much of the discussion of Muslim elements relies on evidence from South and West Asia. Gaubatz suggests that evidence for Muslim Central Asia is slim, but in fact, the sizeable body of literature in Russian would afford serious comparative analysis between urbanism on Russia's eastern frontier and at China's borders. In chapter six, Gaubatz makes several important points about the Chinese urban frontier. Based on her data, she shows that proper orientation is more important than a city's plan, in part because of the common perception that a Chinese city is enclosed by a regularly shaped wall. Gaubatz argues that traditional Chinese patterns of urban settlement have persisted into the second half of the twentieth century in the five cities. Those who have been in any of these cities for longer than a tourist visit will find the discussion in this chapter and the next one extremely interesting, for it makes sense of observably ideosyncratic aspects of social life and formal organization.

In chapters seven and eight, Gaubatz examines the two major classifications of Chinese architecture—monumental and vernacular—in the environment of the frontier. Regarding the first type of architecture, she demonstrates its existence both in native Chinese format and in forms more ethnically allied to the frontier. She addresses the fact that architecture associated with China's minority populations (mosques or Lamaist temples, for example) is also present in China's inland cities. The locations of architecture important to residents of the frontier cities are plotted on maps to emphasize the relation between position and

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significance. In the discussion of vernacular architecture, Gaubatz describes residential space associated with each of her five geographic areas but does not fail to recognize that terrain and climate dictate vernacular forms as much as specifically frontier issues.

The titles of the last two chapters, "Persistence of Traditional Forms" and "Contemporary Transformations," suggest the author's conclusions. The presence of forms of the traditional Chinese city on the frontier has been a running theme of the book. In her discussion of the five cities today, Gaubatz makes an important point: that the resettlement of the Han (native Chinese) population to the frontier in the 1950s and 1960s has had a profound impact on the cities and their spaces. The discussion of the last decades in five frontier cities would have been the logical place to ask some additional questions. Are there perceiveable differences among the residents (particularly Han Chinese) in quality and style of life (disregarding climate) in the five cities? If resettled to the Chinese frontier, is it preferable to be in Kunming or in Hohhot? Or is the frontier in general still representative of a way of life and implied separation as it was when the Great Wall stood? Interviews with the residents of these towns and comparisons between those observations and the writings of residents of the Chinese frontier through history would have fit well into the concluding chapter.

This is a unique investigation of Chinese geography and Chinese urbanism. Gaubatz raises and answers questions relevant to Chinese society and the social sciences that have not been addressed before. The study provides information for future comparative studies with frontiers in other parts of the world. It also should give way to future investigations in this uncharted area of Chinese studies.

NANCY SHATZMAN STEINHARDT
University of Pennsylvania

FRANK DIKÖTTER. *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 233. $28.00.

Building on Michel Foucault's history of sexuality as a technique of modern state power, Sinologists have begun to examine how the Western discourse of "sexuality" insinuated itself into China in the early twentieth century. Or did it? Frank Dikötter distills over 350 popular and scholarly publications on sexuality in China, from roughly 1915 to 1935, and argues that the Western sexual discourses merged with centuries-old Chinese views. He thus wants to trace, not the history of a clash between East and West, but the "emergence of a plurality of intertwined modernities that have diverse origins and many directions" (p. 12). This is the first book-length work to articulate this controversial stance against a monolithic, modern sexuality in twentieth-century China, but it is too slim to be the definitive work on the subject.

An important yardstick in measuring the presence of Foucauldian "sexuality" has been the stigmatization of the "perverse homosexual." Bret Hinsch's *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China* (1990) argued that hostility toward homosexuality was learned from Christian missionaries and other Western moralists in the twentieth century. Dikötter takes issue with Hinsch, arguing that homosexuality was never singled out as a particular category of deviant behavior, not even in the twentieth century; rather, it was thrown together with all kinds of extramarital sex (prostitution, sodomy, rape, adultery) that were undesirable because they did not lead to legitimate procreation within marriage. This attitude was evident in the late Qing legal code from the mid-eighteenth century on and hence was not a Western import. It becomes clear that Dikötter's analysis of homosexuality is incomplete, however, when we realize that he does not discuss female homosexuality, perhaps because it was not a preoccupation of his sources (but neither does he devote attention to the few writers, such as Pan Guangdan, who did discuss it). Matthew Sommer ("The Penetrated Male in Late Imperial China," *Modern China* 23: 2 [April 1997]: 140–80) shows that while male homosexuality might not have been marked as "perverse," it was clearly regarded, along with the other forms of extramarital sex, as a threat to patriarchal authority, while female homosexuality was not. Dikötter's discussions largely revolve around the medical discourses in his primary sources, so we learn little about religious, familial, legal, and other discourses. Since these are precisely the source of the plurality that Dikötter claims for China against the hegemony of Western medical discourse, the picture he paints is incomplete.

Dikötter offers a counterbalance to the general Eurocentrism in histories of sexuality with summaries of the literature on topics such as reproductive physiology, venereal disease, eugenics, and masturbation. These discussions illustrate the merging of Western science and classical Chinese medicine in, for example, the influence of the classical yin/yang binary on discussions of the passivity of the female sexual response. Another worthy contribution is his outline of new discursive categories that became targets for reformist interventions: these included "sexual desire," "population," and "youth." Dikötter's discussion of "womanhood," however, seems peculiarly weak compared to the work by Tani Barlow, which he does not cite ("Theorizing Woman: *Funü, Guojia, Jiating*," in Barlow and Angela Zito, eds., *Body, Subject and Power in China* [1994]; also related articles elsewhere). Barlow describes how the republican neologism "woman" (*funü*, *nüxing*) functioned as a state category representing all women, who became the object of modernization efforts—points that would have furthered Dikötter's main theme, if he had made them. The omission seems curious in that his useful bibliography of over 100 secondary sources includes almost all of the other English-language work on Chinese sexuality.

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Dikötter has a knack for choosing up-and-coming topics and beating others into print. This was true of his first book, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (1992), and it is also true of this one which, judging from the number of related dissertations and books-in-progress, has preceded the crest of a small flood. As the Chinese proverb observes, "The rear waves of the Long River push the front waves." At the moment this book is functioning as a foundational reference, but it is really too lean to push the field as far forward as it might have.

SUSAN BROWNELL
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BRIAN G. MARTIN. *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. x, 314. $40.00.

This book joins a number of recent studies on Shanghai suggesting that there were limits to the city's modernity, beneath whose veneer life pulsed to traditional rhythms as age-old organizations adapted new forms. In *Native Place, City, and Nation* (1995), Bryna Goodman has argued that one of the key formative elements in Shanghai were the native place associations founded by the city's immigrants to negotiate their new environment. According to Goodman, these organizations should be seen not as reflexive traditional responses to demographic shifts, but rather as social arrangements that served specific economic and political purposes within the new context.

Brian G. Martin begins where Goodman ends by asserting that the processes of change in Shanghai "not only encouraged the emergence of new social forces but also witnessed the reconstitution in new forms of certain traditional social organizations . . . that helped to influence the type of 'modern' society that emerged in China's cities" (p. 1).

Martin addresses the role played by "old-style" secret societies in urban China and their relationship to the state systems of the republican period. Specifically, he argues that the Shanghai Green Gang (GG), controlled by Du Yuesheng and other bosses in the French Concession, was a resilient social organization that readily adapted to the complex environment of a modernizing urban society.

After exploring the emergence of the GG from the associations of rural Jiangbei and portraying it as a loose network of competing groups, wherein between 1919 and 1949 forty-eight prominent leaders vied for power and influence, Martin demonstrates how opium and the desire for its revenue served as the vehicle for GG boss Du Yuesheng's rise to power in Shanghai.

It was first necessary for Du to secure control over the narcotics operations in Shanghai, which he did by establishing a close working relationship with the major opium merchants from Chaozhou. The turning point in this endeavor came in 1925, when the GG were able to take over the syndicate of their chief rival, the Big Eight Mob, headquartered in the International Settlement. GG control of Shanghai's opium led to the emergence of organized crime and allowed for the spread of Du Yuesheng's control to other Shanghai GG groups.

The Three Prosperities Company, created by the GG to incorporate the Big Eight Mob and to deal with its opium business, also provided a strong basis for subsequent negotiations with the authorities in the French Concession. In 1927, the desire for revenue led to the establishment of a tax farm within the concession and the creation of an alliance that called for French tolerance of GG opium and gambling interests in return for GG support in maintaining internal security within the concession. The alliance reached its height under the administration of Consul Edgar Koechlin (1929–1931) and was greatly facilitated by the fact that local gang bosses and detective chiefs were often one and the same person.

Between 1927 and 1932, the Guomindang's (GMD) failure to establish an opium monopoly left Du Yuesheng and the GG free to expand their narcotics operations through arrangements with independent regional militarists, but after its reorganization of 1932, the GMD, owing to serious financial problems, established its own opium monopoly in which Du Yuesheng once again became the leading tax farmer and the GMD's sole opium agent in Shanghai. As he became part of the GMD corporatist state, Du's network of personal power underwent simultaneous processes of institutionalization. As the only GG boss to reorganize in this way, Du successfully enhanced his own position within the local Chinese political structures and the Shanghai bourgeoisie. He ultimately controlled the Chamber of Commerce, involved himself in labor mediation, and provided the headquarters for the Shanghai Citizens Maintenance Association.

So successful were Du's efforts that by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, his organization had become an intrinsic element of GMD state power in Shanghai and he himself a leading political figure and powerful ally of the state.

Martin's well-researched book is drawn primarily from materials in the Shanghai Municipal Police files, the Ministre des Affaires Etrangers in Paris, and the British Foreign Office in London. Its centerpiece is one of the most intriguing stories of twentieth-century China: the rise of a remarkable gangster, politician, and community pillar, a fascinating man whose legacy is very much alive throughout China today. Thus it is sad that in Martin's rendition, the story has been so dryly told. The human drama of this epoch was totally submerged in a sea of pedantic organizational detail that will keep the general reader fighting to stay with it and all of us clamoring for more of the human dimension—the interaction and intrigue that colored the lives of these fascinating individuals.

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FREDERIC WAKEMAN, JR.. *The Shanghai Badlands: Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937–1941.* (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 227. $49.95.

In the summer of 1937, forces of the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy began a full-scale invasion of the China mainland. After one of the most intense battles in human history, the Chinese Nationalist military retreated to the interior of China, where Chiang Kai-shek would make his wartime capital. Left in its wake were millions of Chinese, who would live under Japanese occupation for nearly eight years. In their midst was Shanghai, one of the largest cities in the world and an anomaly in Japan's New Order. Much of this metropolis was a foreign enclave. One portion was controlled by the French; another, the International Settlement, was dominated by British and American interests. From November 1937 until December 1941, this foreign zone became an "isolated island" (*gudao*), a neutral unoccupied area, surrounded by Japanese-held territory.

This "isolated island" became the scene of terrorism, espionage, and crime outrageous even by Shanghai standards. Forces loyal to Chiang Kai-shek undertook a systematic war of terrorism against the Japanese and their puppets. Japanese "special services" countered with intense and sometimes random brutality. The Japanese puppet regime in Nanjing created its own "special services" replete with Communist and Guomindang turncoats as well as run-of-the-mill gangsters. Since the Japanese failed to fund their Chinese allies, the latter turned to drug trafficking, extortion, and kidnapping. Against this backdrop of chaos, the Western powers attempted to maintain their economic stake in Shanghai and forestall a Japanese seizure of the settlements.

Frederic Wakeman, Jr.'s brief but masterful study of this entanglement explicates the war of terror in gruesome, almost numbing detail. A fascinating read, this book reveals a record of espionage, defection, and betrayal that makes the experiences of wartime Casablanca and Lisbon pale by comparison. The cast of characters includes well-known figures such as Dai Li, Chiang's head of intelligence; Du Yuesheng, the Shanghai gangster and Dai's erstwhile ally; and Li Shiqun, who headed the puppet regime's notorious special police. The obscure run the gamut from two-ton Chang, a 315-pound gangster employed by the Japanese, to Liu Geqing, who assassinated the puppet government's foreign minister, Chen Lu, to "Jack Riley," Shanghai's slot machine king, who was actually an escaped convict from Oklahoma.

And what of the impact of this war of terror? When the Japanese occupied the foreign settlements after Pearl Harbor, they imposed a harsh but effective regime on Shanghai. Wakeman suggests that the intense and violent period of the "isolated island" left Shanghai residents so demoralized that resistance was virtually nil. The terror also contributed to the diplomatic entanglements of the major powers leading up to Pearl Harbor and helped to create a climate of opinion in America that fostered termination of commercial relations with Japan.

This book will be required reading for students of World War II. In particular, those interested in comparative work on occupied zones but who do not read Chinese will have a major new source. Students of espionage and terrorist organizations will likewise find this work instructive. Wakeman details the organization and operational techniques of both Dai Li's organization and Li Shiqun's special police. Scholars of modern China will also find much of interest. The eight years of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) are arguably the most important yet least studied era in modern Chinese history.

Wakeman's study is based on extensive materials, including newly available published and archival sources from China, as well as the police records of the former International Settlement. There are disappointing aspects. The work ends as abruptly as the Japanese seizure of the "isolated island." An extensive conclusion discussing the period from 1941 to 1945 and drawing out issues of collaboration and resistance would have been desirable. Use of Japanese materials might have given an added dimension, as the Japanese side of the story is not developed. Despite these gaps, Wakeman's work opens the door to an important aspect of China's wartime experience.

PARKS M. COBLE
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GREGOR BENTON. *China's Urban Revolutionaries: Explorations in the History of Chinese Trotskyism, 1921–1952.* (Revolutionary Studies.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1996. Pp. v, 269. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.50.

The title of Gregor Benton's book is misleading. This is not a book about cities or about how urban realities shape politics. The most that could be said for the urban nature of Chinese Trotskyists is that they disliked peasants, fantasied about organizing urban workers, and spent their political lives in cities (often in jail).

The power of Trotskyism in Chinese political history turns on Leon Trotsky having been right about the unreliability of the Nationalist Party as an ally for the fledgling Chinese Communists. The Nationalists' bloody attack on the Communists in 1927 deeply embarrassed Joseph Stalin, who was caught unaware and confidently predicting that the Communists would ride the Nationalists to power in China. As Benton usefully points out, Trotsky's opposition to the Nationalist-Communist alliance was belated rather than prescient. But his stand against Stalin was attractive to a number of Chinese Communists who later formed the small (several hundred members) group of Trotskyists

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who are the subject of Benton's study. Benton makes much of the theoretical value of Trotskyism as applied to China. Trotsky argued that the history of "backward" countries like China does not conform to a neat progression of stages (e.g. feudal, capitalist, socialist) but rather exhibits a "planless, complex, combined character" resulting in "an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms." This was a shrewd observation and seems to prefigure more recent discussions of "hybridity" as a feature of postcolonial or postimperial polities. But Benton's own account suggests that the distinguishing feature of Trotskyism in China was less a theoretical position than a taste for unremitting opposition. Trotskyists especially opposed each other. Benton claims that Chinese Trotskyists failed to gain power or even much influence not because they lacked ideas or were politically inept, but because they suffered from combined Nationalist and Communist repression. But he also admits that by the time their members were released from Nationalist jails in the 1930s, they "were unable to develop a strategy for taking advantage of the new opportunities opened up by the war" (p. 60). Despite Benton's claims for broad influence, possibly the largest impact Trotskyism had in China related to the tendency of Communist authorities to label anyone they wished to liquidate "Trotskyist." Many Communists died or were persecuted during their own revolution as unwilling or uncomprehending "recruits" to Trotskyism.

Benton also tries to make a case for Chinese Trotskyists as democrats. Because they failed to win power, Chinese Trotskyists avoided becoming a part of the Chinese Communist Party's dictatorial monolith. They retained a faction-prone and undisciplined party life resembling that of the early period of Chinese Communist history. Their program for China in the 1930s was wholly unrealistic. But since it included a national assembly elected by secret ballot, one might, with effort, imagine Trotskyists as standard bearers for a democratic China. Benton says they were "prophets before their time" (p. 115). More plausibly, they were prophets after their time, "predicting" in the 1930s and, ever after, what had happened in 1927.

DAVID STRAND
Dickinson College

MAURICE MEISNER. *The Deng Xiaoping Era: An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978–1994*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. xiv, 544. $30.00.

Maurice Meisner's new book is presented as an analysis of the post-Mao period in Chinese history; more specifically, it describes how Deng Xiaoping's promise of "socialist democracy," made shortly after his return to power in 1978, degenerated into a form of repressive bureaucratic capitalism. Meisner shows that the market reforms that Deng introduced to break down the state-controlled economy led to the enrichment of party and state officials who used their political power not only to establish provincial, town, and rural enterprises but also to grant private entrepreneurs access to resources, land, and markets in return for payment. The market economy benefited officials even more than the new middle class.

Bureaucratic capitalism is not new to China. Meisner traces its practice to imperial China, where it was called "official supervision; merchant management." Scholar-officials profited from a vast network of commercial enterprises through customarily sanctioned bribery. Under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, this traditional business practice continued in the Republican period (1928–1949). Because Mao Zedong had stamped out the entrepreneurial class and private property, Meisner points out, the rural and urban entrepreneurial elites of the Deng era are not only more subject to control *by* officials but are largely composed *of* officials and their relatives and friends. Even the portion of the new middle class that is private depends on officials for its very existence and functioning.

Although many Western scholars and politicians insist that China's capitalist market economy will in time produce political democracy, Meisner asserts that the dependence of China's middle class on the bureaucracy makes that unlikely. In its own interest, this class will continue to compromise with the existing system, which he depicts as perpetrating massive corruption, political dictatorship, growing inequality, ideological and cultural conservatism, and intensive exploitation of the working population (pp. 466–67). Although Meisner grants that the market economy has generated new social groups that enjoy higher standards of living and half the rural class, over 400 million people, have become non-agricultural workers, he describes them as working under the harsh conditions of early industrialization while millions of others are reduced to destitution. Such a system, he insists, cannot produce the vigorous, independent middle class necessary for development of democracy.

Meisner's description of the post-Mao growth of bureaucratic capitalism is vivid and persuasive, but it is only part of the picture. Unquestionably, bureaucratic capitalism exists in China today, but much else exists as well. The Deng reforms did not begin, as he argues, from above. They started from below. When the peasants began to take their land out of the commune after the Cultural Revolution, Deng then ordered the decollectivization of agriculture, reawakening China's entrepreneurial skills. The establishment of rural industries, as Deng himself said, was completely unplanned. Without education and jobs, Red Guards and others at the end of the Culutural Revolution started their own businesses. Again, the regime confirmed what was already happening on the ground. Meisner correctly points out that officials became involved and tried to control these grass roots entrepreneurial activities, but they did not succeed completely. Post-Mao China is not simply a replay of the Imperial and Republican eras. Entrepeneurial activity and its en-

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gagement with the outside world has never been so widespread and so varied.

True, as Meisner observes, civil society as practiced in the West does not exist in China, but cultural and intellectual pluralism and outside influences go much deeper and are spread much farther than even in the freer early decades of the twentieth century. Furthermore, new monographic studies reveal that in several regions informal alliances outside the party's purview outpace the bureaucratic alliances. Private entrepreneurs in areas such as Wenzhou are gradually shifting the balance between the public and private sectors. While associations of small-scale merchants remain subservient to officials, associations of large scale entrepreneurs, as they acquire more wealth and grow less reliant on state resources, have become more assertive vis-à-vis the bureaucracy.

Meisner concludes that the Deng leadership "fatally linked a capitalist market economy to a Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus" (p. 523). The post-Mao bureaucracy is authoritarian but not Stalinist. A few purges have been launched, but they peter out and the number of political prisoners cannot compare to the millions once held in the Soviet gulag or even in Mao's China. Whole groups of people are no longer attacked merely for belonging to the "wrong" class. In fact, while there is little political freedom, there is more personal and even academic freedom than at any other time since the 1949 revolution. True, as Meisner points out, little of socialism survives. The socialist values of "egalitarianism, collectivism, self sacrifice and solidarity" (p. 495) have been replaced by materialism, consumerism, and money. But Meisner does not explain that Mao twisted these lofty values to create a utopia that led to the death by famine of 30 million in the Great Leap Forward and the persecution of millions in the Cultural Revolution. China's new values are not imposed by its leaders, they are embraced by the population in reaction to their experiences in the Mao era. Deng's China is still repressive, but it is an era that is more responsive to the demands of the population than the despotic regimes of Joseph Stalin or Mao.

MERLE GOODMAN
Boston University

GARY P. LEUPP. *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 310. $35.00.

This ought to have been an important book. Gary P. Leupp deals with a subject that has not previously received serious scholarly attention—the structure of homosexual relations in early modern Japan—and he attempts to do so within the context of the current debate over whether homosexuality is innate and physiological or determined, at least in part, by cultural norms and expectations. The book also makes a contribution to gender studies in its discussion of how masculinity and femininity can be so constructed that, in the right situation, it is perfectly appropriate for a man to dress and act like a woman, both in public and private, and vice versa.

The period between 1600 and 1868 saw the heyday of a specific form of homosexuality in Japan. It was characterized by the anal penetration of a youth or a man in the role of a youth by a man who, in the context of the relationship, could be considered the elder. It seldom took the form of mutual masturbation and never involved fellatio. It was thus inherently unequal. It was also impermanent. Both partners were expected to outgrow their predilection for this activity, marry, and produce progeny. Those who did not might well become the objects of ridicule.

Two historical traditions produced this homosexual culture. The first was monastic Buddhism as it developed in Japan. The prohibition of desire was taken to mean that a good monk would not have sex with women. Sex with boys was so much a lesser evil that it became widely practiced because, after all, even monks are human. Samurai norms of conduct also had an impact both on practice and on the way homosexual relations were perceived in society. Men in warrior bands might forge intimate and long-lasting relationships, particularly given the absence of women in military encampments, but the most characteristic and celebrated relationships were those between lords and vassals. In a society where loyalty to a superior was valued over the filial piety owed parents or the love between husband and wife, a subordinate's devotion to his superior easily acquired homoerotic overtones. The most famous warriors in Japanese history, including the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu, were known to have enjoyed having young pages keep their beds warm. In the seventeenth century, the concentration of large numbers of men in cities and the rise of a specifically urban culture transformed the earlier homosexual tradition from its emphasis on exclusive, long-term commitments to relationships mediated by money. Sex became just another commercial transaction, and the manners and mores of prostitutes, male and female, informed much of popular culture.

The construction of a strong and widely recognized homosexual tradition had two consequences. First, it tended to structure the norms for romantic heterosexual relationships. The paraphernalia for love pledges replicated those for brotherhood bonds, as did the practice of lovers committing suicide in order to remain together throughout eternity. Second, homosexual relationships were and are generally tolerated as long as they do not threaten the social fabric, political balance of power, or family interests.

Leupp's book is exhaustive rather than insightful. It provides much information drawn from a wide variety of materials that relate to Japanese notions of sexuality but makes little attempt to evaluate them. Literary texts, especially the novels by Ihara Saikaku, are often treated as though they are unproblematic reflections of a social reality. Qualifiers such as "rather," "may," and

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"possibly" replace textual analysis. Texts from diffferent periods are mingled together, obviating the changes that took place between 1700 and 1850. Terms such as "feudalism" and "Confucianism" are used uncritically. Generalizations are made on the basis of little evidence, much of it dubious in quality (e.g., p. 63). For the most part, Leupp ignores issues of domination and control. Prostitution and anal penetration are not necessarily about sex; they can also involve assertions of power over another person, especially when the intent is to cause "severe pain," not pleasure (pp. 110 and 257, n. 84). The argument is all too often disjointed, the same evidence is repeated over and over, and texts that have nothing to do with homosexuality are presented in a context that makes it appear that they do (p. 34). Leupp also makes some striking mistakes: Izanagi is a male god (p. 117), and the first emperor of Japan was Jimmu, not Kanmu (p. 217). I hesitate to assign this book to students or to recommend it to colleagues, simply because of its sloppy scholarship.

ANNE WALTHALL
University of California, Irvine

PETER DUUS, RAMON H. MYERS, and MARK R. PEATTIE, editors. *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xlvii, 375. $49.50.

This is the third and last in a most useful series on modern Japanese imperialism edited by Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie. These volumes have been increasingly presented as the standard reference to the state of the field, much in the mode of the Cambridge History series. The book shares many of the virtues and weaknesses of that canon form. For those who know little about the subject, it is a helpful introduction. For people with some familiarity in the field, it plugs holes and gathers much known and predictable information in a systematic way (although, to be fair, these volumes do present more original research than the Cambridge History is supposed to present). Its chief weakness, which it shares with all series of this sort, is that it remains relatively untouched by trends in scholarship outside the standard (political economy) framework; in this case, cultural studies that seek to address the meanings and experiences of imperialism on the ground.

Given the nature of the volume, it is hard to discern an overall argument, although there is a recurrent theme about the Japanese empire during the war. This is the theme of the over-extension of Japanese power, especially after 1937, which led to the unravelling of an imperial system that had been quite well integrated in northeast Asia and Taiwan from a military and economic perspective. Indeed, much of the material presented can be organized around questions generated from this theme. Thus, the introductory essay by Duus and one on the southward expansion of the Japanese military by Peattie explore the forces that caused the Japanese military to spread itself so thin, and the essay by Louise Young shows how widespread and well-organized support for this expansion was within Japan. For Wan-yao Chou and Carter Eckert, writing about Taiwan and Korea, the new situation allows them to ask questions about loyalties as well as opportunities that appeared in these older colonies when the colonizers were forced to rely on them, as junior partners of a sort, in the southward drive. The enthusiastic response by youth in both colonies to the military recruitment drives by the Japanese Imperial Army in the 1940s is testimony, albeit ambivalent as Chou reveals, to this partnership.

Myers's essay on the "modern enclave economy"—one of the few conceptually suggestive ones—tries to understand the distinctiveness of Japanese imperialism in an era when the old extractive imperialism had become obsolete. Japan, Manchukuo, and North China became integrated into a single economy between 1931 and 1945; but here too, the strength of this enclave economy was eroded precisely by its overextension beyond North China. Takafusa Nakamura reinforces this point when he shows how and why Japan could not develop the yen bloc beyond Manchukuo, especially into central and south China where the Chinese Nationalist currency, backed by the dollar and pound, remained strong. A final set of questions deals with the Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia under the circumstances of the Pacific War. The dominant tone here is one of missed opportunities. Unlike the reception of Japanese armies in Chinese territories, local nationalists in most of Southeast Asia, responding to the Japanese rhetoric of liberation and brotherhood, greeted them with cautious enthusiasm. Again, it was the pressures produced by overextension and the hubris of Japanese imperialists that dashed the hopes of these nationalists and soured relations.

There are, of course, other themes and a couple of essays that do not speak directly to overextension. An informative, if somewhat clinical essay on "comfort women" appears to have been tacked on somewhat expeditiously; a tendentious essay by L. H. Gann ends the volume with some superficial comparisons to German imperialism that do little to deepen our understanding of Japanese imperialism. But if I am correct in assuming that the theme of overextension produces not only a distinct period (roughly 1937–1945) but also a picture of the Japanese empire before that period, we may well ask about the extent to which the seeds of the latter period were not sown in the earlier one. And might we not have a much better understanding of these continuities if we examine underlying Japanese colonial discourses? Myers himself points to such a conclusion when he suggests (p. 140) that the ideology of an "East Asian alliance" in the early 1930s forebode the future war, and Young's essay points to ways in which the transition can be understood by looking at popular nationalism within Japan. It is clear that the

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next generation of scholarship on Japanese imperialism will have to address these questions as well.

PRASENJIT DUARA
University of Chicago

CHRISTOPHER HOWE. *The Origins of Japanese Trade Supremacy: Development and Technology in Asia from 1540 to the Pacific War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 471. $49.95.

This book is a unique interpretive synthesis on the historical roots of Japan's rise as a trading superpower. No other work in English approaches Christopher Howe's combination of a sweeping historical perspective with a comprehensive yet indepth analysis of factors underlying Japan's pre-1940 economic "miracle." Howe's thesis is that Japan's recent commercial and industrial successes "are not purely post-war phenomena. Rather, their foundations lie buried in Japanese history" (p. xvii) and in "the accumulation of a wide range of skills and technological capability" (p. xxiii). A corollary to this central argument is that Japan's global commercial ascendancy has not been "a wholly economic event" (p. 426); a full understanding of the Japanese experience requires its placement in a broader context that takes into account an array of political, social, and other non-economic forces. To specialists in Japanese economic history, these are scarcely novel ideas. Recent studies by Shinya Sugiyama, William Wray, and others have addressed similar themes. What sets this work apart, however, is its almost breathtaking scope, together with its integration of a vast amount of published material into a multifaceted explanation of the subject.

The time span indicated in the book's subtitle ("from 1540 to the Pacific War") is somewhat misleading, suggesting a more superficial and overly ambitious coverage than the work actually provides. In fact, the treatment of the period prior to Japan's opening in the 1850s occupies only a sixth of the book. The two chapters that deal with this era offer a useful summary of the premodern background, their main strength being to set the latter in the wider context of changes in the international environment. The following three chapters primarily examine trends in Japanese foreign trade from 1853 to 1937. The book then turns to a series of case studies of various aspects of trade development in prewar Japan: specifically, the roles of government policy, private enterprise in the cotton textile industry, technology, and Japan's formal and informal empire. These studies represent the principal contribution of the work, supplying as they do penetrating analyses of such topics as exchange rate and technology policies, the international rise of Japanese textiles, and economic imperialism in East Asia.

Howe draws on a variety of Western and Asian-language materials, most of them secondary works (including recent Japanese studies). One of the more frequently cited contemporary sources is the *North China Herald*, which appears to offer a broader perspective than that of the Japan-based English-language press, in keeping with the author's stated goal of studying Japan in relation to its larger regional context. The notes themselves contain a wealth of information including such gems as the story of the Japanese officials in the mid-1860s who sailed off enthusiastically on the modern steamship they had just purchased in Europe, only to discover no one knew how to stop the ship; they had to steam around in circles until their rescue by a French engineer (p. 270 n. 7). The editing is generally excellent, the only mentionable error being the omission of data referred to in the text on page 250.

Howe suggests that his intended audience is those "with little background in either Japanese or world history" (p. xix); this may partly account for the somewhat confusing practice—from a specialist's standpoint—of rendering Japanese titles in English after their first mention in the notes. On the other hand, the depth and sophistication of this book make it useful for students of both Japanese and comparative economic and political history, although the work would have been even more compelling if the author had elaborated on the connections between his story and that of Japan's postwar "miracle." As it is, we are left to wonder if "the post-war story is essentially the working-out of [prewar] capabilities" (p. xx), or if it "involves issues hardly touched upon here" (p. 430). The latter question notwithstanding, Howe has performed a commendable service in producing this illuminating study.

STEVEN J. ERICSON
Dartmouth College

DAVID G. MARR. *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxviii, 602. $50.00.

This book is David G. Marr's long-awaited *magnum opus* on the events that Vietnamese know as *Cach Mang Thang Tam* and Americans as the Vietnamese Revolution of 1945 or, more commonly, as the August Revolution. It follows hard upon the publication of Stein Tonnesson's impressive *The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh, and De Gaulle in a World at War* (1991), with which it will inevitably be compared. Both books in part resulted from a fruitful intellectual exchange between these two leading scholars of Vietnam's modern history: Tonnesson drew heavily on Marr's then-unpublished research results for many of his insights about indigenous developments in Vietnam; and Marr frequently cites Western-language archival materials unearthed by Tonnesson to flesh out his explanations of the international context. While Tonnesson's work is theoretically more sophisticated in its conceptualization of the term "revolution" and its applicability to the Vietnamese case (an issue that Marr virtually ignores) and more fully researched in terms of Western-language archival

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sources, Marr's book is more thoroughly grounded in previously unknown or under-exploited Vietnamese sources, including interviews with aging revolutionaries such as Tran Van Giau.

In contrast to Tonnesson's traditional linear narrative structure, Marr adopts a Rashomonesque approach that explores the relationships between and among the historical actors (the French, Japanese, Vietnamese, Chinese, Americans, and British) during the critical years between 1941 and 1945, as the Japanese military assumed and then relinquished control over French Indochina. While such an organization may at first appear chaotic, it militates against falling into "the teleological trap" and facilitates presentation of the work's main themes: history, and that of wars and revolutions in particular, is often chaotic, out of the control and indeed beyond the comprehension of the historical actors themselves; the "unforgettable days" of the summer of 1945, during which the Indochinese Communist Party/Viet Minh founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the wake of the Japanese collapse, did not unfold in a rationally planned and organized fashion, as both the supporters and opponents of the Communist Party have since maintained.

Marr demonstrates that the Viet Minh itself should be conceived of as a loosely organized and broadly based political movement rather than as an institutional entity subject to centralized control. In part, this was due to the inherent difficulties of communication and organization in a long, thin, and technologically backward land; in part to the repressive apparatuses put in place by the French and Japanese security services; in part to wartime confusion and destruction of Indochina's communications networks; and in part to dissension and personal rivalries within the Indochinese Communist Party itself. In this context, the local Viet Minh activists operating "beyond Hanoi"—in Hue, Saigon, and points in between—were mostly left to their own devices beyond the general guidance provided by pamphlets, newspapers, slogans, and occasional (and often delayed) directives from the (supposedly) leading organs. Indeed, even the basic question of who represented the Viet Minh in a given area was often contested, as the acrimonious disputes between Cochinchina's Vanguard Youth and the Liberation Groups illustrate. Thus, the so-called "Viet Minh seizure of power" was in many respects due more to the capacity of those local activists and organizations to improvise and adapt to changing circumstances than to the party's prescience or leadership. In Marr's words, during the heady days following the Japanese military's anti-French coup of March 1, 1945, "events took on spontaneous momentum, without any guiding hand. Local Communist Party members and Viet Minh adherents were successful more because of their ability to react quickly to sudden changes than because of any adherence to a master plan" (p. 6).

Western historians have generally lacked the requisite language skills for researching the internal history of the August Revolution, and the official Marxist historians working in the Democratic (now the Socialist) Republic of Vietnam have hitherto been concerned to perpetuate the sanitized and romanticized version of the August Days that has become the Republic's founding myth and the cornerstone of the party's legitimacy. Scholars and members of the educated public interested in World War II, the Vietnamese Revolution, and the "Vietnam Conflict" are therefore in Marr's debt for bringing to light the complexity, spontaneity, regional diversity, and multipolarity of the August Revolution.

With the publication of Tonnesson's and now Marr's books, it can be said that Western historians are in the forefront in contributing to the understanding of the confluence of indigenous and international factors that facilitated the seizure of power by the Viet Minh and the founding of the Democratic Republic; one can only hope that in the coming years the Vietnamese historians of the Socialist Republic, better placed institutionally, geographically, and linguistically, will take up the relay before many of the relevant documents and informed participants are lost forever.

MARK W. MCLEOD
University of Delaware

MARINA CARTER. *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874*. New York: Oxford University Press; in association with the Inter-faculty Committee for South Asian Studies, University of Oxford. 1995. Pp. xvi, 343. $24.95.

The indentured laborers who migrated to Mauritius from India between 1834 and 1874 make up the subject of Marina Carter's exhaustive study. The island's proximity to India is the reason this British possession in the Indian Ocean received the largest share of the 1.3 million Indians who went to Mauritius, the Caribbean, Natal, Reunion, and Fiji during the eighty-year period that the indentured system was in operation. Carter's book centers around many of the historiographical issues that have surrounded the system and arrives at conclusions that are compelling and persuasive.

Carter traces the movement of the migrants from the villages to their final destinations. She uses a wide range of sources (most notably the records in the Mauritian Immigration Series) that go beyond the "cognizance of the official world" and is therefore able to take her discussion "outside [of] the colonial discourse" to include the perspectives of the migrants themselves. Carter's conclusions are copiously supported by statistical data in tables and graphs.

On the important issue of selectivity of the recruits, Carter introduces material to suggest that returnee-recruits played a significantly more important role in the patterns of recruitment than has been acknowledged by scholars. For example, there were between ten and twenty of these "habitual migrants" on every immigrant ship between 1849 and 1853. While it is difficult to determine exactly what percentage of the

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over 412,000 migrants to Mauritius were returnee-recruits, Carter is correct in assuming that their presence in the sample is significant. She is thus able to conclude that the Mauritian experiment really falls between two types of labor recruitment systems that were in operation throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: namely, the *sirdari* or *kangani* system of private recruitment and the officially state-sponsored indentured system. In effect, the flow of migration was determined by conditions in Mauritius itself, and the returnee-recruits influenced who the migrants were and where they came from.

The implications of this new perspective are obvious. For one thing, the answers to the question of how the system worked must necessarily come from an investigation of conditions in the recipient colony. Carter does this superbly, although she does not neglect to examine the machinery established in India to recruit potential migrants. International factors such as the ebb and flow of demand for plantation products and the fluctuating price of sugar were important only insofar as they influenced the decisions made by planters. Moreover, if the migrants were important players in the recruitment process, they should also influence the way we look at the system. Indenture should not be regarded as an extension of the slave labor system it replaced, even though the "constraints inherent" in the process were severe. The collusion between the planter class and the colonial state would make it easy to see why humanitarian concerns were at their weakest in the decades from the 1850s through the 1870s, and why the terms and conditions of the contracts were neglected or circumscribed to the point that the official protection afforded workers was virtually absent. Indians were, however, able to establish "semi-autonomous social and cultural life" and to affirm their religious tradition, language, and dress. They were able to bring their families and acquire land, all of which suggest "a distinct break with the practices of slavery" (p. 295). Carter's study is admirable for the attention that it pays to gender, drawing on the works of others who have reflected on the exploitability and expendability of females in a system that was defined and run in a patriarchal environment.

It is her attention to the process by which the indentured migrants adapted and sustained themselves in the creation of community life that places Carter's book within the larger framework of global migration and immigration studies. While the indentured experience has some unique features, Carter suggests that there are also aspects to it that make it comparable to the migration of Europeans to the Americas. This excellent study leaves one important area unexplored: namely, the emerging nature of the relationships between the Indians and the African ex-apprentice populations as the two groups struggled to become part of the Mauritius we know today.

SURENDRA BHANA
University of Kansas

MICHAEL ROE. *Australia, Britain, and Migration, 1915–1940: A Study of Desperate Hopes*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 310. $59.95.

This book is another in the excellent series Studies in Australian History produced under the aegis of Cambridge University Press, and with it Michael Roe makes a major contribution to the history of Australia in the early decades of the twentieth century. Both author and publisher are to be congratulated for producing what is at once a work of scholarship in the general area of British/Australian relations and, at the same time, a detailed study of the migration process from the perspective of both the government and the migrants. The human participants in the migration process are thus not lost sight of; Roe deftly combines the two worlds of official governmental administration and private migrant experience.

The book is a study of the relationship between British and Australian administrations in the general area of migration. This involves Roe in a detailed analysis of the nuances of the relationship at both political and bureaucratic levels. The activities of the mercurial William Morris Hughes and the more phlegmatic Stanley Melbourne Bruce are traced, and Roe demonstrates a significant congruence in their attitudes. Both Australian prime ministers refused to quarantine economic issues from those of a more general nature, despite Whitehall's clear preference that economic matters be separately discussed. "Such matters, Bruce affirmed, were integral to 'defence and welfare of, and migration within, the Empire.' Hughes had foreshadowed this approach" (p. 48). Australia thus forced the British government, which was generally pledged to uphold free trade, to discuss the sensitive matter of preferential access for Australian produce to British markets within a wider context of relations between the two countries.

The first eight chapters are a painstaking investigation of the mechanics of decision making, cooperation, and the resolution of differences between Australia and Britain and also between and within the various departments of British government, and between Australian federal and state governments. This is not reading for entertainment or amusing diversion, but it is a tour de force of scholarship and the methodical application of the historian's craft. The relationship between Britain and Australia in these first three decades of the twentieth century is often misunderstood and misinterpreted by present-minded writers who detect tensions and resentments that did not really exist in the past. Roe, it must be said, avoids any such anachronism in this admirable piece of work.

The final two chapters of the book depict the human face of migration. Here the administrative historian gives way to the social historian, and one is reminded once again of exactly why it is that Roe commands such respectful attention amongst Australian historians. These chapters alone are worth the price of the book,

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combining as they do a powerful narrative replete with telling examples and reportage from people who actually experienced the migration process and a study of what they encountered when they arrived in Australia. Roe carefully points out that, despite the Australian legend concerning the genesis of bush radicalism, there exists "a larger tradition whereby Australian radicalism and Labor parties derive markedly from British models" (p. 241).

The book is in many ways a study of the ambiguities inherent in the relationship between Australia and its mother country. These contradictions are investigated in their administrative, political, and human forms, and Roe has produced a most important addition to the history of Australia in the early years of its existence as an independent nation.

F. G. CLARKE
Macquarie University

NICHOLAS BROWN. *Governing Prosperity: Social Change and Social Analysis in Australia in the 1950s*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 299. $59.95.

The 1950s in Australia as I recall them were governed by fear, an irrational fear of communism, in the unions, in every liberal, radical, or pacifist organization outside the Christian churches, and especially of the communism that was speading through Asia. We feared being different, or being noticed, or getting into debt. We feared losing our respectability, so we feared sexuality, especially outside marriage, and what the neighbors might say. It did not need great political skill or many clever ideas to manage or govern such a fearful people. There seems, however, to have been little awareness of these kinds of fears among the intellectuals and administrators on whom Nicholas Brown based his study of the 1950s.

The postwar years and the Labour government led by John Curtin and J. B. Chifley were very strong on planning and regulation. Because they had had enough of austerity and careful management, the Australian people voted in 1949 for R. G. Menzies and what were to be coalition Liberal-Country Party governments until 1972. Brown's version of the 1950s is in part an account of the disarray among the planners and managers after the defeat of the Labour government with its implicit rejection of regulation and centralized authority. There was, however, no clear changing of the guard or substitution of a new set of ideas for those that had come to be resented by the electorate as a form of creeping socialism. Although the economists, educationalists, psychologists, and planners of the 1950s looked back to the prewar years for acceptable approaches and ideas, the reality was that the world had changed. Dislike or distrust of regulation on the advice of experts developed to a high level of anti-intellectualism, which eventually became a serious handicap for any kind of progress or reform. Brown's account of the kinds of ideas to be found in the universities and in the serious reports and journals produced by public interest and professional groups helps to explain why intellectual life became so pallid during the 1950s. It was backward-looking, self-righteous, often contradictory, and dull. Economists argued that consumerism was destroying the Australian economy and puzzled over why they were not more extensively consulted by government. Planners and moralists worried about the growth of the cities and tried to develop interest in decentralization. What should have been a concern about education for democracy in the age of the mass market became a preoccupation with individualism and self-fulfillment.

This study is both more ambitious and less comprehensive than its title suggests. Some readers might find Brown's determination to achieve contemporary relevance admirable, although to my mind, the citizenship theme (a designated priority area for research in the humanities in Australia in recent years) is not very convincing. In some cases, the determination to be relevant has been at the expense of historical context. Important aspects of the story which no longer mean very much have disappeared. There are but four references to the British Commonwealth in the whole book, yet the commonwealth, especially in the 1950s, was for Australia a vital half-way house between Britain and the United States. The theory of the commonwealth as a way of independence within a mutually supportive family of nations was then our hope. It eased our way into involvement in Malaya during the emergency and later in Borneo at the time of confrontation with Indonesia. It gave a structure to our relationships in the Asian region, and it produced a framework through which we were able to begin modernizing the "White Australia" policy. That it was overtaken by the war in Vietnam and by Britain's abandonment of her former family for European union does not alter its significance at this time. This problem of context in the opening chapter is not overcome even by the variable time-frames deployed elsewhere. Individual chapters will appeal to specialists, but the book should be more securely located in the known context for the well-informed general reader.

BEVERLEY KINGSTON
University of New South Wales

STEPHANIE LAWSON. *Tradition versus Democracy in the South Pacific: Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa*. (Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 228.

Decolonization of the Pacific islands was characterised by its lateness in world terms, not really getting underway until the 1960s and 1970s. This was mainly because most island countries are small and economically dependent on their colonial rulers. Thus there was no great demand for independence. Contrary to many other parts of the world, decolonization processes for most Pacific islands came about peacefully

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and cooperatively. There were no revolutions, no wars of national liberation. Political control slid easily from colonial authorities to existing indigenous elites.

At the time, a heady optimism veiled a range of problematic issues which have become more acute in neo and postcolonial years. There are contradictions between constitutional independence and economic dependency, tensions between regions and superimposed nation-states, and conflicts between Western constitutional traditions and indigenous values. The Fiji coups of 1987 highlighted the latter issue. Many Western, liberal commentators found themselves torn between their support for the idea of democracy and for the preservation of the cultural rights of the indigenous Fijians who mounted the coups to oppose the Indo-Fijians' perceived dominance in 1987 through the electoral system.

Stephanie Lawson's book is an excellent analysis of this conundrum, but it penetrates much further than this simplistic insider-outsider dichotomy. Lawson examines the controversial notion that the modern tendency to reassert and reify Pacific indigenous traditions, ethnicity, and custom, which pervades Pacific political discourse and academic studies, is far more than an anticolonial reaction. Rather, "the idea of tradition has been deployed not so much in defence of highly prized aspects of unique cultural identities, but in defence of elite power and privilege against growing demands for accountability in government as well as more extensive opportunities for participation by those without traditionally derived political or social status" (p. 5).

This argument will not be kindly received in many quarters, for it is not politically correct to point to conflicts among indigenous peoples, nor to critique indigenous values, nor to suggest that some indigenous peoples might be racist or chauvinist. Lawson does so with courage and with a deadly cogency. She is particularly sure-footed in picking her way between the dogmatic extremes of cultural relativism and any finite notion of democracy, and she is effective in pointing out the contradictions of those who seek to juxtapose "traditional" and "Western" institutions. She notes, for example, that Christianity is perhaps the most powerful traditional institution in most island societies. Moreover, "the construction of the . . . dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'Western' that has been so roundly condemned in anti-colonial literature . . . has now been inverted in a form which pervades the rhetoric of those who denounced it in the first place" (p. 172).

One of the strengths of Lawson's analysis is that she both sets up an accessible theoretical discussion about tradition, modernity, authenticity, democracy, and offers concrete and comparative case studies of Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa. Each of these nation-states has a very different history, colonial experience, and sociopolitical structure. Yet a common theme emerges: the manipulation of notions of tradition to serve the interests of entrenched elite groups in the face of growing internal disquiet. The Fiji coups of 1987 and the 1990 constitution (currently being reviewed) that sought to entrench ethnic Fijian rights also exploited communal fears to consolidate longstanding chiefly authority. Tonga, which was never formally colonized, maintains a fairly absolutist monarchy on the basis of blood lines of at least a thousand years. The fierce reaction to those espousing "alien" democratic notions reveals an appeal to traditions and lifestyles that many of the rulers have themselves abandoned. And in Samoa, the breakdown of the *matai* system led, ironically, to the recent move to universal suffrage and a "partial democratisation" that was "undertaken in the name of tradition and directed ultimately towards its preservation" (p. 158).

To those who idealize indigenous cultures—and Pacific societies have been idealized more than most over the last 200 years—all this will sound rather too cynical. But those who study humanity through less Romantic eyes will recognize some pretty obvious universal traits. Just as modern Western nation-states experienced generations of internal struggle as their democratizing processes challenged privileged ruling groups, so the struggle between the rulers and the ruled is now taking place in many of the Pacific islands. This is refreshing scholarship that should make for lively ongoing debate.

K. R. Howe
Massey University, New Zealand

UNITED STATES

Colin G. Calloway. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 229. $24.95.

In this short book, Colin G. Calloway elegantly accomplishes a difficult task. He synthesizes the colonial histories of Europeans and Indian peoples, which are still too often treated separately, into a single narrative, and, in doing so, he synthesizes the newer, and still rapidly expanding, ethnohistorical literature on Indian peoples. Calloway wants to restore Indian peoples to a national experience from which they have, except as combatants against whites, been largely erased. But more than that, he wants to show how European settlers, as they entered Indian country, became Americans. Once the term Americans referred to Indian peoples; gradually it came to refer to all those who lived on lands within the United States that had once belonged to Native Americans.

Calloway does not attempt a chronological history. Instead, he groups his material thematically. Along with an overview and a conclusion, he covers healing and disease, religion, warfare, diplomacy, movement and migration, and the creation of new peoples and societies. In each, he tries to emphasize the messiness, the mixtures, borrowings, and changes that resulted

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from contact between Indians and Europeans in North America. He covers a large literature, and he does so with economy, clarity, and accuracy.

Calloway's thesis is relatively straightforward and follows the lines of much of the newer work on Indian peoples, colonial settlement, and the colonial backcountry. Indians and whites in arena after arena traded, fought, negotiated, intermarried, and exchanged ideas and material practices. They hardly created a homogeneous world, but they did, in Calloway's phrase, create "new worlds" as the continent was remade into something both different from what it was before and different from the homelands of the European migrants. Because this is a synthesis, Calloway is confined to existing scholarship, and so large areas of the continent—particularly the region between the Mississippi and the Pacific, except for the Southwest—tend to fall away. Still, the scale is impressive.

Calloway emphasizes the dynamism of the process of interaction without glossing over its costs to Indian peoples and its brutality. North American Europeans and Indians achieved "ways of coexisting, however cautiously, and their daily interactions produced changes in their daily lives" (p. 42). Calloway is, on the whole, uninterested in simply cataloging Indian contributions to American culture or in constructing some cultural scale so that he can judge when Indians become assimilated. There are admittedly instances where Calloway seems to refer to some unchanging Indian tradition or where he cites the contributionist school of Jack Weatherford's popular histories, in which culture seems a list of discrete things and practices to be borrowed by one group from another ("and so the Indians gave us succotash"). But far more often, Calloway portrays an exchange where cultural outcomes were unpredictable and could take surprising turns. Some Indians "used Christianity, and the missionaries who taught it to them, as a way of resisting white culture, of remaining Indian" (p. 69). Some whites became Indians.

The process Calloway examines is rooted very much in the American past. He does not contend that it led to some stable mixture of Indian or European societies. "Ultimately," he concludes, "the invaders of North America succeeded in their goal of building new societies that were more like their old ones in Europe than the Native societies they encountered in America." There remained distinct "white" and "Indian" cultures in the United States, but each was still different from its parent cultures. In the end, Calloway is cautious and careful not to claim too much.

RICHARD WHITE
University of Washington

MICHAEL C. BATINSKI. *Jonathan Belcher, Colonial Governor*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1996. Pp. xvii, 212. $39.95.

In a recent essay on John Winthrop, the Puritan governor of Massachusetts who led the English exodus there, Edmund S. Morgan admires Winthrop's "conservative direction of radical reforms," which Morgan depicts as a signature for greatness ("America's First Great Man," *New York Review of Books*, June 12, 1997, p. 42).

For a Massachusetts governor a century after Winthrop's accession, there was little opportunity for such leadership. Uncomfortably perched between aspiring elites at home and English patrons who often demanded more of a provincial executive than he could give them, most royal governors spent an inordinate amount of time mediating—usually unsuccessfully—between court and country. It is not surprising that the average tenure of colonial governors was roughly five years. One of the major strengths of this accomplished biography of Jonathan Belcher lies in its textured and convincing analysis of what royal governors faced in office and why so few of them left a mark.

Belcher was typical, rising to prominence in a system where who one knew was at least as important as what one knew. His father, Andrew Belcher, was a successful Massachusetts entrepreneur and politico with aspirations for his son. As a young man, Jonathan Belcher spent a good deal of time in England, ostensibly on business, acquainting himself with the power structure and cultivating those who could advance his interests. As an adviser to Governor Samuel Shute back home in Boston in the 1720s, Belcher continued to stockpile political credits and hone his political skills. By the time he gained the prize he sought—the joint governorship of Massachusetts and New Hampshire—in 1730, Belcher was among the wiliest, best-connected colonial politicians.

As governor of Massachusetts, Belcher's master plan related less to pursuing a particular policy than to living out his conception of the good ruler. He wished, as Batinski repeatedly reminds readers, to follow the model of Nehemiah, a Biblical figure whose trademark moderation Belcher could use to justify virtually any position he took. In the context of Massachusetts society, Belcher's middle way sought to maintain the legacy of Puritan founders like John Winthrop while adapting to the commercial currents of his age.

Little of this impressively researched and densely argued book focuses on social change in colonial America. It is, primarily, a study of power and factional intrigue. As depicted by Michael Batinski, factional infighting constituted the essence of provincial politics, particularly so in an era when local elites had relative freedom of maneuver, while English courtiers could still direct or at least influence both patronage and policy in the colonies.

Detailed accounts of political maneuvering are inherently tedious, and this work does not avoid that pitfall. But Batinski does not lose sight of the larger issue, namely, the viability of a governor like Jonathan Belcher. Belcher's success at simply staying in an office he loved lay in maintaining his close ties to the political world of Hanoverian London while using patronage as both carrot and stick to shore up his home base. Batinski describes in detail how Belcher maintained

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himself in power for eleven years in Massachusetts, precisely because he was sensitive to both bases of his authority.

At the same time that he proved a patient, prudent, and reasonably effective governor of Massachusetts, Belcher was distant and vindictive in his dealings with his secondary responsibility, New Hampshire. Ultimately, problems stemming from popular revulsion against his authority there helped undermine his ability to govern. By 1741, Belcher was forced into a dignified, albeit uncomfortable retirement, from which he was rescued only by dint of his own efforts in London several years later. When Lewis Morris, the governor of the "obscure wilderness colony" (p. 153) of New Jersey, died in 1746, Belcher was able to secure appointment as his successor. He remained in office until his death in 1757. Although his substantive accomplishment as governor of New Jersey was negligible, Belcher is generally esteemed a successful colonial governor. That he should be classified a "great man" Batinski would not claim. The system Belcher served and benefited from was not a breeding ground for significant achievement. As Morgan reminds us, between John Winthrop and the world of the Founding Fathers, there lay a gaping leadership gap in American political culture.

MICHAEL J. BIRKNER
Gettysburg College

DANIEL R. MANDELL. *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 255. $40.00.

This book weds two popular genres in recent scholarship on early American history: studies of the New England town and of the Indian experience in colonial times. Reminding us that native peoples did not disappear from New England after King Philip's War, Daniel R. Mandell follows their fortunes (and misfortunes) from the eve of that terrible conflict to the start of the American Revolution a century later.

It is not, for the most part, a happy story. Mandell, exploring Natick, Mashpee, Gay Head, and the other Indian settlements in eastern Massachusetts, finds variations on the same sad theme. Disease and other lethal forces drastically reduced native numbers. Survivors faced hostile colonial neighbors who loosed cattle on or poached wood from Indian land, all the while calling in native debts or using other means, fair and foul, to get some of that land for themselves. Guardians appointed by the province to protect Indian rights often became part of the problem rather than part of the solution, winking at fraud and even joining the campaign to relieve Indians of their resources and territories. Some Indian leaders sowed further trouble by trying to dispose of land without their people's permission.

Through it all, several Native American communities managed to survive. Many Indians, finding solace and strength in Christianity, made the church a new focal point of their personal and collective lives. With the old patterns of subsistence going the way of the old spirituality, women took to the road to peddle baskets or brooms, and men took to the sea on whaling expeditions. Earnings from these and other pursuits often went to purchase such items as clothes and furniture from local stores, making Indian material culture more akin to that of other New Englanders. Moreover, daily contact with colonial neighbors made Indians wise in the ways of these folk, wise enough to bombard the provincial capital with petitions demanding redress of their grievances. Once, when Boston refused to help, Mashpees sent an Indian emissary, Reuben Cognehew, all the way to England to lobby the king himself.

Even as Indians' acquaintance with (and resemblance to) the colonial world grew, their separate identity endured. The book's most suggestive passages attempt to recover the changing nature of what it meant to be an Indian in those dark and difficult days. Mandell asserts that, over time, the loss of population and land, along with routine migration among the various enclaves, brought native people to forge a regional identity. Toward the close of the colonial era, he goes on, these people reshaped the contours of their lives yet again: heavy casualties among Indian men who had joined colonists to fight Anglo-America's foes led Indian women to seek spouses among nearby Africans or African Americans, thereby setting in motion a fascinating, if still obscure, mingling of cultures. Paul Cuffee, the famous black merchant in Boston who promoted African colonization at the turn of the nineteenth century, exemplifies something of this complexity: the son of one Indian woman and husband of another, he ultimately chose to stress his father's African heritage and enter the African-American community, even as his brother Jonathan decided to become a Gay Head Indian.

Mandell offers many such tantalizing glimpses of these shadowy people. The power of his tale is weakened, however, by the book's organization. Breaking the story into twenty-year segments, within each span of time Mandell goes methodically from one group to the next, pointing out the highlights at every stop along the way. Whatever the advantages of sticking to this itinerary, its price is repetition and, sometimes, superficial analysis. Changing patterns of kinship and leadership, the power of folklore to hold a community together and of alcohol to tear it apart: these and other central themes in native life surface again and again but never receive their due.

The organization is one problem with the book; the almost undivided attention to eastern Massachusetts is another. In defense of his tight focus, Mandell argues that the Indian experience largely conformed to provincial boundaries. But those limits seem arbitrary and artificial, especially when Indians from elsewhere—a Mohegan from Connecticut, a Montauk from Long Island—show up in these pages, and Massachusetts natives wind up in various places beyond the Bay

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Colony's borders. Paul Cuffee married a Pequot from Connecticut, after all, and Cognehew took ship for his transatlantic adventure in Rhode Island, not Boston. It seems clear that the regional identity Mandell posits was even more complicated, more interesting, and more far-reaching than he suggests. Like Mashpees holding Christian services in the Wampanoag language and putting tables and chairs in their wigwams, New England's native inhabitants, then as well as now, resist conventional categories and confines.

JAMES H. MERRELL
Vassar College

CRISTINE LEVENDUSKI. *Peculiar Power: A Quaker Woman Preacher in Eighteenth-Century America*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1996. Pp. x, 171. $34.95.

Eighteenth-century women left so few first-hand accounts of their lives that the recovery of Elizabeth Sampson Sullivan Ashbridge's rich autobiographical narrative, first published in 1774 for her fellow Quakers and largely ignored by literary scholars until Daniel Shea's *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (1968), is welcome indeed. Ashbridge's "Remarkable Experiences," a chronicle of her early struggles with religious persecution, indentured servitude, and an unhappy marriage, forms the central text around which Cristine Levenduski organizes her own study of eighteenth-century Quaker literary and cultural traditions. Levenduski stresses the "multivocality" (p. 4) of Ashbridge's text, identifying in the work both a private voice of an alienated woman obsessively seeking love and reassurance in a hostile world and a public voice of an internationally renowned Quaker female minister. These two voices exist in tension throughout Ashbridge's narrative and, Levenduski claims, exemplify the peculiar contradictions of the Quaker mission in colonial America, as Friends proudly proclaimed their status as cultural and religious outsiders while simultaneously trying to reform mainstream American political culture.

As outsiders, eighteenth-century Quakers like Ashbridge celebrated the legacy of martyrdom bequeathed to them by such celebrated seventeenth-century victims as Mary Dyer and sought to reenact in their daily lives the drama of persecution and vindication that these early martyrs had exemplified. Thus the dramatic pivot on which Ashbridge's narrative turns is the violent confrontation between herself as a neophyte Quaker convert and her abusive husband, when she is forced to dance for the entertainment of drunken patrons in a Delaware tavern. Dragged by her husband from town to town throughout the Middle Colonies in a vain attempt to break her newfound religious convictions, Ashbridge's eventual triumph over persecution drew on earlier narratives of spiritual adversity and prefigured later Victorian fictional accounts of saintly Quaker women who guided a lost and sinning world to redemption by the gentle example of their own piety and fortitude.

At the same time that Ashbridge depicts herself as a victim of unrelenting religious and familial persecution, however, her autobiography tells another story: that of the power that colonial women derived from dissenting religions. This is the story that ultimately interests Levenduski more, as she finds in Ashbridge a "model of feminine empowerment" (p. 8) in an overwhelmingly patriarchal world. Her empowerment is evident on several levels: in her success in breaking free of cultural prescriptions against women in public by assuming a role as a traveling minister; in her progression from impoverished immigrant servant to marriage into a prominent and wealthy Philadelphia family; and, perhaps most significantly, in her ability to write her own story. The "act of coming to language" (p. 144) that autobiography represents is for Levenduski the most important gift Quakerism offered to colonial women, and her nuanced reading of the narrative strategies and cultural codings in Ashbridge's text provides a bridge between this one admittedly peculiar document and the larger literary history of Anglo-American Quakerism. Whether Ashbridge's story can be used as a windows onto the larger political history of early American religious dissent is another question. Levenduski's claim that Ashbridge's narrative can be read as a "synecdoche" of the "capacity of marginalized groups to push early America's mainstream political culture to confront pluralism's place in a democratic culture" (p. 2) is too ambitious and, in fact, goes largely unaddressed in the remainder of the book. But as a work of literary history, the book helps place the figure of the persecuted Quaker woman—simultaneously victim and heroine— in a long tradition of fictional representations of religious martyrdom that continued to challenge Americans' perceptions of themselves as a tolerant people well into the nineteenth century.

SUSAN JUSTER
University of Michigan

MARK V. KWASNY. *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 425. $35.00.

Everyone knows that George Washington distrusted the militia. He complained about everything from its members' reluctance to endure fatigue and inability to stand their ground under fire to their carelessness with weapons and the size of their appetites. He has been quoted so often on the topic that even specialists do not realize that Washington also saw virtues in militiamen and used them with real skill. Mark V. Kwasny redresses the balance in this excellent book.

Kwasny concentrates on the Revolutionary War in the vicinity of New York City, examining in detail the military histories of Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York from 1775 through 1783. Previous historians have treated the war in this region in two virtually

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separate ways. The familiar national narrative concentrates on the confrontations between the British and the Continental Armies. A less well-known local history deals with the tangle of raids, counter-raids, kidnapping, and terrorism that made life hell for those who lived along Long Island Sound, throughout the lower Hudson Valley, and in East Jersey. Kwasny shows that these stories were two aspects of a single, complex conflict. To understand the war as a whole, he argues, one must begin with the armed citizens who were most active in prosecuting it: the militia.

The result differs dramatically from textbook accounts. There is, above all, much more activity. As the militia's raids, skirmishing, and efforts to control the civilian population come into focus, such familiar *longueurs* as 1779—when the Continental Army did almost no fighting—vanish, to be replaced by a relentless civil war. This action-filled story is much less linear than the national narrative, because it relegates the Continental Congress to the background and leaves George Washington less clearly in charge. State authorities intervene unexpectedly; local militia leaders make decisions without regard for Washington's wishes or his sense of the "big picture"; battalions appear as if from nowhere and vanish without warning.

Within this diffuse, chaotic struggle, Washington appears less as a Fabian strategist than as an opportunist striking what bargains he could under conditions he could not control. Only in this context can his well-known complaints about the militia be properly understood. He longed to carry on the fight entirely with the disciplined, well-equipped regular army that Congress—for political, financial, and ideological reasons—never gave him. When he complained that militia units did not perform as reliably as properly supported Continentals could, he was using the militia's very real defects as a stick to beat Congress into seeing his point of view. But he made those arguments to Congress, which funded the army, not to the state governments, which provided the militia. In practice, he was not in the least averse to employing militia forces, using them ingeniously to reinforce and complement Continental formations that were never able to operate on their own. Faced with the fact that militiamen would always lack the discipline and fortitude of regulars, he worked around their defects and used their positive qualities—individual courage, independence, and the ability to respond quickly to invasion—to excellent effect.

Thus, in 1776, Washington developed tactics that deployed militia forces *ahead of* the Continentals, taking advantage of the militiamen's ability to skirmish and accommodating their propensity to flee when attacked. Short on cavalry and rangers, he used militia to gather intelligence, take prisoners, raid outposts, and harass enemy foragers. He encouraged partisan operations, issuing only general directives to militia commanders who operated as virtual free agents. Such tactics kept the British tied down in defensive positions and denied them the ability to operate freely beyond their lines. In retaking New Jersey in the winter of 1777 and pursuing Henry Clinton from Philadelphia to New York in the summer of 1778, Washington coordinated militia and Continental operations so effectively that a province all but conquered in late 1776 became territory uninhabitable to the British forces.

These were, in fact, the tactics that Nathanael Greene employed brilliantly to lure Charles Cornwallis across the Carolinas in 1781. Kwasny shows that if Greene was the guerilla genius of the Revolution, Washington was his indispensable mentor. This gives us a different war, and a different Washington, from the ones to which we have grown accustomed. Absorbing the significance of Kwasny's densely detailed, scrupulously researched book will require time and attention on the part of the reader, but the rewards will amply repay the effort. All serious students of the War of Independence, and indeed of the Revolution as a whole, will profit from reading it.

FRED ANDERSON
University of Colorado, Boulder

LANCE BANNING. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 543. $35.00.

Lance Banning's book is the biography of a mind at work. His reevaluation of James Madison's thought as a public man takes issue with very nearly all of what has been the accepted wisdom regarding Madison for a very long time. Banning, for example, denies that Madison's thought underwent a serious change between the ratification campaign in the 1780s and the Washington and Adams administrations of the 1790s. Madison's presumed change of heart and mind—his presumed shift from federalist principles to republican ones, from being a loose-construction nationalist to a strict (or at least stricter) constructionist defender of state autonomy—never happened, Banning argues. The belief that it did arose, he contends, from a fundamental and persistent misreading of Madison's ideas about republicanism and liberty before the convention and of his writings while at the convention as well as from historians' failure to understand how events on the convention floor shaped Madison's thinking from day to day. "At the Constitutional Convention, as before, Madison's assumptions and desires were not just different from, but incompatible with, the centralizing vision of the more determined nationalists who gathered, first, around the old Confederation's superintendent of finance and, after 1789, around the new republic's secretary of the treasury" (p. 15). Madison did not have to become more of a revolutionary republican after 1789 because he had never been otherwise. He was, well before the convention, "extremely wary of the doctrine of implied congressional authority. His respect for written limitations of authority and charter boundaries between the pow-

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ers of the nation and the states did not develop after 1789. It was apparent during the Confederation's darkest years" (p. 22).

Much of the existing Madison scholarship, Banning argues, rests on cynical (and, for the eighteenth century, wholly ahistorical) assumptions about public men. Madison continued throughout his career, Banning insists, to define " 'republican' in early revolutionary terms" (p. 77). So fixed have scholars become on the idea that what drove Madison's ideas on the proper structuring of a government was his desire to "control majority abuses" that they have missed Madison's belief that this could be accomplished "without surrendering the revolutionary faith" (p. 77). Banning contends that he "*genuinely* understood the Constitution as the *people's* law, which was to be revered and not remolded by their servants" (p. 333). Madison is best understood, then, throughout his career as a revolutionary republican and a kind of states' rights nationalist. Even so basic and familiar a document as *The Federalist*, number 10, Banning argues, has been persistently misread in order to force Madison into the mold of an antirepublican nationalist: "Even on its face . . . " he argues, "*Federalist* no. 10 is absolutely not an unequivocal endorsement of the absolute superiority of larger republics" (p. 211).

Banning's argument is, on the whole, persuasive. He documents Madison's strong consistency of mind and belief over the whole course of his career as revolutionary and public man in very convincing fashion. This book is at times somewhat self-indulgent and repetitive; Banning reaches the same conclusions several times. And the text is, occasionally, a tract for our times, lamenting how distrustful historians have become of the founders in particular, people for whom honorable conduct was not an abstraction. (Madison, Banning writes, was "to depths that we today are barely able to imagine—an eighteenth-century gentleman of honor" [p. 333].) Such minor irritations detract little, however, from the significance of this remarkable reconstruction of the mind of a founder.

ROBERT A. BECKER
Louisiana State University

MAURICE G. BAXTER. *Henry Clay and the American System*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. 261. $34.95.

This is a largely narrative account of Henry Clay's economic nationalism from his earliest days as a Jeffersonian in the Kentucky House of Representatives to his last days as a Whig in the United States Senate. The book does not limit its discussion to the traditional banks, tariffs, and internal improvements of Clay's "American System" but also discusses related issues such as land policy, distribution, and federal bankruptcy legislation. It takes, as Maurice G. Baxter explains in his preface, "a biographical perspective upon economic history" (p. v). The central focus is, of course, on Clay, but other prominent figures in Baxter's story include Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, Nicholas Biddle, Martin Van Buren, Thomas Hart Benton, and John Tyler. In his discussion of these figures, Baxter seeks to "explore the character and impact of Clay's program for the growth of the United States in a political setting" (p. v).

The result is a very traditional political history of congressional wranglings over the economic issues that dominated public life during Clay's career. Baxter's chief sources are Clay's published papers and the debates in Congress, supplemented by the basic secondary works (especially biographies) on the period. He is obviously an admirer of Clay, whom he sees as a Jeffersonian in the mold of James Madison or Albert Gallatin. This admiration (and the related endorsement of the economic nationalism Clay espoused) does not blind Baxter to his faults, however. He is especially critical of Clay's uncharacteristic failure to compromise during the bank war of the 1830s. Nevertheless, the author maintains, Clay and his party "made a good run" against the prevailing Democratic Party's ideas of limited government in that decade (p. 209). Baxter declares that September 13, 1841 (the end of the disappointing special congressional session in Tyler's first year) was a turning point in American political history. It marked the end of "the Whigs' last and best opportunity to set in motion the full range of the American System" (p. 171). Economic nationalism met with only limited success thereafter, and Baxter seems to share Clay's disappointment that the Whigs rejected both him and his American System to win control of the national government in 1848. The book manages to salvage some consolation, however, by looking ahead to the Civil War, when wartime conditions allowed the Republicans under Abraham Lincoln to resurrect and enact much of Clay's program.

The limitations of this brand of traditional political history are evident in Baxter's work. As in many older studies, the people's representatives in Washington strut at center stage and deliver their lines to each other while their audience, the Americans they represent and legislate for, almost disappears from view. There is little here about political organization or political culture. Neither "Republicanism" nor any other political ideology makes an appearance. Politicians are assumed to be spokesmen for interests, sections, or parties. When Baxter seeks to understand why the Whigs prevailed in 1840, he declares that "one must guess" (p. 96). And though economic issues dominate the narrative, none of the recent works on the "Market Revolution" illuminate Baxter's story. Moreover, Baxter's political focus consciously eschews any discussion of "economic theory or econometric analysis" (p. v). Most of the "impact" of economic policy seems not to be on the country itself but on the politics of later economic policy fights in Washington.

Unfortunately, even the politicians on whom Baxter focuses remain wooden figures. He never even manages to breathe life into Clay, the focus of this largely

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biographical work. To his credit, he lays the politicians' positions out clearly and succinctly. But without a wider context for their actions and a deeper penetration into their lives, most readers will conclude that the book falls short in its attempt to communicate a full understanding of the political pursuit of economic nationalism in Clay's time.

Yet within the relatively narrow confines of its approach and its objectives, the work will be useful. It is brief, clearly written, and deals with an important topic that has surprisingly escaped book-length treatment until now. It will be a good place to send students to obtain a basic grasp of the economic issues of the second party system.

LAWRENCE FREDERICK KOHL
University of Alabama

RICHARD R. JOHN. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 369. $49.95.

This is an ambitious and intriguing institutional history of the post office from the 1790s to the 1840s. Richard R. John argues that American historians have never fully appreciated how the growth and reach of the mail delivery system, beginning with the Post Office Act of 1792, spurred a transforming communications revolution and the growth of a more powerful, wide-ranging, and influential central authority affecting matters far beyond the agency's delimited responsibility to move the mail. The post office evolved into "a dynamic institution that ... [exerted] a major influence on American commerce, politics, and political thought" (p. 25). Large and bureaucratically complex at a time when few American institutions were, its administrative capacity directly and indirectly affected the rest of society and made a massive contribution to the government's ability to "shape the pattern of everyday life" (p. 191).

In both the economic and political sectors of American society, people relied on the post office system to establish and facilitate the kind of communications network that knit various regions together more closely and made activities among them possible. Postal operations provided the means for the development of a national market and a nationwide system of political activity. The post office became an agent of rapid and massive dissemination of information, both commercial and political, and of outlooks and perspectives, largely political, from one end of the Union to the other. Moving mail, money, and goods, political publications, newspapers, pamphlets, and franked congressional speeches, it was "an indispensable agent for change," while its total activities, linking the nation in ways heretofore unknown, led to the "thickening [of] the bonds of union" (p. 282).

The post office was also inevitably embroiled in conflict over its role, reach, and influence. In the moral-religious realm, the sabbatarian controversy over whether mail could be delivered on Sunday provoked intense confrontation in the 1830s. More potently, given its role as the representation and reality of a centralized state, the post office became the target for the antistatist Jacksonians, who, when they took control in 1829, successfully turned it into a partisan network, not a developmental one, successfully challenging its reach and importance and its modernizing administrative outlook. In the controversy in the 1830s over abolitionist tracts moving through the mails into the South, the Jacksonians made the post office responsive to the values system of only one part of the country in a highly contentious situation. After that, the agency was no longer what it had been; its developmental, unifying qualities gave way to a very different construction of its functions and reach, one that led in less progressive or unifying directions. A new era emerged with the coming of the telegraph, an instrument that, along with successors such as the telephone, would be part of a privatized, more fragmented system of development. The rationalized public route to national development had ended.

John makes his case with thorough research and a strongly assertive style. His is a whiggish temperament, both in its general and specific meaning. He is a clear fan of the developmental impulses that were so well embodied in the modernizing qualities of post office activities, while, on the other side, he is impatient with, even hostile to, the way the Jacksonians frustrated that impulse in search of their own, less edifying, purposes. Part of the book reads, in fact, as if drawn from a range of Whig Party pamphlets hectoring the disorganzing, petty, partisan, proslavery Democrats.

There is, of course, more to say about the situation than the views propounded by the antebellum Whigs. John's research indicates the seriousness of the ideological divide over such a core issue as the power of the central state, a seriousness and a divide that deserve appreciation and more understanding of the antistatists than is given here. At the same time, given the author's commitment to seeing institutions, rather than social and economic conflict, as the shapers and directors of the way in which societies evolve, one also comes away from John's presentation with the sense of an argument forced to carry a great deal of weight. He perhaps exaggerates the power and meaning of the post office in the developmental, institutional realm. Alternative explanations of what drove national growth remain plausible. Still, John has made a most insightful foray. This is an important and very useful book, adding a great deal to our understanding of the nineteenth-century political nation.

JOEL H. SILBEY
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EDWARD L. AYERS, *et al. All over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 136. Cloth $35.00, paper $13.95.

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As indicated by Nancy Shoemaker's recent article on "Regions as Categories of Analysis" (*AHA Perspectives* [November 1996]: 7–10), within the last decade regional history has reemerged as a newly problematic area of inquiry within American history. This book serves as a marker of the state of the debate over region as a useful category—akin (or not?) to race, ethnicity, class, or gender—in the mid-1990s. Three of the four contributors—Edward L. Ayers, Patricia Nelson Limerick, and Peter S. Onuf—first delivered their papers as part of the Harrison lecture series at Johns Hopkins University; the fourth, Stephen Nissenbaum, apparently joined the project later. Ayers and Onuf have also provided a brief thematic introduction for the volume.

The central elements of the debate over region will by now be familiar to those who have followed the analogous argument over gender as an analytical category for historians. In essence, the debate revolves around the degree to which the distinctive elements of regions (aridity, mountains and basins, alpine forests) can be considered to create objectively distinct realities and, alternatively, the degree to which they are imaginatively and socially constructed by those who live in them, pass through them, or merely read and write about them. In his opening essay on "Federalism, Republicanism, and the Origins of American Sectionalism," Onuf attempts to reconstruct the categories of "section" and "nation" and their complex interplay between the Revolution and the Civil War. He argues, in essence, that in the early Republic, sectional/regional interest and identity were inescapable terms for imagining an inclusive nation, but that the latter concept or vision was significantly unbounded, both spatially and temporally. As the controversy over slavery's extension hardened after 1830 and new western territories were claimed as slave or non-slave, the sense of national boundedness increased, and "the sphere of the nonnegotiable became progressively larger" (p. 37). Onuf's essay is particularly rich in notes and bibliography and intelligently applies the work of Jack Greene, Benedict Anderson, and (less obviously) Fred Somkin.

The problem of the West as region receives further treatment by Limerick in "Region and Reason." Autobiographically constructed, Limerick's essay breaks little new ground but enlightens us by tracing one prominent historian of the "West" in her own "linguistic turn" to the insight that "regions are much more the creations of human thought and behavior than they are the products of nature" (p. 96). Bringing us up to date on Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt's so-called "war on the West," Limerick concludes that region is both mental construction and separately "real." Ayers strikes a similar tone in analyzing loose language about the "South" and its distinctive heritage in the national culture. While granting the validity of certain general notions, such as that the South is a "problematic" region of the national "Canaan," somehow less prosperous and bountiful than the rest of the country (p. 80), he urges on us the concrete and the specific for a truer understanding of the only region of the United States that has known military and cultural defeat.

While all of the essays are strong, the real gem of this collection is—not surprisingly, for those familiar with his work from Salem witchcraft to Christmas holidays—Nissenbaum's essay on New England. Tracing the pastoralization of New England through music (hymnody) and literature and connecting this process to New England's economic and cultural expansion into the nineteenth-century Midwest (as exemplified by the Beecher family), Nissenbaum tells a nuanced and remarkable story of the nationalization of a regional identity. His essay is a model of lucidity and suggestive subtlety.

The notes in this collection of solid essays provide a good sense of the wide range of lenses—from local history to anthropology to cultural studies—now being focused on the problem of region (or perhaps, more theoretically conceived, "place") in the historical development of cultural and personal identity. The discussion has been moving along rapidly of late; this book draws the reader immediately into some of the central issues.

CURTIS M. HINSLEY
Northern Arizona University

CHARLES E. BROOKS. *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution: The Holland Land Purchase*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 239. $42.50.

Charles E. Brooks locates this book at the intersection of business history and rural history, which is still one of the least visited spots in early American historiography. There he shows us the encounter—one might even call it the collision—between the respective assumptions and aspirations of speculators and settlers. In a variation on a story that gets played out repeatedly in the process of national expansion, he provides an instructive case study of the economic and cultural tensions inherent in land development in the early Republic.

The story starts in 1792, when a group of Dutch financiers purchased over three million acres of forested land in western New York. Like other owners of large tracts of frontier lands in eighteenth-century America, the Holland Land Company hoped to make a long-term profit on the property by attracting the "right" kind of settlers—good, industrious, productive farmers rather than mere "woodchoppers"—who would improve the land and grow profitable crops, especially wheat. At first, the settlers who came to this corner of New York did seem a decent enough sort, as they carved new farms out of the forest. Yet they had their own hopes and plans as well. Rather than producing wheat for the international market, they spent most of their efforts growing crops for local consumption—a little wheat, but also corn, peas, and potatoes—and cutting down trees to be burned and turned

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into potash, a marketable but much less profitable commodity than wheat.

Since land was a more readily available resource than labor, the settlers used it freely, even greedily, in their efforts to produce a quick return. "Careful consideration of the ratio between labor input and product yield," Brooks explains, "was the critical variable governing their land use choices" (p. 75). If this rather stilted description of agricultural calculations might not ring quite true, readers can always fall back on Natty Bumppo's lament about the "wasty ways" of frontier farmers and get the picture just as well. The point is that the settlers exploited the environment to such a degree that even the Dutch investors began to get worried, and, by the 1820s, the Holland Land Company "wished to exercise greater managerial control over how its land and productive resources were used and marketed" (pp. 86–87).

Not surprisingly, this attempt at greater company control, especially when it included pressing settlers for payment of debts by threatening ejectment suits, clashed with the "settlers' agrarian ideas about labor, land, and property rights" (p. 138). As events in western Massachusetts in 1786–1787 had demonstrated, threatening rural people with the loss of their land is a dangerous ploy that is likely to lead to resistance. So it was in western New York fifty years later, as rural resentment found its voice in conventions, petitions, and, eventually, open rebellion. In this case, the rural rebels were egged on by "cunning politicians sensitive to the populist value of endorsing the settlers' cause against the greedy, selfish, and monopolistic landlords" (p. 185). Still, even without the manipulations of self-serving elites, the outbreak of conflict seemed almost inevitable.

In terms of narrative, unfortunately, the inevitable easily becomes predictable, and Brooks offers his readers precious few surprises throughout the two hundred or so pages leading up to the outbreak of agrarian rebellion in the 1830s. At times, the book becomes almost a morality play depicting the battle between two manichean monoliths, venal landowners and virtuous yeomen. The company, understandably, has a reasonably consistent interest. Too often, though, the settlers appear as a unified yet disturbingly faceless group, devoid of any identity other than a commitment to a common agrarian culture, which is more assumed than articulated. The one recurring character whose individuality emerges is Joseph Ellicott, the Holland Land Company's resident agent in the region from 1800 to 1821. Ellicott was the classic man in the middle, the human point of connection between the company across the ocean and the settlers on the land; his apparent attempt to placate both sides must have created considerable personal and professional conflict. Perhaps a more nuanced investigation of Ellicott's individual struggles would have allowed a more problematized approach to the broader struggle among the region's people. Perhaps, too, that is another story for another book.

In the end, the story Brooks does tell is both straightforward and significant, and that should be enough to ask of any author. By reflecting on earlier episodes of protest in the colonial era and, equally important, anticipating the populist movement of the late nineteenth century, Brooks's book provides both a valuable analysis of one locale and a link to a larger national narrative of rural unrest. Even without the benefit of colorful, quasi-mythical figures like Daniel Shays or William Jennings Bryan, the story of the struggles in the Holland Purchase reminds us, yet again, that there is virtually no region of rural America that has not been, at some time or other, contested terrain.

GREGORY H. NOBLES
Georgia Institute of Technology

KAY J. CARR. *Belleville, Ottawa, and Galesburg: Community and Democracy on the Illinois Frontier*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 226. $39.95.

SUSAN E. GRAY. *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 227. Cloth $39.95, paper $18.95.

For a century, historians have debated the ways in which Americans adapted their cultures to unfamiliar environments as they moved west. Community building on the frontier required easterners and immigrants to struggle not only with nature but also, and more importantly, with one another. Kay J. Carr and Susan E. Gray offer two compelling comparative studies of this clash of cultures in early Illinois and Michigan, respectively. Both compare the experiences of three communities as they sought, first, viability in unfamiliar territory and, second, economic, political, and especially cultural dominance over their neighbors. Gray examines three similar and culturally homogeneous rural townships in western Michigan. She frames her analysis within the more general debate over the westward movement of Yankee cultural values. Carr compares three Illinois towns that were both culturally heterogeneous and dissimilar from one another. Together, these two studies probe the strategies frontier communities adopted in their attempts to survive and to flourish.

Gray's analysis of three townships in Kalamazoo County is methodologically ambitious, pointing to new ways of charting cultural development and adaptation in the West. She grounds the experiences of Michigan Yankees firmly within the culture they carried with them from New England, New York, and Ohio. The leadership of these Yankees was crucial as they attempted to reproduce familiar cultural values and institutions in their new homes. Gray begins appropriately with the land and evaluates the settlement strategies that displaced Native Americans while imposing a New England cultural order. Placing this tale within

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a national framework, Gray shows how national economic, legal, political, and religious developments played out within this frontier microcosm. Economically, the three townships arose within the framework of the market revolution that demanded the immediate production of a cash crop to promote viability within an emerging national economy. Subsistence agriculture quickly gave way to commercial farming as Yankees pursued integration within the economic framework of the East. Legal changes speeded this economic development. In perhaps her paramount contribution, Gray combines economic theory with impressive detective work to demonstrate convincingly that a new legal climate facilitated the emergence of a market economy even within this Yankee frontier outpost. The townships' credit structure promoted rapid development, attracting resources from outside the community while concentrating economic power within the hands of a few local investors. Seasonal rhythms soon gave way to an impersonal ebb and flow of credit that obeyed the demands of eastern merchants' commercial calendars. An important innovation was the new credit arrangements that permitted the assignment of debt and increasingly allowed third parties both inside and outside these communities to direct local development. Family life adapted to the dictates of the new economic regime. The farm family declined as the fundamental economic unit. Capital and credit displaced land as basic resources, and patriarchy accordingly gave way to more varied avenues to success. In particular, fathers lost economic relevance, and Gray practices some intriguing quantitative detection to demonstrate that sons began gaining independence and leaving home at increasingly younger ages. Overall, the rising market and changing legal environment freed individuals to pursue their own interests under the umbrella of an emerging national rather than local, family-based economy. The "frontier stage" did not last long during this era of national economic and cultural integration.

Gray's innovative and ambitious Yankees embraced the new economy as a source of strength rather than vulnerability. Political activity began as a quest to promote economic viability, with leaders and voters jointly embracing local development as a common goal. Initially, personal advancement was seen as synonymous with the common good, allowing ambitious investors to capture and keep political control. Initial decisions targeted infrastructure, and the first political divisions pitted communities against one another. The national parties that emerged during the 1830s superimposed their organizations and agendas on preexisting factions, integrating these western communities into a political as well as economic system on a national scale. Their Yankee values and economic philosophies virtually assured the victory of Whigs and later Republicans within these three communities. Fittingly, internecine cultural clashes erupted most conspicuously among the region's nascent churches. Religious organization mirrored the communities' ideological consensus by focusing not on doctrine at all but rather on institutional control over local spiritual life. Churches struggled for viability in the same way that their communities did. The national Plan of Union that joined Congregationalists and Presbyterians in a mutual effort to save the West pitted the two sects in a heated contest for local control. The result, of course, was compromise, a mutual reconciliation for the sake of a common goal: the triumph of Yankee values.

Gray analyzes individual, community, and national efforts to build western communities. Carr, by contrast, dismisses both individual and national influences to practice a more traditional local history. Largely narrative and descriptive in her approach, Carr compares three geographically and culturally distinct Illinois towns: Belleville, near St. Louis and dominated by German immigrants; Ottawa, another immigrant community within Chicago's orbit; and Galesburg, an isolated Yankee outpost in western Illinois with a strong religious foundation. Choosing such disparate communities allows Carr to examine the interplay of several cultures—Yankee, Upper South, and European—within the context of an American frontier. She uses an excellent statistical profile of the three towns to lay the foundation for chapters focusing on settlement, transportation, education, and politics. Relying on local histories, Carr surveys settlement strategies that focused on finding the best land and geographical situations to assure economic viability and future growth. Internal unity or dissension, reflecting cultural homogeneity or strife, played a decisive role in success and failure. With the rise of a national economy, transportation proved crucial. The towns that achieved consensus and seized early opportunities did best, but with the appearance of railroads all three lost out to more favored or aggressive neighbors and settled for second place as local commercial and administrative centers. Education followed suit, with unity—most apparent in Yankee Galesburg—portending success. Political development rested on unity as well. Economic, ethnic, and religious divisions brought turmoil to Belleville. Galesburg's Yankee elites achieved political consensus, while Ottawa fell somewhere in between. Overall, early patterns of settlement and decision making predetermined the futures of these three Illinois towns.

Despite her focus on three homogeneous Yankee communities, Gray provides an innovative and sophisticated look at the complex interplay of individual, family, community, and national influences on western development. She effectively charts "the shift from local to bourgeois identity" (p. 177) that rapidly transformed the Yankee West from a frontier outpost into a key component of the emerging national culture. Her close reading of important local records provides an unusual depth that situates the experiences of these three communities within a detailed tapestry of national development. Relying heavily on census data, local histories, and newspaper commentary, Carr pro-

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vides a more superficial comparison that focuses on local development and decision making while emphasizing differences among the three communities rather than charting broader trends. The result is more a parallel than comparative study of the three towns; the latter might have allowed a more sweeping theoretical and methodological analysis of regional and national development. In particular, Carr's painstaking dissection of these three local populations cries out for comparative statistical analysis to identify more subtle similarities and differences.

Taken together, the two studies open opportunities for future analysis of western communities. They transcend local history by pursuing a comparative approach while identifying crucial ingredients in the process of building viable communities and integrating them into national economic, cultural, and political systems. Gray and Carr eschew simple views of the West reshaping American society, the environment molding behavior, and eastern culture transforming the West. Instead, they jointly document a complex process of cultural competition that pitted easterners and immigrants in a sometimes common and often divisive struggle to control their new communities while maintaining and forging links to the changing world they left behind. Isolation bred both independence and defeat, while integration required compromises with an increasingly hegemonic economic and cultural order. Communities that survived and flourished fashioned a middle ground, seizing but shaping economic opportunities and achieving cultural compromises for their own benefit. They employed national economic, political, and cultural systems both to succeed and to fashion mechanisms of local control. These two studies offer valuable approaches to identifying and explaining divergent strategies of community building within both regional and national contexts.

KENNETH WINKLE
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NICOLE ETCHESON. *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787–1861.* (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 205. $39.95.

Between the Revolution and the Civil War, native-born white Americans migrated westward along lines of longitude. In the earliest occupied portion of the Northwest Territory, these migration streams resulted in three states—Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—dominated in the south by upland southerners and in the north by Yankees, all of whom praised or condemned the differences between them on the basis of regional stereotypes embracing everything from material culture to moral values. Yankees either possessed a laudable entrepreneurial energy and passion for institutional order, or they were money-grubbing cultural imperialists. Southerners either loved their independence more than moneymaking, or they were indolent, dirty, and touchy.

Many scholars have commented on the cultural conflicts to which these regional stereotypes gave rise, but they have paid relatively little attention to the issues of identity at stake as Yankees and upland southerners strove to determine the social, cultural, economic, and political shape of the places to which they had committed their lives and their fortunes. Nicole Etcheson has taken a major step toward solving this longstanding problem in the history of the Old Northwest. She traces how upland southerners came to identify themselves as westerners and, ultimately, midwesterners through the evolution of political culture in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Northerners and southerners, she contends, were able to unite through their commitment to republican principles as expressed through participation in national party politics. Such participation required that the settlers submerge their regional identities to consider the needs of the West. A western identity began to emerge during the heyday of the second party system but was threatened during the sectional crisis of the 1850s. Upland southerners could neither stomach Yankee abolitionist attacks on the South nor abide the secessionist sentiments of the southern political elite, whose control of the path to upward mobility had once impelled many of them to seek their independence in the old Northwest. Only after the war did upland southerners and their Yankee counterparts embrace fully a midwestern identity.

Etcheson's book follows the process of identity formation through the public and private writings of leading upland southern politicians. In a chapter on the drive to statehood in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, Etcheson first demonstrates the commitment of upland southerners to the republican principles of white male suffrage, rotation in office, and a weak state executive. She then explores the standard of "manliness" by which upland southerners "judge[d] the fitness of candidates for leadership in republican society" (p. 39): honesty and a reverence for manual labor. Wealth and gentlemanliness did not disqualify candidates for office if the former was acquired through physical effort and the latter signaled decorum but not effete elitism.

Turning to the practice of republican principles, Etcheson next examines the tension between upland southerners' recognition of the need for internal improvements to benefit the region as a whole and their frustrated realization that not all local interests could be accommodated. Two other chapters trace the attitudes of upland southerners toward a variety of issues. For example, they dragged their feet on public schools, unpersuaded by northern arguments for the "ennobling effect of education on personal morality and character" (p. 83). Public schoolings made more sense to them as a way of promoting a republican citizenry and equal opportunity for upward mobility. Insisting on their "right" to drink, upland southerners were equally deaf to appeals to moral character invoked by

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northern temperance advocates. Finally, although as opposed to slavery as most northerners, upland southerns were adamant in their refusal to confer the rights of republican citizenship on African Americans.

Despite such differences, upland southerners found much common ground with northerners until the 1850s. A rift opened with the Compromise of 1850 and widened with the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854. Many upland southerners saw popular sovereignty as a way of avoiding having to side with either northern or southern extremists and of preserving the republic experiement. "The fate of the black race was inconsequential" (p. 125). In the end, however, most upland southerners cast their lot with the Union.

By demonstrating that a distinct constellation of values shaped upland southerners' interpretation of republican principles, Etcheson points the way toward a new synthesis of politics in the old Northwest. It is churlish to ask that a work about upland southerners discuss Yankees more than she has done, but as long as Yankees remain the shadow actors that they are here, the full potential of her argument is unrealized. A second unresolved issue is the relationship of class to regional cultural values and partisanship. Etcheson is right in her conclusion to emphasize the role of bourgeois values in the formation of a midwestern identity, and she elsewhere points out that upland southerners with middle-class aspirations, usually Whigs or Republicans, often upheld values similar to those of Yankees on such issues as temperance. What role did class play in upland southerners' transition to midwesterners?

SUSAN E. GRAY
Arizona State University

DOUGLAS C. COMER. *Ritual Ground: Bent's Old Fort, World Formation, and the Annexation of the Southwest*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 321. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

With theorists like Claude Lévi-Strauss and Victor Turner in tow, archaeologist Douglas C. Comer moves into terrain usually associated with Levis and Frederick Jackson Turner. Here, Comer's theoretically informed gaze falls on Bent's Fort, a trading post that opened for business in about 1833 on the United States side of the Arkansas River in what is today Colorado.

Comer sees Bent's Fort as the primary vehicle for introducing "the culture of modernity" to the region's traditional societies in the years before the U.S.-Mexico War and facilitating the U.S. victory in New Mexico. The American proprietors of Bent's Fort achieved this in two ways. By trading in furs and hides with Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos, they forged social and economic alliances that served the United States well when its army moved through Indian territory to invade New Mexico in the summer of 1846. By introducing manufactured goods from the United States to Hispanics in New Mexico, they developed strong economic and social ties that weakened New Mexicans' will to resist United States forces in 1846.

Borrowing a well-known phrase from historian Richard White, Comer argues that Bent & St. Vrain Company and their Hispanic and Indian neighbors came together to construct "the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground" (p. 221). But White failed, Comer says, to describe "explicitly" the mechanism by which peoples find a middle ground. Comer identifies this mechanism as "ritual," specifically the ritual of trade. Native peoples, for example, exchanged goods primarily to establish social relationships (to construct "fictive" kinships), according to Comer's formulation. Only with the influence of modern world capitalism and individualism, introduced through Bent's Fort (the "ritual ground" of Comer's title), did Cheyenne, Comanches, Kiowas, and Arapahos come to value profits over social relationships. The ritual ended and common ground crumbled when the fur trade died in the mid-1840s. Comer brings the story to its denouement at Sand Creek in 1864, where William Bent's children were among the victims.

In making his case that Bent's Fort was the primary agent of change in the Southwest in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Comer minimizes the impact of Spanish and French traders who operated in the region long before Bent & St. Vrain, minimizes the degree to which Spain brought "modernity" to the region, and minimizes the relationships that other contemporary American traders developed with New Mexicans. The depth of those relationships is suggested in Rebecca McDowell Craver's *The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-Anglo Intermarriage in New Mexico, 1821–1846* (1982), which Comer seems to overlook. Conversely, Comer exaggerates the novelty of Bent's Fort itself, built in time-honored New Mexico style with central patios, parapets, and torreones. The New Mexicans who built the fort would have been amazed to learn that the structure's architecture reflected modernity, much less the mental world of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. Comer also exaggerates the extent to which Anglo Americans and *nuevo mexicanos* had forged "common ground." One would not expect Comer's principal architect of that shared space, Charles Bent, to be killed by locals in his house at Taos in January 1847; Comer explains the murder as an anomalous event inspired by outsiders from Chihuahua (an explanation for which he offers no evidence).

This book is less about Bent's Fort than it is a meditation on the meanings Comer ascribes to the fort and the meaning of meaning itself. Comer wants to place the fort in "the broader context of the physical and cultural landscape" (p. 57), and it is difficult to imagine a broader context than one that hearkens back to the protohistoric Southwest and the arrival of the first European fisherman in Newfoundland. Following Michel Foucault, Comer sees his task as "abstracting to the monument" rather than "from the monument" (p. 57), and he does so with erudition, drawing insights from figures as various as Mircea Eliade, Mary Doug-

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las, Emile Durkheim, Clifford Geertz, Bronislaw Malinowski, Friedrich Nietzsche, Ferdinand de Saussure, and Quentin Skinner. But even specialists may find these abstractions, which dominate the text, excessive and wish for more "abstracting from the monument," particularly from its archaeology, where Comer's specialty suggests he should have much to say.

For all of his sophistication, Comer can be maddeningly essentialist, as when he speaks of the New Mexicans' "response" to Anglo-American modernity (p. 55), as if all New Mexicans responded similarly, or when he suggests that all Native Americans engaged in ritual exchange to establish "a common, mythological ancestry" (p. 21). In this erudite and thoughtful work, Comer's carelessness with the Spanish language stands out all the more.

DAVID J. WEBER
Southern Methodist University

KAREN AHLQUIST. *Democracy at the Opera: Music, Theater, and Culture in New York City, 1815–60.* (Music in American Life.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 248. $29.95.

Karen Ahlquist asserts that opera audiences in New York in the early nineteenth century had to come from all parts of society; there was not a large enough social or cultural elite to support a non-commercial theater. She begins her narrative with English ballad opera, in which management tried to offer something for everyone in an effort to appeal to the broadest public. Distinctions between "art" and "entertainment" mattered little at the time, and the difference between plays and operas was a matter of degree rather than kind, since most dramas then involved some form of music. The ballads presented in *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) and similar works of the English genre were urban, popular, commercial entertainment, with none of the foppish connotations that G. W. Handel's Italian operas held.

When foreign opera appeared in Manhattan in 1825, lyric drama soon became identified with reform. Since theater was viewed as a corrupting influence, operatic offerings needed to instruct audiences in upright living if they were to attract the desired patronage. Italian opera was seen as refined, even though it often rankled republican sensibilities. After the completion of the Erie Canal, civic boosters suggested that the importation of foreign opera troupes, beginning with the Garcia company, should be a matter of civic pride, and they emphasized the link between culture and commerce. The righteous came to believe that music possessed the power to improve an individual's social and moral temper and associated taste with virtue.

Vincenzo Bellini's *La Sonnambula* (1831) was New York's favorite opera of the 1830s. Sentimental and interpreted as moral didacticism, the bel canto masterpiece epitomized the notion of music as a civilizing force. Amina, the opera's heroine, while innocent and chaste, is falsely accused of sexual impropriety until her sleepwalking is revealed. Whether Amina's emotional misfortunes inspired goodness in nineteenth-century audiences, as Ahlquist implies, is questionable.

With the arrival of Giuseppe Verdi's operas in midcentury, the connection between music and moral edification was broken. His works were noisier and lacked the saccharine lightness of Bellini and Gaetano Donizetti. *Rigoletto* (1851), with its theme of seduction, and *La Traviata* (1853), with its demimonde heroine, intensified opera's dramatic impact, but these Verdi operas undermined the sentimental view of music as an uplifting influence. By 1860 the composer's blood-and-thunder works had become staples in the New York repertoire, and audiences were willing to confront issues that had been suppressed earlier.

Not until the opening of the Academy of Music in 1854 did an opera house truly succeed in the city. The Italian Opera House closed in 1835; Palmo's opera house, which opened in 1844, quickly failed. The former had seemed too exclusive, whereas the latter at first seemed not exclusive enough. Wiser marketing techniques and a wider audience pool placed the Academy of Music on a sturdier financial base and permitted its survival until the Metropolitan Opera House eclipsed the old guard-dominated establishment late in the century.

This book is an example of the strengths and shortcomings of current scholarship. Ahlquist has mastered academic protocol, examined the literature in her field, and displayed it dutifully. She is sensitive to the contemporary preference for race, class, and gender studies and demonstrates a prudent determination to establish herself on the cutting edge. The results frequently border on folly. Ahlquist explains the success of Maria Garcia, later the celebrated Maria Malibran, with the analysis: "Garcia could project a seriousness and dignity as a performer and a woman that could enhance the status of the women in her audience, for they were as real as she, present at a theatrical performance on terms more or less equal with their male escorts" (p. 60). The inference is strained at best. Recurrent proclamations from the author are arched with more pedantry than meaning. Opera, Ahlquist writes, "was logistically and financially challenging, therefore suited to the skills of successful merchants" (p. 78).

The pity is that this could have been an informative, even enjoyable book. The author has done solid research and possesses a facility for handling this interdisciplinary topic. Her work is marred by a self-conscious style and a tacit plea for professional importance. Ahlquist meanders over old ground but extends her text with a parapet of verbiage that transforms the obvious into something ponderous. Occasionally she gives fresh insight, in most cases of greater value to musicologists than to historians. While scholars in both fields may quarrel with Ahlquist's plethora of weakly substantiated observations, general readers—even dedicated opera lovers—will probably

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find her presentation of New York's antebellum musical scene too fabricated for long perusal.

RONALD L. DAVIS
Southern Methodist University

DONALD L. MILLER. *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1996. Pp. 704. $35.00.

This book is a highly readable city biography, a vivid text written with a keen eye for gripping stories and rich detail. Packing a tremendous amount of information into its pages, Donald L. Miller's grand narrative tells the story of the nineteenth-century rise of Chicago in high style. Drawing on a wide range of secondary sources and some original research, Miller's book stands apart as the best general account of the founding and expansion of the city. It offers a handy, one-volume introduction to just about all of the great men and incidents long-associated with Chicago. Still, while very well done, the book does cover well-trodden ground. Aside from an exceptional bibliography, specialists in urban history and the history of Chicago will find little to surprise them in this work.

A biographer and admirer of Lewis Mumford, Miller has aimed to produced a "natural history of urbanization" that gives due weight to regional economy, culture, and ecosystems (p. 18). He succeeds particularly well in explaining how Chicago's dismal natural location challenged early explorers and settlers and offers an especially evocative account of the grit and vision of those who worked to secure crucial transportation links and infrastructural improvements in the 1830s and 1840s. Miller's great strength as an analyst of the environment is also clear in his account of the emergence of the skyscraper. Miller admires those who designed and built the city; his record of their achievements plainly communicates the astonishing commercial energy made concrete in Chicago's various physical forms. His biggest and best-told story is thus the stunning arc of development that made Chicago the indisputable "city of the century."

Miller recognizes that a record of growth and achievement cannot stand alone as urban history; he further aspires to merge such an "urban ecology" with a broader cultural history. City-building is conceptualized as a "two-way process," a constant dialectic of "people making Chicago and Chicago making people" (p. 19). Wishing to be sensitive to a range of creative tensions (growth versus control, privatism versus public good, order versus freedom), Miller explores not only economic and physical growth but also a wide range of political and cultural processes. He does so with particularly laudable success in a chapter on "The Battle for Chicago" that uses the career of five-time mayor Carter Harrison, Sr., to focus a broader account of politics and social relations.

Miller has taken on a very large task with notable ambition and great skill. He is out to recount "the full life of the city" (p. 19). Yet the practical result of his efforts is a history that ultimately shares much with older, Whiggish versions of Chicago's rise to dominance. To be sure, Miller's subject is not the people of Chicago but the city itself. Still, even if the subject is city-building, why must elites almost always occupy center stage? Miller's book thus raises profound questions about the task of synthesis and grand narrative in a new era of scholarship.

Miller makes it clear that he wishes to tell the story of "big and small folk" (p. 19), yet he has chosen to concentrate extensively on the lives of great business leaders, artists, and architects. His pages are filled with so many capsule biographies of famous men that they become something a proxy for the "ordinary Chicagoan." But as his massive bibiliography demonstrates, Miller is well aware that Chicago was an exceptionally diverse city that was riven by class, ethnicity, religion, and gender. The actual "ordinary Chicagoan," for much of the century in question, was an immigrant worker. Why, then, are their stories and voices so muted? This omission carries an analytic cost, as the large social tensions of Miller's city are asserted but seldom explained in any depth.

In the end, despite the arresting narrative of growth and development that he communicates so well, Miller's book is strangely out of sync with both the contents of his own research and his stated aims. He has not attempted to reimagine how the form of the city biography might give due weight to the multiple histories of the diverse peoples who truly built Chicago.

KAREN SAWISLAK
Stanford University

ANDREW F. SMITH. *The Saintly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of Dr. John Cook Bennett*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 271. $26.95.

John Cook Bennett was a fascinating American who achieved some recognition during his peripatetic life (1804–1867). He was involved in medicine and the expansion of medical education, the evolution of Mormonism, advancements in modern agriculture, the promotion of the tomato as a health food, and much more. He traveled the country, lived in a number of states, had several wives, and headed even more schools. Andrew F. Smith brings to life all these dimensions, and others, of this minor but quite fascinating figure.

Smith takes the reader back to an entrepreneurial America in the first half of the nineteenth century, where men like Bennett were as frequent as their sense of America's opportunities was vast. As Smith describes that world, it was a place of restless energy, filled with a multitude of risks and risk-takers, an environment for entrepreneurial builders, which perfectly describes Bennett. He was a builder of religions, colleges, capitalism, and the sciences of modern health and medicine. It was also a world in which controversy was a way of life, where the claims of science, religion,

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politics, and much else were open to fierce popular debate. What strikes me is how familiar Smith's subject and his times would seem to Alexis de Tocqueville, the author of *Democracy in America*.

Bennett achieved his greatest fame through a series of complicated interactions with the nascent Mormon movement in the years before the Civil War. While he proved to be an apostate Mormon (he was also active in several other religions over his lifetime), he was a major figure in the Nauvoo, Illinois phase of Mormonism. Bennett was at different times mayor of Nauvoo, leader and major general of the Nauvoo Legion, chancellor of the University of the City of Nauvoo, and the key political figure who complemented religious leader Joseph Smith. But this prominence at Nauvoo and within Mormonism did not last. Bennett was unable to pursue one interest for long, unable to live in one place for long, indeed unable to have one religion for long. Few of his social attachments, economic plans, or educational dreams endured.

Bennett had a falling out with Smith. Perhaps this was due to personality conflicts, but it was speeded by Bennett's polygamy, something that, in this era, Mormon leaders publicly opposed. That Bennett had several wives (each apparently unknown to the other) was consistent with other aspects of his life that were definitely shady. He also often sold degrees from his many educational ventures, including medical degrees. On several occasions he was called to account, but the practice continued.

Yet there was much more to this life, which Smith captures well. Bennett was a successful lecturer on virtually any subject from Mormonism to the tomato, a pioneer in medical education, the founder of several medical schools, a research and clinical physician, an active publisher of professional and political articles, and a politician, lobbyist, or military leader in about a dozen states. His story is worth reading whether one is interested in Bennett's role in Mormonism or his promotion of the Brahma chicken.

Smith deserves credit for creating an engaging narrative. He has obviously done some serious research in nineteenth-century sources, but it is Smith's writing that stands out. The book is fun to read, and, along the way, the reader learns much about nineteenth-century America, Mormonism in its early years, and how to write lively and successful biography.

ROBERT BOOTH FOWLER
University of Wisconsin, Madison

WILLARD CARL KLUNDER. *Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 416. $39.00.

Pity Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan, with a pudding countenance and a lasting reputation as a hack's hack! So little have most historians thought of him, if they thought of him at all, that he has gone without a serious biographer since 1891. Now Willard Carl Klunder has given Cass the sympathetic, if dispassionate, coverage that he would have considered his due. If Cass was nearly as interesting as Klunder makes him, this surely will rank as the last as well as the best word on the doughiest face among antebellum doughfaces.

For half a century, Cass moved through politics as a major player. The young soldier who broke his sword rather than surrender it to the British in the War of 1812 was around to break his rod of office, figuratively, by resigning as President James Buchanan's secretary of state in protest of the administration's unwillingness to stand firm for the Union. In between, aggressive nationalism and a search for the middle ground marked Cass's career. Few contemporaries served in so many offices: prosecuting attorney, legislator, territorial governor, secretaries of war and state, senator, and minister to France. His negotiations brought Indian nations to cede much of their domain in the Old Northwest, while his voice and vote in Andrew Jackson's day went for removing southern tribes from their homelands entirely. He lived to bring Michigan into the Union and to see it cast him from the Senate for a more antislavery figure. If he had had his way, the stars and stripes would have flown from Yukon to the Yucatan and would have been planted on Cuba's shores. "The Gulf of Mexico must be practically an American lake," he insisted. Running for president in 1848, he made a serious prospect for the Democratic nomination four years later. Cass all too often found legalistic answers to moral questions, and, as time went on, his blindness to grass-roots politics put him further and further out of touch with a changing America. Even so, the country could have chosen worse and occasionally did.

Such a man deserves historians' notice, although his indifference to slavery's expansion and enthusiasm for land grabs from neighbors have assured that most of it will be hostile. Under the circumstances, Klunder shows an almost heroic fairness, and he deserves a medal—perhaps named after Horace Greeley, the nineteenth century's other orthographic nightmare—for deciphering Cass's many exasperatingly illegible letters.

Still, readers may find it hard to enjoy the senator's career. He seems to have been born middle-aged, warty, and disabused. There are no good Cass stories the way there are about John C. Calhoun or Henry Clay. Fun stuff happens in antebellum politics, but not to Cass; telling quotes sparkle in political history, but none of them come from Cass's mouth. Wire workers tug behind the scenes, but Cass is all on the surface, his mind usually untroubled by doubts, theories, or abstruse thought. His greatest contributions seemed to be his formulation of popular sovereignty as a solution to the issue of slavery in the territories and his support for the Compromise of 1850. Even then, the leadership in offering bills and pushing them through lay elsewhere, with Clay and Stephen A. Douglas.

Those who read political history for a good time will honor Klunder's labors more than rejoice in his prose.

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The book grasps the facts but at times seems to catch the spirit of the man; or, rather, Cass's leaden spirit infects the book. In treating the 1848 campaign, the narrative takes on zest and verve, but then the grey patches return. Even that does not dispel Klunder's contribution. This book is every bit a piece with Cass's own life: long, painstaking, moderate, and unsullied by the flashiness of more fleeting accounts. It deserves the same longevity, as biography, that Cass himself had as a politician.

MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS
University of Kentucky

STEPHEN B. OATES. *The Approaching Fury: Voices of the Storm, 1820–1861*. New York: HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xvi, 495. $28.00.

For many years, Stephen B. Oates has written popular history grounded in scholarship. His books have been intended to reach large audiences beyond the academy, and certainly he has been successful in this approach, especially in his biographies. This new book continues Oates's efforts to provide accessible narratives to an American public seemingly more interested in the fighting of the Civil War than the reasons for its coming.

Oates combines biography and an innovative method (attributed to William Faulkner) that focuses the reader's attention on thirteen critical actors. For 430 pages, these historical characters talk to themselves and each other; they react to the course of affairs as they take their turn narrating the critical events of the period. Oates uses his characters and their differing perceptions of events to provide multiple points of view of the same historical episodes. The book begins with Thomas Jefferson responding to the Missouri Compromise ("the fire bell in the night") and ends, forty years later, with Abraham Lincoln's musings in his second inaugural address on the causes of the war. In the intervening years, Henry Clay, Stephen Douglas, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, John Brown, Jefferson Davis and Lincoln give their reactions to the swirl of events leading up to the firing on Fort Sumter. While there are bit parts for Nat Turner, John C. Calhoun, George Fitzhugh, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Mary Boykin Chesnut, it is the leading politicians of the period who frame Oates's story.

Oates believes that by removing the historian's "detached third-person voice," which "wrings all the life out of my characters and the ante-bellum era," he can provide a freshness and a sense of immediacy to the complexities of the prewar period (p. xiii). Hence his subjects ruminate over the issues, the legislation, and themselves in "interconnected dramatic monologues" (p. xiv). In employing such an approach, Oates does not offer any new interpretation or shading of the period, and this is not a book that professional historians will find useful in sharpening their understanding of the period. But it may provide the necessary context for a reading public that, like Oates, dislikes monographs and textbook accounts. What emerges, in terms of historical analysis, is how intractable the issues separating northerners and southerners were, although a different cast with border state leaders might have suggested otherwise.

Oates concentrates on the intensification of North-South sectionalism as it progressed from the Missouri Compromise through Nat Turner's rebellion, the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and "Bleeding Kansas" to the election of Lincoln in 1860 and the subsequent secession of the South. Indeed, all the chestnuts of antebellum history are here, from Davis in his rose garden when he learned of his election as president of the Confederacy to Lincoln's farewell address to neighbors and friends gathered at Springfield's railroad station. The events and episodes are traditional; what is not are the method and the way that Oates has chosen to tell the story.

There can be few complaints about the historical accuracy and authenticity of Oates's material. It comes from the printed record, either what his characters said or wrote or what other historians have written about them. Oates has carefully woven the monologues together in a sequence, and readers may be able to envision a theatrical presentation with well-known actors. (Besides the obvious Sam Waterhouse as Lincoln and Denzell Washington as Turner, perhaps Harrison Ford as Clay and Meryl Streep as Stowe.)

Even in an era of confessionalism, Oates's technique does raise certain issues. For example, he has simulated certain conversations, usually between spouses, but once between Douglas and Republican leaders. The substance of these conversations is not inaccurate, but some material is not contemporaneous. One obvious example is Mary Lincoln telling her husband in the 1850s that he was her "all-lover-husband-father, all," words she in fact used in a letter to a friend after his assassination. Given the canons of historical verisimilitude and the changes in human attitudes, is it reasonable to conflate such material? Is it appropriate to base Lincoln's reflections on the eve of the war on the contents of his second inaugural address?

In an immensely readable book, the conversations between the historical characters are wooden. Possibly, as the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction disappear, writers of fiction will understand their distinguishing hallmark to be the flexibility and realism of their dialogue. Furthermore, there is a melding of what we know in 1997 and what these nineteenth-century characters thought: that is, of latent and manifest history. And is it realistic to use the public expression of historical persons to convey what is presented as their private ruminations? The two are often quite different.

Soon this volume will be followed by a Civil War sequel using the same techniques. Whatever the con-

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cerns over technique and method, Oates has written a lively book.

JEAN H. BAKER
Goucher College

JAMES OLIVER HORTON and LOIS E. HORTON. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 340. $35.00.

This elegantly crafted narrative by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton illuminates the burgeoning voice and visibility of the northern free black American community in the two centuries preceding the Civil War. While their work is framed by chronology, the authors concentrate on identifying topical indicators of the changing processes of black American life. At the core of this work are chapters on culture, race, and class in the colonial North; the evolution of family and household; culture, politics, and the issue of African-American identity; and sustaining and serving the community.

The book relies heavily on evidence from the Northeast and Middle Atlantic regions but also provides information about black life in the Upper South and the Middle West. Always cognizant of the interplay between race, ideology, and power, Horton and Horton contexualize their work in ways that illustrate their definition of integration: this is American history with a primary concentration on African Americans. This pedagogical approach allows the authors to connect important, sometimes shaping, events in the majority society to happenings in black American life.

They explain that nineteenth-century blacks voiced commitments to the ideology of republicanism in the immediate post–Revolutionary War period while simultaneously reacting to the realities of a new racism. This dual response is illustrated not only by voices easily recognizable—Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, and David Walker—but also by the words and deeds of lesser-known historical personages such as the New Jersey slaves Nance and Dick Melick, Cincinnati businessman Henry Boyd, and New York entrepreneur Allen Royce.

Horton and Horton describe the process by which blacks constructed a world of their own that was largely ignored by the majority community even as it, to a degree, shaped that community. Their brief but illuminating discussion of the role of minstrel songs and acts as staples of white entertainment is juxtaposed with the travails of the first black acting troupe in America (the African Company of New York) and its resident theater (the African Grove).

Protest, abolition, the Underground Railroad, slave rescues, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and, ultimately, the Dred Scott decision of 1857 are exploited to show how slavery touched the lives of northern free blacks in myriad ways. Optimism and anxiety simultaneously fueled black discourse over slavery and liberty in the two decades before the Civil War. Douglass reflected both sentiments as he wrestled with Garrisonian pacifism, argued for an antislavery interpretation of the Constitution, and approved of armed resistance to slave catchers. Yet, the authors are quick to note the many voices raised in the public arena, like those of Martin Delany and Garnet, that concluded, at least temporarily, that the North would not grant nor guarantee the black community's liberation.

Not only is the book resonant with diverse male voices, but the historical experience of black women is also acknowledged. Their roles as social welfare activists, mothers, and political spokespersons are neatly woven into the narrative. Indeed, the treatment of women is as ambitious as the work's conceptualization.

Despite its majesty and complexity, there are nagging questions that mar this book's overall excellence. Its ambitious scope gives it a sweeping, encyclopedic character more in keeping with a textbook than a monograph. Moreover, the chapter on urban life is among the briefest in the book; what could have been the heart of this work is only a series of generalizations about restrictive employment laws, dangerous and low-paying occupations, and women's domestic labor. Finally, the brief epilogue seems more afterthought than considered meditation on the state of black America in 1861–1862. It splices together observations about the Emancipation Proclamation, northern military policy toward blacks, and black determination to convince their severest critics that they could shoulder the responsibilities of soldiering and, by extension, the responsibilities of citizenship.

My criticisms do not diminish my enthusiasm for this fascinating work. The elegance of its conception, language, and general presentation are to be commended.

HARRY A. REED
Michigan State University

ROBERT S. LEVINE. *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representative Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. x, 314. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

Some reconsideration of the old problem of distinguishing between the concepts of ethnicity, race, and color in African-American life is necessary in order to appreciate the relationship between Frederick Douglass and his lesser-known rival, Martin R. Delany. For eighteen months (1847–1849), the two shared coeditorship of *The North Star*, which later became *Frederick Douglass Newspaper*. William J. Simmons (in *Men of Mark: Eminent Progressive and Rising* [1887]) quoted Frederick Douglas as saying, "I thank God for making me a man simply; but Delany always thanks him for making him a 'black man.'" Robert S. Levine introduces this quotation, along with some of its implications, in the first chapter of this well-researched and imaginative study of black American leadership.

Color is, in fact, crucial to understanding the differences between Douglass and Delany, but it is a problem that is too often avoided in the history of African-

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American culture and politics. Although it is generally true that the distinction between black and mulatto has never been the same in North America as in the Caribbean or in Brazil, there is undeniable truth in the observation of the late Benjamin Quarles that there are in the United States "color lines within the color line."

Perhaps it is only a coincidence that the mulatto Douglass (1817–1895) is better remembered and more frequently quoted than his black rival Delany. The life of Douglass is not inseparable from the complicated and contradictory patterns of deprivation and privilege experienced by mulatto slaves. It is profitable to read the interestingly divergent versions of Douglass's autobiographies in comparison with those of other mulattoes, particularly William Wells Brown's *Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Bondman, Written by Himself* (1859) and John Mercer Langston's *From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capital; or The First and Only Negro Representative in Congress from the Old Dominion* (1894). Delany's life must be understood in connection with the fact that he was a nominally "free-born" black. Athough Delany never wrote a complete autobiography, it would be useful to compare his self-presentations with those of other "free-born" and dark-skinned black men such as Samuel Ringgold Ward and Alexander Crummell. I do not mean to imply that the divergent attitudes of Douglass and Delany on black nationalism, for example, can be reduced to the question of color, alone. Oversimplifications are definitely to be eschewed; some black emigrationists, Robert Campbell and Joseph Jenkins Roberts among them, were fair-skinned.

Levine calls attention to Anna Julia Cooper's well-known observation that, "The late Martin Delany, who was an unadulterated black man, used to say when honors of state fell upon him, that there was no discounting his race identity and attributing his achievements to some admixture of Saxon blood." He asks rhetorically why it was that Cooper singled out Delany as her "exemplum" when "Frederick Douglass was generally regarded as the representative black leader of the time" (p. 1). Levine knows quite well that Delany was a much better choice than Douglass, given Cooper's purpose, which was to effect a shift from the forbidden discourse of color to the more acceptable discourse of gender. Delany's statement sought to convey authenticity on himself by privileging color over race, while Cooper sought to confer authenticity on herself by privileging womanhood over blackness.

Douglass had numerous praiseworthy attributes, including a powerful mind, and astounding physical courage. He was also, albeit Levine does not make this observation, a remarkably handsome man whose animal magnetism, and commanding personality, always gave him splendid advantages in his dealings with persons of either sex. Levine also skirts the fact that Douglass had an obnoxiously overblown ego, and a tendency to make generalizations on the African-American condition, that were sadly, no more than solipsistic projections of his own atypical career. These were matters of perpetual annoyance to his contemporaries, notably Langston and Crummell. But criticisms were covert and rare, for Douglass had masterfully caught the imagination of his times, and he did, in fact, achieve an acclaim as the voice of black America that has been enjoyed by no black leader before or since. Neither Booker T. Washington nor W. E. B. Du Bois nor Marcus Garvey ever received the almost universally gushing hero-worship that Douglass eventually enjoyed.

Levine has been occupied with an attempt to restore Delany to the black history pantheon, and he has brilliantly performed a necessary and useful service by revealing to non-specialists the fact that Douglass, for all his genius, did not stand head-and-shoulders above all his African-American contemporaries. Levine demonstrates a scrupulous honesty as well as a rare courtesy in acknowledging his debts to prior scholarship, not only in the notes, but in the text. The author and his publisher are to be commended for including the erudite endnotes in their index. Levine has benefitted from the biographies of Delany by Dorothy Sterling (*The Making of an Afro-American* [1971]) and Victor Ullman (*Martin R. Delaney: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism* [1971]), which he singles out for special tribute, but these works, while strenuously scholarly, were for whimsical or contumacious reasons unfootnoted. Levine was thus dependent on his own admirable resources for blazing a new trail through the primary sources. With its powerful style and exemplary documentation this book must be counted among the most important contributions to Delany scholarship in many years.

WILSON J. MOSES
Pensylvania State University

ELAINE K. GINSBERG, editor. *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 298. Cloth $45.95, paper $16.95.

Recently, much has been written on "identity politics," in part because writers from the "margins" have been finding a voice through the imaginative research of scholars in feminist and ethnic studies. Elaine K. Ginsberg's collection of essays on the "fictions of identity" adds valuable depth to this discussion, examining everything from twentieth-century novels to slave narratives to provide multiple perspectives on the concept of identity. A few essays in the collection undermine the credibility of the whole, however, by insisting on unreasonable interpretations in the name of gender and racial politics.

The collection is made up of ten essays, grouped into four segments. Most of the essays deal with "passing" in its traditional American sense of black passing for white and offer an understanding of identity as a social construct in the actual lives of African Americans. The main point of the collection is that identity is fluid, the

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ability of certain people to cross the color line proving that all categories of race, gender, and class are arbitrary.

Ellen Weinauer's essay on Ellen Craft's escape from slavery emphasizes the theoretical links among race, gender, and class. Craft escaped by passing as a white, middle-class man: a triple passing. Her " 'crossings' challenge the very notion of essential . . . identities on which slavery is erected" (p. 47), Weinauer says, making the further point that Craft never did come to the kind of relative freedom her husband enjoyed, because once she was in the North, she fell back into the category of "woman/wife" owned by her husband. This essay allows for an extension of "passing" to other categories: women passing for men; lesbians and gays passing as straight. Several of the articles take the metaphor further by showing how fiction passes as autobiography (in James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* [1927]) and disruptive literature passes as "imperialist" (in Olaudah Equiano's slave narrative). The result is that readers come to question not only the categories they use to describe people and literature but their own identities.

Several excellent essays lead the reader into the complexities of identity construction: in particular, Marion Rust on Equiano, Gayle Wald on John Howard Griffin's *Black Like Me* (1961), and Julia Stern on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) offer well-reasoned and fully documented essays. These articles stand in contrast to a few others that weaken the collection by making unwarranted leaps of interpretation.

The two most egregious examples of this problem occur in the articles by Elizabeth Young and Katharine Nicholson Ings. Ings deals with the sensationalist novel by E.D.E.N. Southworth, *The Hidden Hand* (1859), arguing that because Capitola's surname is "Black," and because her nickname is "Cap," she is metaphorically connected to a black woman servant in the story, "Old Hat," "a more grown-up version of a 'Cap' " (p. 133). In essence, Ings wants us to believe that this novel about an anti-sentimental white heroine is really about "blackness" and has been "misread" by scholars who have helped it "pass as 'white' literature" (p. 132). Moreover, Ings states that "To pass as a worker . . . suggests that Cap also passes as black" (p. 135), an idea based on Eric Lott's *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (1993), in which Lott says that "blackface" came to refer to workers. This is backwards and imprecise reasoning: blackface implies workers, therefore all workers must imply being black.

Young constructs similar contorted reasoning in her analysis of a Civil War memoir, *The Woman in Battle* by Loreta Janeta Velazquez (1876). Young quotes the author as saying, "We took possession of their camp . . . almost without resistance" and "Our assaults upon the enemy were made with irresistible fury and we rushed through their lines" (p. 203) then interprets this description as rape imagery. In the same paragraph, Young states that the author's prejudices against the North being "beaten down by [her] intercourse with its people" casts the South as "female rape victim." This is an outright misinterpretation of a common nineteenth-century term for mere social relations (pp. 203–204). Later, Young sees "a strand of imagery that constructs Southern military aggression as anal penetration" in the idea that the South will attack the North through Canada, from "the rear" (p. 204). Again, common military language is interpreted out of context. Furthermore, in order for the "anal penetration" idea to work, North has to be substituted for South. These two essays exemplify what happens when a critic tries too hard to make a work fit a preconceived paradigm.

On the other end of the spectrum, the collection ends with an excellent essay by Adrian Piper that is arguably the best in the book. It not only pulls together most of the threads of theory offered in the earlier articles and quotes from many of the same sources, but it also gives a personal twist to what might otherwise be a too coldly intellectual discussion. Piper has experienced what it means to have her identity questioned because of her race. Her intense, honest consideration of her own life is deepened by reference to works by other African Americans and forces the reader to confront his or her own identity politics and prejudices.

KATHLEEN DE GRAVE
Pittsburg State University

GARY COLLISON. *Shadrach Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. PP. 294. $27.95.

Gary Collison's biography of Shadrach Minkins is a noble effort: telling the story of an anonymous person who left no record of his past, giving a full name and identity to a man previously known in history only as an object, the unwitting focus of the famous Shadrach slave rescue. Unfortunately, the effort does not completely succeed.

The known facts of Minkins's life are sparse: he was born in Norfolk, Virginia, some time between 1814 and 1822. He worked first for a tavern owner until the man died and then was hired out to several masters, working at various jobs until becoming John DeBree's house servant in the late 1840s. In May 1850, Minkins escaped, making his way to Boston, where he worked as a waiter until his capture by federal marshals in February 1851. Rescued by a black mob and spirited out of the city, Minkins settled in Montreal, where he married, raised a family, and ran several businesses. He died there in 1875.

Collison has taken a great risk in choosing Minkins for the subject of a biography. Minkins was a slave and did not keep an account of his experiences, and at the point in his life when he did become famous, he appears not to have been the agent of his own fate. Thus, to a great extent, the book's lack of success is not

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the author's fault. Collison has done his research; the details of Minkins's life simply have not survived. Everyone who works in the field of antebellum African-American history knows the frustration of trying to tell the stories of individuals who were usually illiterate and were either ignored or misrepresented by those who composed the written record. Collison has worked hard to piece together the possibilities, if not the facts, of his subject's life. But the result is a story not really of Minkins, but of many *like* him. We get an idea of what his life might have been, but not necessarily what it was.

This is particularly true of the book's first half. Before Minkins enters the national spotlight, very little is known about him, and Collison is forced to rely heavily on what is generally known about related topics such as slavery in Norfolk, the practice of hiring out, fugitive escape, and the Underground Railroad. The result is somewhat frustrating: the reader may wonder when the narrative is going to get to Minkins himself, and historians well-versed in antebellum African-American history will find much of this ground already familiar.

Historians may also question Collison's emphasis on the change brought about in the lives of African Americans by passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. Undeniably, the act incited both northerners and southerners, black and white. But at times the author implies that fugitives in the North were living relatively peacefully until its passage. While the 1850 law received more publicity and generated greater reaction, the threat of fugitive recapture under the previous 1793 federal law, as well as illegal kidnapping (both of free blacks and slaves), was ever present for black Americans.

The book's value is also reduced by some needless errors. For example, Solomon Northup, the best-known free black kidnapped into slavery, did not reside in Washington, D.C., as Collison writes, but rather in Glens Falls, New York. Some of the citations, too, are sloppy. I was quite dismayed to find my own book on the kidnapping of free blacks attributed to Carol "Williams."

Nonetheless, the book has its merits. Readers will find it well-written and accessible. The highlight is Collison's description of the best-known, most well-documented part of Minkins's life: his rescue from a Boston courtroom. Collison has solidly researched Boston's black community of Beacon Hill, and when its residents take center stage during the action, the story really comes alive. He shows a black community prepared to defend itself and its own regardless of the opinions of whites. Ironically, though, the author makes black leaders like Lewis Hayden seem more vivid than Minkins himself, the subject of the book.

CAROL WILSON
Washington College

PHILIP J. SCHWARZ. *Slave Laws in Virginia*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 253. $40.00.

The last two decades have seen an explosion in research on the legal history of slavery, but much remains to be done, especially at state and local levels. Philip J. Schwarz continues the work he began in *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Law of Virginia, 1705–1865* (1988). His newest publication is a collection of essays on diverse aspects of the relationship between slavery and the law in the Old Dominion.

Perhaps Schwarz's most provocative essay deals with the legal heritage that he contends that newly arrived Africans carried with them from their native country. We know from other scholars' work that freshly arrived Africans had not lost their culture despite the horrors of the Middle Passage. Schwarz asserts that Africans reactions to colonial law reflected their own legal culture, and that their response to white law had a subtle, but important influence in shaping modifications in slave law. Schwarz's hard evidence of the survival of the African legal heritage is thin, but he clearly labels his assertions as speculation and encourages other scholars to explore this avenue of research more fully.

One essay on capital punishment and one on the transportation of slaves convicted of serious crimes extends Schwarz's study of the treatment of slave criminals under Virginia law. Although Virginia slaveowners remained firmly committed to protecting slavery by any means necessary, capital punishment for slaves actually declined during the antebellum period. Although Virginia retained a system of special tribunals that meted out punishments more severe than common law courts which tried white defendants, a gradual decline in death sentences for whites meant that slave executions could decline but still be held more often than for whites, thus maintaining full protection for slavery. The introduction of transportation out of the state as a substitution for execution, which began in 1801, resulted in twice as many slaves being shipped out of Virginia rather than hanged. Although Virginia law required that transported slaves be removed from the United States, unscrupulous traders often took them to the Deep South for sale, a practice so common that some Virginia slaveholders believed that slaves themselves knew that a sentence of transportation simply meant sale much further south.

Suppression of slaves' criminal activity proved ultimately less difficult than another threat that would haunt Virginia slaveholders: abolitionist agitation and willingness to assist slaves to flee to the North. Surprisingly, Schwarz finds that those convicted of aiding slaves to escape were white craftsmen, many native to Virginia. In 1850, seven of twelve artisans (carpenters, shoemakers, wheelwrights) were Virginia born, five were native to the South, and two were born in the North. In 1860, eight of fifteen craftsmen held for helping slaves to escape were Virginia born, three were

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native to the South, and two were born elsewhere. Schwarz has no explanation for this extraordinary finding.

An essay on Thomas Jefferson and the law of slavery is the least successful. Schwarz grapples with the inexplicable (and ultimately unresolvable) conflict between Thomas Jefferson, the defender of liberty, and Thomas Jefferson, the lifelong owner of approximately 200 slaves. The author contends that Jefferson used the law to justify his ownership of fellow human beings. His appetite for luxurious living kept him a slaveholder throughout his life, occasional antislavery statements notwithstanding, Schwarz chooses not to confront the blatant racism reflected in Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1787), but he condemns the master of Monticello's silence in his later years on the issue of slavery and his failure to free most of his bondspeople.

This is a worthwhile and rewarding collection of essays that fills out the legal history of the Peculiar Institution in that state at the same time it reminds us how much work on the topic in Virginia and elsewhere remains to be done.

JUDITH KELLEHER SCHAFER
Murphy Institute,
Tulane University

LARRY E. HUDSON, JR. *To Have and to Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum South Carolina.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 241. $35.00.

In this book, Larry E. Hudson, Jr. both builds on and departs from recent work on the "internal" or "domestic" economy, in which slaves engaged in their "own" production, bought and sold goods, and accumulated property. In the process, he presents a sharply different picture of South Carolina slavery from that of William Dusinberre, whose recent book (*Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* [1996]) stressed how the callous brutality of slaveowners ravaged the lives of low-country slaves. "If it has a bias," Hudson declares of his own book, "it is against so heavy an emphasis on the brutality of the institution that it obscures the humanity, endeavor, and creativity of the enslaved" (p. xiii).

While conforming to the recent emphasis on the slaves' ability to carve a measure of autonomy for themselves, Hudson's book breaks new ground in at least two ways. First, although Hudson concedes that the internal economy and the "task system" that facilitated it were most pronounced in the low country, he argues that both were widespread in the interior as well. Second, and more important, he links the economic autonomy provided by what he calls the "work and garden system" to the social autonomy provided by slave families, arguing that economic success and strong families reinforced one another. "The work and garden system was a primary stimulus to collective family labor and provided both an organizing principle and a rationale for stable slave families" (p. 32). At the same time, "economic advantages were more likely to accrue to a sizable family with able-bodied males and females who were not in the process of producing their own families" (p. 58). Hudson thus neatly synthesizes two very different explanations of slave autonomy, one (dating primarily from the 1970s) that locates this autonomy in slave culture and the other (more recent) that stresses its economic roots.

Although this volume contains a great deal of interesting information, based on assiduous research, its presentation at times leaves something to be desired. Hudson shares too many of his note cards with the reader, rather than first digesting them and then presenting conclusions buttressed by occasional illustration. Shunning even simple statistics, he prefers detailed description to systematic analysis; in suggesting that the internal economy produced substantial property inequality among slaves, for example, he makes no effort to measure this inequality or establish where it was greatest. Generalizations, while often plausible, do not always flow from the evidence offered. And many readers will probably wish that Hudson had provided more context for the information he presents. Not only does he eschew systematic comparison among low-country, middle, and up-country South Carolina, but he shies away from situating his study geographically (in comparison to other states) or historiographically (in the light of other recent work). Dusinberre's book appears in the bibliography but not in the text; Brenda E. Stevenson's work—including *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (1996) and previously published articles—which presents an interpretation of slave families in Virginia strikingly different from Hudson's for South Carolina, appears in neither. In short, this is a valuable book, but one that further revision could have substantially strengthened.

It is also a book for the 1990s. Hudson firmly embraces free-market and "family" values, arguing that despite the rigors of bondage, slaves with ambition and skill could be materially successful while the lazy would fall by the wayside. His "work and garden system" appears as an antebellum version of welfare reform, providing enslaved blacks with the incentive to make something of themselves, his slaves as men on the make who, through skill, hard work, and determination, could often accumulate capital and overcome the many obstacles they faced. Success brought both familial happiness and community status, for these "industrious, property-owning slaves were among the most influential and well-respected members of the slave quarters" (p. 31). (By contrast, "slaves without access to cash may have found themselves severely handicapped when it came to competing for, much less winning, a young lady's hand" [p. 156].) Basing his assessment of the slaves' family values squarely on the bottom line, Hudson concludes that "the more property families were able to produce, the better were their chances to have and to hold what was most dear to them—their families" (p. 184). Too bad they didn't

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have a chance to take part in the great bull market of the 1990s.

PETER KOLCHIN
University of Delaware

PAUL FINKELMAN, editor. *His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1995. Pp. xii, 354.

This excellent collection of essays addresses a relatively under-investigated topic: responses to John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid and its impact on American society. Although many biographies have been written about Brown (the best known being Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood* [1970]), those works focus on the enigmatic Brown himself (marveling at his twenty children or debating his sanity) rather than on his place in the deepening sectional crisis. These biographies tend to end with Brown's December 1859 hanging and devote a frustratingly small amount of space to the consequences of his actions. Paul Finkelman's edited volume redresses this imbalance.

Many of the essays treat topics one would expect to find in a book of this sort. Finkelman analyzes the abolitionist response to John Brown's raid and execution. Daniel C. Littlefield considers the African-American reaction. Southern sentiment is chronicled by Peter Wallenstein, and Seymour Drescher considers European opinion. Other essays address the reactions of groups that one would not anticipate finding in such a collection, but these are often the most interesting contributions. Wendy Hamand Venet discusses the response of northern antislavery women to Brown's raid, while Peter Knupfer describes the reaction of northern "constitutional unionists." And the essay I found among the most entertaining was James O. Breeden's recounting of how Brown's raid inspired a mass withdrawal of southern medical students from Philadelphia's two medical colleges. In the book's final contribution, Charles Joyner analyzes Brown's "passion" from the perspective of the theories of anthropologist Victor Turner.

One of the themes to emerge from the essays is that the northern and southern responses to Brown's raid were not accidental but "manufactured" by antebellum spin doctors who carefully considered how events would play in the press and with their constituents. Thus even before Brown had been tried, northern abolitionists rejoiced that his hanging would create a martyr for their cause. When talk began to circulate about a possible rescue attempt and Brown's attorney decided to argue that Brown's life should be spared by reason of insanity, abolitionists were barely able to hide their displeasure. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, for example, admitted to his mother that "I don't feel sure that his acquittal or rescue would do half as much good as his being executed" (pp. 30–31). Before the reader can condemn Higginson for putting the abolitionist cause ahead of Brown's life, though, the authors point out that Brown relished the martyr's role and did everything in his power to ensure that he would be executed.

Southerners also kept political repercussions at the forefront of their thinking. Fire-eater Edmund Ruffin hoped that the Brown affair would "stir the sluggish blood of the South" (p. 153). Robert E. McGlone demonstrates that Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise hoped to use the attention he received for his role in directing the prosecution of Brown to catapult him to the Democratic presidential nomination in 1860. Like most southerners, Wise insisted that Brown must hang, but others, such as ex-President John Tyler, pleaded with Wise not to execute Brown so as not to give the North the upper hand in the contest for sympathy.

Nonetheless, these essays demonstrate that few of the most important actors in this drama were able to control events as they hoped. Wise could not become a contender for the presidency because his role in prosecuting Brown made him an unacceptable candidate in the North, even in the mostly proslavery Democratic Party. Northern unionists who expected to benefit from the reaction against Brown were shocked to discover that Brown had instead further polarized North and South and made the unionist call for compromise seem like an ignominious surrender. *Dis*unionists who had hoped to use Brown's raid to unify the South in preparation for secession were dismayed that their own vitriol also further unified the North. As to Brown's role in the coming of the Civil War, the authors generally believe that the die was cast by 1859. "A civil war would have come about anyhow" (p. 33), sums up Bertram Wyatt-Brown in a powerful essay that skillfully recreates one contemporary's characterization of Brown as a "volcano beneath a mountain of snow" (p. 31).

With so many authors analyzing essentially the same material, it is perhaps inevitable that this fine collection suffers at times from repetition. Lydia Maria Child's aborted attempt to write a biography of Brown is discussed in both the essay on women and the essay on abolitionists (though the discussion of Child's war of words with the wife of Senator James Mason of Virginia in the former essay was one of the most interesting sections of the book). Wise's motivations are also discussed in at least three essays. More disappointing than the repetitious coverage of some subjects, however, was the authors' failure to address other subjects at all. While two extremes of northern opinion with tiny constituencies—abolitionists and constitutional unionists—are treated in depth, none of the essays considers what the vast majority of northern voters, mainstream Republicans or Democrats, thought of Brown and his raid. Learning about Republican reaction would have been especially enlightening, because although more than one essay discusses the creation of Brown's martyrdom, the authors never demonstrate that Brown was considered a martyr by any but a few radical abolitionists. Nonetheless, this fine collection of essays contributes significantly to our

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understanding of the role of the Harpers Ferry incident in the events that led to the Civil War.

TYLER ANBINDER
George Washington University

F. TODD SMITH. *The Caddos, the Wichitas, and the United States, 1846–1901.* (The Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 64.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 190. $29.95.

Like many other Native American groups, the Caddo and Wichita tribes, originally from what is now Texas, made efforts to accommodate the arrival of European outsiders. Because they were relatively few in number and did not aggressively resist, they have been somewhat overlooked in the broad scope of Indian history. F. Todd Smith effectively corrects this oversight with the present study, which begins where his previous book, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542–1854* (1995), left off. Smith follows the events affecting these two peoples, who were closely aligned but of different stock, during their years under American jurisdiction prior to the turn of the century.

With the American acquisition of Texas, the history of the Caddo and Wichita became essentially a story of the failure of the reservation system. Conceived as an alternative to the extinction of the Native American population, it promised protection if the Indian peoples would accommodate American society rather than resist. The Caddo and the Wichita made such a commitment, only to discover that the government could not, or would not, honor its word. In his introduction, Smith notes that the book is primarily a study of Indian-white relations, not an ethnohistory. He offers no whitewash of federal policy, however, maintaining that "land, rather than assimilation, was the true goal of federal Indian policy during this period" (p. xvi).

In many respects, the Caddo and Wichita found themselves in a "no win" situation from the start. After the war with Mexico, they fell under the authority of Texas rather than the United States because of the agreement to hand over the public domain to the former republic. Texans treated all Indians the same, showing an incredible brutality as they tried to force the native peoples to leave the state entirely. Under this circumstance, federal agents could not protect the peaceful tribes from either the Texans or the more powerful Plains tribes. Nor did Texas grudgingly agree to allow a reservation on its soil until 1854. Despite a sincere attempt by the two tribal groups to make their reserve a success, they were driven north to the Indian Territory in 1859 by the continued hostility of Texans. There they were moved around, harassed, saw the buffalo disappear, and became involved in the Civil War. They finally ended up at the Wichita Agency, where they resided until 1901, when the reservation was abolished and the tribal population was forced to accept individual allotments.

This book is well documented and well written. Smith is particularly effective in explaining the actions of Indian agents and tribal leaders. He also provides a good commentary on reservation life. His most significant contribution, however, is to confirm that even those tribes that generally cooperated with the government, as did the Caddos and Wichitas, were completely betrayed by the reservation program.

ROBERT A. TRENNERT
Arizona State University

RICHARD COKE LOWER. *A Bloc of One: The Political Career of Hiram W. Johnson.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 442. $45.00.

Governor during the high point of California's early twentieth-century reformist surge, vice-presidential nominee on Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party ticket in 1912, and senator from California for longer than any other figure in the state's history, Hiram W. Johnson offers an extraordinary range of material for a biography. The often quirky personality traits of a man who feared a "deep, dark conspiracy" of his political opponents en route to a re-election victory with ninety-four percent of the vote only heighten his appeal. Richard Coke Lower offers not only a comprehensive portrait of Johnson but an important monograph on the rise and fall of Progressivism.

Lower begins with a detailed coverage of Johnson's early life, which centered on an ambivalent relationship with his father, a maverick Golden State politician. Lower then describes in depth the crowning achievements of Johnson's political career. Several successes stand out in the six years following Johnson's election as governor in 1910, most notably his focusing of the diffuse anti-railroad rhetoric offered by many California Progressives into a specific political program, his ability—unlike reformers in many other parts of the country—to include labor within his political base, and his preservation of the key innovations of the state's Progressives, the tools of direct democracy. Johnson's leadership skills allowed him to shape the diverse forces of reform in California into a coherent and effective political movement of a strength unmatched in any state except Wisconsin. His political rise was meteoric: nomination as Roosevelt's running mate in 1912, a national reputation as the leading hope of GOP progressives for the presidency, overwhelming re-election in 1914, and elevation to the Senate in 1916.

But the election to the Senate, Lower argues, triggered a decline in Johnson's national and state fortunes. His success in Sacramento had depended on a willingness to invest energy in the Progressive crusade and an ability to persuade others to do the same. Once in Washington, however, Johnson proved unwilling to relinquish power to his subordinates, who quickly fell into internecine squabbling and allowed conservatives in the state to regroup, while Johnson himself lost touch with the cutting edge of Californian reform

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sentiment. Nonetheless, the move to Washington initially seemed like the correct one. Johnson made a major mark as President Woodrow Wilson's leading Senate critic and the upper chamber's most prominent defender of Progressive values on issues ranging from civil liberties to taxation to the president's decision to send U.S. troops to Russia without congressional sanction. The last paved the way for Johnson's vehement opposition to U.S. entry into the League of Nations, a battle that Lower, in the book's most important argument, posits as a critical turning point in both the senator's career and the fate of Progressivism nationally. Johnson's shrill denunciations of the League divided his supporters and also established a pattern, evident throughout the rest of his career, in which the Californian stood out for his negativity. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, on both domestic and international issues, Johnson proved effective in detecting the weaknesses in others' agendas—whose harmful effects he regularly exaggerated—but failed to offer any positive alternatives. After flirting with support for the New Deal, he backed away from Franklin D. Roosevelt as well and ended his career as a bloc of one.

Elegantly written and persuasively argued, the book could have done a bit more with Johnson's personal life, especially while he was in the Senate. (For example, Lower covers the effects of the suicide of Johnson's son, Archibald, in an extended footnote.) Also, while Lower is undoubtedly correct that "fundamentally" Johnson did not change his basic political principles (p. 297), he also might have wanted to compare Johnson to others, such as George Norris or Robert La Follette, Jr., who maintained their reformist credentials while nonetheless adjusting themselves to changes in the interwar political climate. On the whole, however, this book offers both detailed coverage of Johnson's political career and important insights for any scholar interested in American politics between 1900 and 1940.

ROBERT DAVID JOHNSON
Williams College

CONRAD CHERRY. *Hurrying toward Zion: Universities, Divinity Schools, and American Protestantism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 373. $24.95.

One of the more remarkable developments in the study of American religion in the last generation has been the emergence of Indiana as a major center for such work. The Eli Lilly Foundation, headquartered in Indianapolis, has been perhaps the most important element in that development. The Foundation has invested heavily in sponsoring a great array of studies of Protestantism in American culture, especially in that part of it usually designated as the "liberal mainstream." Indianapolis itself is emerging as something of a "Protestant Vatican," and the Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis is becoming a significant force in the study of American religious history.

Conrad Cherry's book is an unprecedented attempt at an overview of the topic that has engaged the Lilly Foundation's most consistent and telling support: Protestant theological education in the twentieth century. He focuses on the independent Union Theological Seminary in New York City; on the divinity schools at Harvard, Yale, Chicago and Vanderbilt; and on the divinity schools associated with the Methodist Church at Boston, Emory, Duke, Drew, Southern Methodist, and Southern California.

Cherry's basic thesis is that in the late nineteenth century, liberal, ecumenical Protestantism embraced the emerging modern research university and its culture of professionalization and specialization as the most appropriate instrument by which to unify and provide a core for American culture. That embrace, however, proved problematical. When the theological educators embraced specialization, it led not to union and cohesion but to a never-ending fragmentation. Professionalization produced a liberal clergy whose world view was often far removed from the popular piety of the laity in their charge. The gulf between clergy and laity was further widened by the ministers' role, following the universities, in leading movements to reform all manner of ills in American society, from the Social Gospel of the late nineteenth century to the modern feminist movement. The early educators' desire for an ecumenical investigation of the world cultures that the universities were studying led, in the next century, to a kind of pluralism that would surely have bewildered those thoroughly Christian pioneers.

Cherry's study is an ambitious undertaking that does not always succeed. The book is neither an institutional history of any of the seminaries nor an attempt at a systematic synthesis of those histories. Although he is clearly familiar with the archives of the institutions, Cherry does not base his analysis on extensive archival research. He characteristically uses a single incident or controversy (or at one point a telling photograph and, at another, a stained glass window) as the basis on which to develop a thesis. Rarely does he systematically develop his theses by the sustained marshaling of a wide variety of sources and evidence. Nor is it clear that Cherry's group of theological institutions constitute an effective and useful organic unit. The Methodist schools, especially those in the South and Southwest, often appear somewhat awkwardly situated in his grouping. Why not examine, for example, Berkeley's Pacific School of Religion or the Graduate Theological Union (GTU) at the University of California at Berkeley rather than the University of Southern California? An account of the creation of the GTU in the 1960s would have served as a revealing coda to Cherry's extended discussion of Chicago's Federated Theological Faculty in the 1940s and 1950s.

When Cherry discusses the rise of student activism in the 1960s, one realizes, with something of a start,

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that students have been heretofore absent from the analysis. Women and African Americans are also not present in the study until the 1960s. But the most intriguing absence in Cherry's analysis is that of the universities themselves. Despite his assertion that the university divinity schools have "looked to the modern university for a definition of educational mission" (p. 268), those universities do not really figure prominently in Cherry's book until the last chapter, which is entitled "The Challenge of the Multiversity." Even then, Cherry focuses not on a true "multiversity" but on atypical Drew University. After spending six pages on Drew, he then deals with Harvard in two sentences.

By far the most persuasive part of Cherry's study are the later chapters, which deal with the latter half of the twentieth century. His section on racial integration is one place where he quite successfully relates developments in the universities to those in the divinity schools. But too much of the earlier material in the book has the feel of being a hurried preparation for the much denser analysis of the later sections that are clearly the focus of the study. Moreover, Cherry's analysis of the cohort of ideas that drove the creation and early years of his institutions is not nearly as complex as his discussion of the ideational foundation of later developments. This discrepancy becomes, finally, a rather serious impediment to understanding the earlier stages of development on their own terms.

But the greatest disappointment of Cherry's work is his failure to essay a task for which his project is ideally suited. No one has yet attempted an overview of American religion in the twentieth century. That means that no one has successfully explained in one volume the end of the liberal Protestant hegemony in modern American religious life. Cherry's book is one of the very few to take on the task of thinking about the entire century. He is too good a scholar to fall back on any simple, or complex, theory of secularization. He also realizes that the remarkable thing—the thing to be explained about twentieth century American religion—is not the demise of religious experience and practice but, on the contrary, its abiding strength and its persistence in the culture. What no one has yet explained is the emergence of a new "mainstream," the conservative evangelical Protestant tradition that now is, by any account, the defining element in American Christianity. Cherry can not help out very much there, because he more or less ignores that tradition in his study. And that is too bad. For, from the beginning, there were Protestant critics of the liberal tradition of theological education that is the focus of his analysis. They insisted that theological education should not be aimed at acquiring certain skills for ministry. Instead, the minister should be imbued, somehow, with a spirituality that would thereafter dominate his life in a community with whose members he shared essential values and assumption. As thankful as I am for Cherry's significant achievement, I also regret that those critics do not serve as in informing context for his analysis.

HOWARD MILLER
University of Texas, Austin

DAVID W. SOUTHERN. *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism, 1911–1963*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 420.

David W. Southern's deftly organized and written monograph depicts a very unlikely Catholic hero for the civil rights movement. Born in Newport, Rhode Island, on February 13, 1880, John LaFarge graduated from Harvard in 1901, studied theology at Innsbruck, and was ordained in 1905, the year that he joined the Jesuits. He served in the Jesuit mission in southern Maryland from 1911 to the mid-1920s. For the rest of his life, he was an editor of *America*, the Jesuit weekly, where his position as editor-in-chief (1944–1948) permitted him to liberalize its editorial policy (p. 267). He died in New York on November 24, 1963.

LaFarge's experiences in Maryland fueled him with material and opinions about race relations in the United States. *America* carried his first article on the subject in 1921. Between then and the 1950s, LaFarge worked patiently, usually manipulating persons and events behind the scenes, to advance his view that racism was the fruit of ignorance, and that "education [was] all-important for solving the race problem" (p. 90). To this end, he founded the Catholic Interracial Council of New York in 1934, the first of forty others around the country, and adopted the *Interracial Review* as its official mouthpiece. From its columns and other writings, LaFarge fabricated his most important book: *Interracial Justice: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine of Race Relations* (1937). Going into the 1940s, his focus on education began to reap great gains for interracialism; students in dozens of Catholic colleges (just beginning to admit blacks) adopted resolutions on race relations; Catholic alumni groups sponsored symposia on the subject; the *Interracial Review*, which Gunnar Myrdal ranked as the third most important U.S. journal on race relations, was quoted favorably in the black press; coverage of race relations in the Catholic press was up over 1000 percent; and the annual collection for Indian and Negro missions had increased over fivefold (pp. 209–10).

By the 1950s, LaFarge was over seventy years old. Younger, more assertive leaders were emerging among blacks and whites, mostly Midwesterners, who increasingly believed that "events had overwhelmed the aging LaFarge" (p. 325). They preferred to set up a national interracial council to address the issue with more relevance and clout than the "overly mature and cautious East" (p. 329). His colleague, the sociologist Joseph Fichter, S.J., insisted that racism was not based on ignorance but on "a deep, conscious and deliberate dogma that all Negroes are inferior" (p. 271).

Southern shows how LaFarge, "[a]n aristocrat with a

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sense of noblesse oblige" (p.360), had to operate within "restraints imposed on him by the pre-Vatican II church and the racist American culture" (p. 367). This included most of the U.S. hierarchy (the Vatican was always ahead of them on the subject). At times, this configuration put LaFarge in the position of possibly impeding the very progress that he sought. For example, in 1948 the California Supreme Court overturned the state's law against interracial marriage; the minority opinion quoted five paragraphs from LaFarge's 1943 book, *The Race Question and the Negro* (p. 274).

Southern also gives evidence of how LaFarge, if ever so slowly, transcended the times by growing with them. In the early 1930s, he helped to neutralize the militant founder of the Federation of Colored Catholics, Thomas Turner, for proposing that "the Negro need[ed] an all Negro movement"; in 1941, he endorsed A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement, which was based on the same premise (p. 249). Although the early LaFarge warned that "there could be no reform before its time," after 1940 he began to argue that "the end of segregation must come sooner rather than later" (p. 257). After 1950, he wanted to see U.S. Catholics "a bit ahead of the times, rather than seem to be always following" (p. 308).

Southern concludes that more than any other individual in the first half of the twentieth century, "Father John LaFarge awakened the American Catholic church to the moral implications of the race problem" (p. 357). This fact, he claims, "speaks volumes about the church's past record in facing up to the American dilemma" (p. 375).

Some minor objections. There was no "Father" Arthur C. Monahan (pp. 35, 40, 43, and 156); he was a layman who headed the N.C.W.C. Bureau of Education in 1921–1922. "Scrip and staff," cited correctly on p. 87, n. 9, becomes "script and staff" in subsequent footnotes. And Southern must mean "one Chicago parish" rather than "diocese" (p. 329).

JOHN WHITNEY EVANS
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S. BERNARD THOMAS. *Season of High Adventure: Edgar Snow in China*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 416. $34.95.

This book should become the definitive study of Edgar Snow (1905–1972) and his career in China. S. Bernard Thomas has exhaustively researched and carefully crafted a politically sensitive study of the author of *Red Star Over China* (1938). The book caused an immediate sensation, internationally and within China, and it remains the classic first-hand account of the Mao Zedong-led Chinese Communist movement on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War. What made *Red Star* one of the journalist scoops of the century were the in-depth, first-time interviews with major figures and future leaders of the People's Republic of China such as Mao, Zhou Enlai, He Long, and Peng Dehuai. Thomas makes good use of Snow's diaries, letters, and other personal papers that have only become available in recent years. Supplementing these new sources are interviews with key surviving figures in China, the United States, and Japan. Analytically the book is innovative as well. Thomas faces squarely Snow's contradictory political evolution as a liberal-left journalist and the questions raised often today about Snow's gullibility: to what degree was he "used" by the Chinese Communists or other political interests?

The details of Edgar Snow's personal life are examined, including his stormy marriage to Helen Foster Snow (pen name: Nym Wales). But basically this is a study of Snow's professional career and writings. The latter, especially the China books, are dissected at length. One of the most interesting chapters is on the publishing history and political controversies sparked by *Red Star Over China*. Thomas uses the history of the book to illustrate the politically independent nature of Snow's sympathetic view of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communists. In another chapter, in order to illustrate the naïve side of Snow's impulse to be more than a journalist and help reform China in a progressive democratic direction, Thomas discusses Snow's (and Helen Foster's) place in the complex history of the China Industrial Cooperatives (often known as Indusco or Gung Ho). This largely foreign-funded project was founded in 1938 with Nationalist and Communist political support. Its aim was to bring light industry and democratic organizational principles to the hinterland of wartime China. Successful at first, the Indusco movement faltered and failed by the end of the war because of mutual suspicions between Communist and Nationalist supporters. Thomas's chapter is a model of scholarly research and sensitive interpretation of both Helen and Edgar Snow's role and thinking in the shaping of the Indusco project.

The heart of the book concerns the period from 1928 through 1941, when Snow lived in Asia, mostly in China. Earlier chapters on his middle-class upbringing in Missouri show how Snow launched his China career in 1928 as an ambitious and talented but politically naïve young man with a taste for adventure and journalism. In the final epilogue chapters, Snow is a different man, radicalized by conditions in China and a celebrity because of the success of *Red Star*. In the 1940s, Snow circled the globe, hobnobbing with world leaders as part of an ambitious effort to describe for the *Saturday Evening Post* and other national publications the new post-colonial world order. He was impressed by third world nationalism and inspired by U.S. wartime ideals, only later to project disillusionment with a perceived Cold War interventionism. Yet, as Thomas convincingly demonstrates, Snow remained a liberal democrat at heart, never becoming a committed radical or leftist on the order of Agnes Smedley or Anna Louise Strong. It was this independence (or, some would say, naïveté) that gave him credibility as a

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journalist. In the 1950s, Snow fell out of favor as a feature writer and felt ostracized, although personally he was more comfortable in a new marriage. Then, in the 1960s, Snow experienced a bittersweet return to the limelight, visiting China three times and producing reports that helped break the ice in U.S.-China relations.

Thomas has written a masterful biography, utilizing a wide variety of disparate sources in addition to Snow's published work. His analysis sensitively balances the political contradictions of Snow's career with his personal life so that a credible historical figure emerges. Better than previous biographies, the book strips away from Snow the Cold War caricature of fellow traveler *vs.* leftist icon and establishes him in the context of his times as a thoughtful, independent observer of the mid-century Chinese revolution.

STEPHEN R. MACKINNON
Arizona State University

JENNIFER SCANLON. *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. x, 278. Cloth $59.95, paper $16.95.

This work by Jennifer Scanlon offers a detailed reading of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the first U.S. magazine to reach the one million circulation mark in the years between 1910 and 1930. The book's major strength is not what seems to be promised by its wonderful title—access to the inarticulate longings of American women—but instead a careful analysis of the production of culture. Scanlon demonstrates the tensions and complexities created by the *Journal*'s dual mission of advertising and of offering editorial advice and further considers the relation of this mission to readers' lives. She first explores the *Journal*'s editorial positions on housework, paid work and political involvement, demonstrating the strong domestic ideology espoused by its editor, Edward Bok. At the same time, she shows that ambivalence was manifest in the magazine's pages, as the material circumstances of women's lives changed in ways that did not easily fit this constraining set of beliefs.

Second, Scanlon analyzes fiction that took as its subject women's dissatisfactions, reading the stories "against the grain" in an attempt to find their "validation of the mysteries and realities of womanhood" (p. 139). Finally, she considers advertising and its role in defining "woman" and in promoting a (highly gendered) consumer culture. She looks not only at advertisements that appeared in the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, but also at their production by the J. Walter Thompson Company's Women's Editorial Department. This section certainly enriches our understanding of the history of American advertising.

Scanlon argues that the *Ladies' Home Journal* "alternately and at times even simultaneously acknowledged and neglected, celebrated and decried, promoted and impeded social changes and their accompanying conflicts" (p. 2), and her readings center around manifestations of ambiguity and ambivalence. These are well demonstrated, but at times she moves from reading the tensions of women's lives in the pages of the *Journal* to make overly simplistic claims about causality. For instance, writing of the advertising campaign for Woodbury's facial soap, she claims: "The American woman became defined by a brand name . . . They became standardized, as standardized and packaged by the efforts of national advertising as any product had become" (p. 212). Such overstatements are not consistent, but they sometimes undermine the nuance necessary for such cultural analysis.

The larger purpose of this work is to critique consumer culture's betrayal of women. Scanlon argues that consumer culture, which the *Ladies' Home Journal* promoted so successfully, offered consumer goods as (insufficient) answers to women's "inarticulate longings" for the immaterial possessions of autonomy, social worth, and sensuality. During this period, women increasingly found themselves channeled into consuming and into defining their lives through consumption, thus coming to accept consumer culture's vision of satisfaction through consumption, not social change.

This line of argument raises several questions. As consumer culture has become increasingly entrenched, women have claimed more rights and freedoms and demonstrated greater independence. If women were truly sold a bill of goods, how has this happened? Perhaps Scanlon's causal link is overstated? Perhaps the gendered nature of consumer culture is more complex than she acknowledges? I would have liked to see a discussion of how she situates her work in the ongoing debate about consumer culture. Many scholars argue that consumer culture was at least potentially emancipatory, and I think that the book would be stronger had she contended with such arguments in more depth.

Overall, however, Scanlon provides a very useful analysis of the production of a important cultural artifact, demonstrating that the *Ladies' Home Journal* offered its readers a much more complex package of options than we have heretofore realized.

BETH BAILEY
Barnard College

JAMES A. WARD. *The Fall of the Packard Motor Car Company*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 309. $35.00.

The Packard nameplate holds an enduring appeal for many as a symbol of America's giddy prosperity in the 1920s, when distinctive, craft-built goods held their own against the encroaching horde of homogeneous, mass-produced products. James A. Ward's book is no mere paean to the "glory days" of a car or a nation but a careful, scholarly account of the demise of this venerable automaker, focused on the 1950s. Yet, in many ways, his history is blinded by simplistic symbol-

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ism that prevents him from exploring the complexities of the Packard car and company.

The overarching theme of Ward's story is the struggle of the icon of craft-built luxury and exclusivity to adapt itself to a changing auto market. By the Depression years of the 1930s, the upper-class patricians who built and ran the company—almost as if it were a gentleman's club—were having trouble adapting to a market that was collapsed and compressed downward. President Alvan Macauley realized that to survive, Packard had to move into the mass production of middle-priced cars. But executives made this move in a way that undermined the car's reputation by failing to differentiate the cheaper cars from the luxury models in name and styling. This mistake allowed Cadillac to dominate the luxury market and forced Packard to compete in the middle-priced market against producers whose economies of scale were vastly superior.

Ward asserts, however, that these factors would not have been fatal had it not been for other circumstances and additional missteps. Anticipating a postwar depression, Packard executives bet the company's future on middle-priced cars and further degraded its reputation. When unexpected prosperity created a flamboyant *nouveau riche*, the company was unprepared to compete in the luxury market. A declining Packard was then forced into a merger with another weak independent, Studebaker. But instead of focusing on a few market niches like the new American Motors combination, Studebaker-Packard tried to compete against the Big Three in all markets. Unable to afford the aggressive and expensive style changes of the 1950s, the corporation ultimately collapsed into insolvency.

Although competent and not without interest, Ward's account finally fails to convince. His excruciatingly detailed narrative of events in the boardroom and executive suite ignores important happenings in the rest of the company and auto industry. Nor is his history any better at placing Packard's plight in the larger context of the cultural and social changes of postwar America. Ward's understanding of Packard's reputation problem is simplistic and one-dimensional. Had he been more attuned to cultural complexities, he would have found that even in the 1920s, when Packard symbolized luxury and popular aspirations, it was simultaneously resented as a testimony to class arrogance and exclusivity. These negative connotations were exacerbated by the Depression and lingered into the postwar years. In the latter period, Cadillac successfully shed its image of exclusivity by redefining itself as the epitome of democratic luxury. Packard continued to symbolize class snobbery and finally joined classmates like Pierce Arrow and Duesenberg, which had died more timely deaths during the Depression.

DAVID GARTMAN
University of South Alabama

ALLIDA M. BLACK. *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 298. $29.95.

Within days of her husband's death in April 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt departed the White House. She returned to New York as uncertain about her future as when she had left the city twelve years earlier. In 1933, after a period of despondency caused by fears that she would be forced to forfeit her personal independence and public roles, she had reemerged as the most ubiquitous, influential president's wife in American history. Allida M. Black has written a political biography of Roosevelt's years as presidential widow. Roosevelt herself described this period in a memoir, *On My Own* (1958), as did her confidante and biographer, Joseph Lash, in *Eleanor Roosevelt: The Years Alone* (1972). Black's focus is more narrow, concentrating on Roosevelt's "great influence on both the Democratic Party and on American attitudes toward liberal reform" (p. 5).

Two introductory chapters retrace the familiar path of lonely child to betrayed wife, reformer and party activist, and peripatetic first lady during the first two Roosevelt administrations. Black combines the war years with the postwar period in the topical scheme that follows. Franklin D. Roosevelt's focus on diplomatic and military matters by 1940 sundered his unique political partnership with his wife, leaving her an often lonely voice on behalf of four issues that continued to engage her during the postwar years: economic security, especially during the Truman administration; racism and civil rights for minorities; freedom of speech and civil liberties threatened by the anti-Communist hysteria of the 1950s; and the centrist drift of the Democratic party as it stood poised to recapture the White House in 1960. Black has scoured Roosevelt's voluminous writings, letters, and organizational activities to paint a convincing portrait of a principled proponent, savvy politician, and courageous protagonist who was often the target of vitriolic public attacks.

Yet Black's canvas is frustratingly limited to the domestic political scene and the public figure. Roosevelt's role as United Nations delegate and voice for universal rights are ignored along with her resolute support for emerging nations battling post-imperial influences and superpower competition. And even on the domestic front, issues central to or neglected by liberals receive little attention: organized labor, aid for education, women's status, and state and local politics. The last was especially relevant to both the public and private woman whose two sons, James and Franklin Jr. aspired to and for a time seemed on the verge of creating a political dynasty. In spite of complex and troubled family relationships, Franklin Jr.'s setbacks in New York played a part in his mother's assault on Tammany forces and Carmine de Sapio, who had successfully derailed Franklin Jr.'s ambitions.

Lack of topical breadth is matched by shallow analysis and evaluation of the shadow cast by Roose-

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velt. Two themes beg for attention: Roosevelt's ability to retain a large, admiring audience in ways even former presidents fail to do and the extent to which she actually transformed her influence and prestige into concrete electoral results and public policy. Black would have done well to place Roosevelt within the context of female political culture: those skills and strategies of publicizing, lobbying, coalition building and generally circumventing traditional political channels and practices that Roosevelt exercised to their fullest.

Black does not place Roosevelt within the historiographic conceptualizations of postwar liberalism, except for a few expository footnotes, nor does she draw explicit conclusions concerning her impact on the Democratic party. Harry S. Truman barely tolerated her, Adlai Stevenson was not the liberal she believed, John F. Kennedy begged for her endorsement only after gaining the nomination she had vigorously opposed. If American liberalism experienced a final domestic surge, it occurred during Lyndon Johnson's assault on poverty and racism. Of all the would-be candidates for the 1960 Democratic nomination, however, he was at the bottom of Roosevelt's preferred list. The story of this singular woman demands a more nuanced evaluation of her influence and attainments.

LOIS SCHARF
Case Western Reserve University

ROBERT ACCINELLI. *Crisis and Commitment: United States Policy toward Taiwan, 1950–1955*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 358. $39.95.

Robert Accinelli's study is based on thorough research in American, Canadian, and British archives. It is balanced, well-written, and clearly argued. Although Accinelli covers familiar ground, he fills in important detail, challenges conventional scholarship on a number of issues, and offers fresh insights into such matters as the White House's nuclear threat and Great Britain's restraining influence during the Quemoy and Matsu crisis of 1954–1955. The result is an exemplary scholarly monograph on an important topic.

Accinelli offers his major argument in his preface. "My central theme," he writes, "is that the U.S. commitment to Taiwan emerged piece-meal in the context of crises triggered by the outbreak of the Korean War, the Chinese military intrusion in the peninsular conflict, and the 1954–55 encounter with China over the offshore islands" (p. x). Indeed, there are striking parallels between the United States increasing commitment to Taiwan during the period 1950–1955 and its commitment to Korea during roughly the same time. In both cases, the commitment was not predicated on established policy. Neither Taiwan nor Korea was part of the defense perimeter that Secretary of State Dean Acheson described in his well-known speech before the National Press Club in January 1950.

Like Washington's relations with South Korea's leader, Sygman Rhee, moreover, the Truman administration's relations with Taiwan's leader, Chiang Kai-shek, were cool and circumspect. Prior to the North Korean invasion of South Korea in June 1950, the administration was far more concerned with European than Asian affairs, and it was not "unreservedly hostile" to the new Beijing government (p. 6). Nor was it committed to "propping up an unregenerate KMT [Kuomintang] government in Taiwan" (p. 9). But just as North Korea's invasion of South Korea led the United States to come to the defense of a government it did not much care for, so the entry of Communist China into the Korean War in November 1950 had the same effect regarding Taiwan.

As in the case of the Korea, however, once the United States made its commitment to Taiwan, political-psychological and military-strategic considerations changed. Increasingly, concerns about American credibility in the world and an image of an aggressive Chinese government dictated by the Soviet Union drove Arnerican policy. This was especially evident during the Quemoy and Matsu crises of 1954–1955. Never did the Eisenhower administration believe that these two small islands, located off the coast of China and occupied by the Chinese Nationalists, had much strategic value, even in relation to the defense of Taiwan. Nevertheless, after the Chinese Communists began artillery attacks against the islands, the administration gradually increased its commitment to them until finally, in 1955, President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave serious consideration to the use of tactical nuclear weapons to prevent a Communist invasion of the islands, much as both Harry S. Truman and Eisenhower had considered employing nuclear weapons during the Korean War.

Just as during the Korean War, America's allies—especially the British—played an important restraining role, so they did during the crisis over the offshore islands. London never regarded the Beijing government as the same menace that Washington did, and although it agreed to an American proposal to maintain a moratorium on the question of giving the Chinese seat at the United Nations to Beijing, it recognized the People's Republic of China, and it wanted the United States to do the same. Above all, it wanted to avoid another war in Asia and vehemently opposed the use of atomic weapons under any circumstance. While both Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles backed away from the nuclear threat for a number of reasons, including domestic opposition to a war over Quemoy and Matsu, clearly London's opposition was an important restraining force as well.

Still another parallel between U.S.-Korean and U.S.-Taiwanese relations in the first half of the 1950s was the ability of both Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek to use the United States redefinition of national security to maneuver increased economic and military assistance and, ultimately, a mutual security

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pact from Washington. As Accinelli writes, Chiang's opposition to a UN-sponsored initiative over the offshore islands convinced Dulles, "who had been tilting toward a defense pact since late summer [of 1954], that the moment was now opportune to grant the Generalissimo the alliance that he had long craved" (pp. 167–68).

What makes this such an interesting book, however, is not only its general thesis and the parallels it reveals between United States policy toward Korea and Taiwan but other important information it provides such as on the dispute between Washington and Taipei over the removal of Chinese Nationalist irregulars from Burma. The same can be said with regard to Accinelli's evaluation of key policy makers like Truman, Acheson, Eisenhower, and Dulles. His balanced but critical evaluation of Eisenhower's handling of the Quemoy and Matsu crisis is in line with current scholarship that describes Eisenhower in somewhat grayer shades than earlier depicted by such leading Eisenhower scholars as Stephen Ambrose and Robert Divine. Similarly, Accinelli is persuasive in restoring Dulles to a more central role in policy formulation than some revisionists have suggested. If there is a criticism to make, it is that Accinelli does not make clear the role of Mao Zedong in the offshore islands crisis. But undoubtedly that is due to the unavailability of Chinese archival and manuscript collections.

BURTON I. KAUFMAN
Virginia Tech

JOHN J. COLEMAN. *Party Decline in America: Policy, Politics, and the Fiscal State*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 253.

Political parties, once central to the lives of Americans, are now widely regarded as a national embarrassment. Why? John J. Coleman provides a remarkably provocative answer: Keynesianism.

The post-World War II development of modern macroeconomic management nearly killed American political parties. Competent, consensual administration cut against robustly competitive politics. In the end, the hidden price of such management has been a thorough loosening of citizens' identification with party combat.

Keynesian macroeconomic management took the really big political decisions away from Congress and the political parties and gave them to the White House, the Federal Reserve, the Department of Labor, and the Treasury. When broad policy choices returned to the congressional agenda during cyclic downturns, both parties stuck with what worked and thus chose from the same array of Keynesian options. They differed only in the size of the portions they picked: more unemployment and less inflation for Republicans and the reverse for Democrats. In the context of a "fiscal state," it is not surprising that American voting mutated from party-line voting into ticket-splitting—a mix of plebiscitary "retrospective" choice in presidential elections and a "personal vote" for or against a congressional representative. Candidates, incumbents, and presidents now mattered more than party collectivities.

Coleman argues that we still live in a semi-discredited Keynesian order but have not yet discovered the new public philosophy that might favor party revitalization and civic involvement. Our collective attachment to party politics must necessarily remain atrophied or uncertain. Such phenomena as the public's new attachment to the stock market via the mutual fund revolution and the frequent claims of the market's superiority to government surely deepen such depoliticization.

Political and governmental alternatives are possible. When parties used trade policy to steer the economy during the nineteenth century, they were strong and so was Congress. A bit of the same thing happened between 1983 and 1988, as congressional Democrats developed a more forceful, nationalist approach to trade as a way of distinguishing themselves from Republican supporters of Reaganomics. As the authoritative status of Keynesianism has declined generally, both liberal and conservative versions of "supply-side" economics have proliferated and the parties have found opportunities to become stronger by differentiating themselves from each other. For example, the Carter administration's inability to balance the national economy triggered a fateful if brief revitalization of the Republican Party. The initial audacity and scope of the Clinton administration's "putting people first" approach to economic insecurity similarly derived from a short-lived public willingness to experiment with government purpose.

This is a book that should interest policy historians and students of American political parties and Congress and, more generally, all those concerned with the overall development of the American polity. The boldness, sweep, and subtlety of Coleman's historical vision are not, however, fully articulated. He asserts that the House of Representatives is the keystone of the American party system. This motivates a sophisticated and well-executed statistical analysis of various measures of party strength in the House over time. Coleman disentangles the relative importance of economic and political circumstances for such variables as the Rice index of cohesion, party dissimilarity, and party votes. But, aside from the issue of whether the House really is the party system writ small, Coleman only sketchily connects his analytic effort to changes in public opinion, even though he is trying to explain the diminution of public attachment to the party system. In addition to attitudinal measures of public attachment, there is the obviously important behavioral indicator of voter turnout, but Coleman only briefly mentions turnout and he avoids altogether the debate over its massive collapse since 1960.

These caveats are not meant to detract from the unusually stimulating nature of this book. Coleman has

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connected the consequences of economic policy choice for parties, political participation, and, indeed, the health of democracy in a highly original way that deserves wide discussion.

RICHARD M. VALELLY
Swarthmore College

CANADA

SHELDON J. GODFREY and JUDITH C. GODFREY. *Search Out the Land: The Jews and the Growth of Equality in British Colonial America, 1740–1867*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History, number 23.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. xxx, 396. $34.95.

This meticulously researched book argues that Jewish settlers found sufficient civil, political, and economic rights in the British North American colonies to establish relatively secure and often prosperous lives. Sheldon J. Godfrey and Judith C. Godfrey carefully reconstruct the business and the political activities and religious and social lives of Jews in Halifax, Montreal, and the fur trade at Michilimackinac.

The tolerance enjoyed by the Jewish minority was not proclaimed in any constitutional document. In a manner typical of the British political tradition, it developed incrementally. The Plantation Act of 1740 provided the legal foundation for Jewish equality. Jews could become naturalized and assume full civil and political rights after seven years residence in a British colony. This tolerance was the result of strategic and economic considerations. During the height of Anglo-French rivalry in North America, Britain needed colonists to supply its army and navy. Jewish merchants were encouraged to settle in Halifax in 1749 and the Quebec colony after the conquest of 1760. Britain was compelled to establish unprecedented rights for the small but important number of Jewish settlers. Governor Guy Carleton created an official state oath for "persons of the Jewish Persuasion." Accordingly, in 1768 John Franks took his oath of office on the Pentateuch and swore loyalty to the British crown "truly upon the faith of a Jew" (p. 93).

The impact of the American Revolutionary Army in Quebec provides the authors with their most convincing evidence. The American army compelled some Jews to cooperate, but only one Jewish settler left Quebec to support the revolutionary cause in the United States. Contrary to Stephen Marcus's classic interpretation in *Early American Jewry* (1951), the Jews who remained in British North America did not envy the "new liberty" and democratic rights of the American republic.

As Britain's interests changed, so did the fate of Jewish minorities. After the American Revolution, Britain was concerned that its colonies remain loyal to the Crown. The Test Oath was reintroduced, which severely limited minority rights. Samuel Hart was compelled to renounce his Judaism by accepting Church of England sacraments in order to take his seat in the Nova Scotia Assembly.

Forces within the colonies also led to a hardening of attitudes. In the early 1800s, the French Canadian majority in Lower Canada was fighting for its political rights. The Jews of Montreal were considered to be a part of the English-speaking commercial elite that impeded French Canadian political and economic aspirations. When Ezekiel Hart was elected to the Lower Canadian Assembly in 1807, he was prevented from taking his seat by French Canadian nationalist assemblymen. Godfrey and Godfrey emphasize that this controversy was primarily an episode in the French Canadian fight for political equality. But the nationalists were not satisfied with Hart's withdrawal; they passed a bill that prohibited Jews from running for the Lower Canadian Assembly. Only Governor Craig's disallowance prevented this clear limitation of Jewish civil and political rights from becoming law. The authors do not pay close enough attention to the debates in the Assembly or the commentary in the press during the Hart controversy. The rhetoric emphasized legal arguments but also rehearsed theological anti-Semitism. Greater attention to the lives and experiences of the Jewish minority in the mid-nineteenth-century British North America is necessary for the argument to be entirely convincing. The legal framework is important, but how the laws were interpreted in courts and how comfortably Jews could bring incidents of anti-Semitism to the attention of authorities also need to be addressed.

One might conclude more cautiously than the authors' claim that Jewish freedom and equality was an indication that Canada "was a model for the world to come" (p. 237). Their evidence suggests that the tolerance experienced by the Jews was contingent on the broader interests of the more powerful and the more numerous. In the end, tolerance of Jews and other religious minorities was secured in the 1840s and 1850s as a result of the sheer diversity of religion in the British colonies. No group dominated, and religious privilege in the form of the established church was ended. Tolerance in the British North America was the result of demographic diversity instead of an embracing of the concept of Jewish equality. There were enough incidents and setbacks to suggest that toleration for the Jews was circumstantial and uncertain. Canada may have been advanced for its time in "repeatedly rejecting" the "idea of a nationhood based on concepts of racial purity or homogeneous grouping of people" (p. 235). But to suggest that this story of the equality of Jews is evidence that Canadian society "refuses" to promote one group at the expense of others is an optimistic reading of history. Nevertheless, this groundbreaking book will lead readers to ponder seriously the assertion that the roots of Canada's multicultural heritage are deeply entrenched in the earliest history of Canada and that this ethnic and

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religious diversity has been one of the most profound determinants of the Canadian character.

DAVID B. MARSHALL
University of Calgary

NEIL SEMPLE. *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 21.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996. PP. x, 565. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Canadian Methodism, unlike its founding traditions in Britain and the United States, no longer exists as a mainline denomination, having joined forces in 1925 with the Congregationalists and the majority of Presbyterians to form the United Church of Canada. Its relatively short existence, however, was marked by aggressive and apparently irrepressible growth, making it the largest Protestant denomination by 1900. Well-served by contemporary historians and statisticians in chronicling this "rise and progress," the Methodist tradition in Canada has drawn a surprising amount of scholarly interest in the past decade. Where Methodism in the United States stands neglected in the landscape of nineteenth-century American religious history (a "puzzle," to use Nathan Hatch's term), in Canada, on the contrary, the denomination has been a rich resource for exploring such diverse issues as the changing roles of women, the nature and causes of secularization, the moral dimension in literature, and the roots of the welfare state.

More general in its aspirations, Neil Semple's book is the first modern institutional history of Methodism. Written under a distinguished supervisory committee of historians and archivists and generously funded by a private source, this work of a single author is structurally quite different from the collected essays of comparable British and American histories. Single authorship provides uniformity but, as will be noted, also exposes several areas of weakness.

Using a thematic approach within a general chronological order, the book divides into two sections, breaking approximately in the 1860s. Beginning with a brief analysis of John Wesley and his Methodist followers in Britain and the United States, Semple moves quickly to describe the movement's entry into Canada with the arrival in Newfoundland of John Coughlan, an unordained Wesleyan traveling preacher, in 1766. This is followed by an examination of Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal missionary activity in the Maritimes and Lower and Upper Canada, the rivalry occasioned by their dual thrust, the nature of Methodist evangelism and piety and their expression in social institutions, and finally, work among native peoples. The sources are extremely rich, and Semple has used them well, not only to construct with sensitivity the Methodist ethos but also to clarify the varieties of Methodism—Wesleyan, Episcopal, Primitive, New Connexion, Bible Christian, British, and African Methodist Episcopal—that immigrants brought with them. At his best when using a narrative and descriptive approach, Semple cuts a clear path through a dense thicket of internal Methodist controversy, authoritarian leaders, and denominational schisms and reunions, culminating in the 1884 union of the Methodist Church (Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda). The encyclopedic grasp of issues, institutions, and personalities offered here will make this an invaluable reference book.

In the second part, Semple takes a somewhat different approach. Although the use of primary sources remains equally extensive, the analysis becomes more interpretive, informed by a version of the "sect to church" typology that bears some resemblance to the earlier "rise and progress" histories. In this account, the newly formed national church, no longer an earnest body of converts striving to sustain a heroic mission to a pioneer society, has become a diverse and complex mature institution. Whether through its educational institutions, theological training, missions, or social programs, Methodism's goal now is to inculcate its middle-class moral value system in order to shape Canada into a just and humane nation, a "Dominion of the Lord." While Semple approvingly argues that, in order to have relevancy and exercise national leadership, Methodism "updated" itself in its encounter with modernity, he also insists that this did not lead to abandonment of basic beliefs.

This viewpoint leads to some inconsistencies and problems, especially when discussing the impact of intellectual and social change on Methodist theology and self-definition. In his argument, for example, that Methodist thought became liberal and modernist, Semple draws primarily on analyses of American Protestant thought by William Hutchison and Kenneth Cauthen and neglects the extensive British, American, and Canadian scholarship on Methodist theology during this period. This, along with such contradictory evidence as the fact that American and British Sunday School literature was considered suspect if seen to challenge Methodist doctrine or discipline (p. 381) and the unfortunate definition of Arminian theology as "a doctrine of universal salvation" (pp. 422, 429, 440), suggests that Canadian Methodism's intellectual encounter with modernity has not yet received its definitive treatment.

A reexamination might also question the assumed modernist and progressive nature of Methodism by exploring in greater depth the linkage between theology and social change in the Canadian context. Historians such as Michael Gauvreau and Mark Noll have noted that evangelical Protestantism exercised a more enduring influence in Canada than elsewhere, thereby delaying the process of secularization. Given Semple's assertion that "rural and small-town Canada was . . . the heart of Methodism and the major source of new members" (p. 410), the denomination's self-proclaimed national mission may well have been less influenced by modernist thought than by a desire to preserve an older evangelical communitarian ethos. Unless this possibility is addressed, Canadian Method-

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ism as described in this study—so conservative in the first half of its existence but thereafter so attuned to modern change as to terminate that existence—remains, like its American counterpart, somewhat of a "puzzle."

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PAT SANDIFORD GRYGIER. *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit.* (McGill-Queen's/Hannah Institute Studies in the History of Medicine, Health, and Society, number 2.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 233. $34.95.

This book explores the impact of tuberculosis on the Inuit, a seminomadic population living near the Arctic Circle. The harsh climate and absence of transportation networks isolated them and helped to preserve their traditional lifestyle and language. Pat Sandiford Grygier describes how tuberculosis spread among the Inuit in the nineteenth century, how Canadian public health officials tried to eliminate it in the twentieth century, and the response of patients to their policies.

Grygier, a retired Canadian civil servant, decided to conduct this research after listening to a radio program that discussed the sanatorium experiences of former Inuit patients. The stories disturbed him, and although he was unfamiliar with Inuit history and culture, he decided to write about "the human side of the epidemic" (p. xiii). At the core of his book is a sense of moral outrage. Grygier is convinced that the Inuit were victims, first, of avaricious missionaries and hunters and next, of public health paternalism that "tipped the delicate balance of ecosystem and society, and brought disaster" (p. 16). As Grygier recounts it, disease transmission and arbitrary public health policies seem to be unique to the Inuit. An unfamiliarity with the history of the experiences of other minorities who contracted the disease—indeed, of the more general history of tuberculosis—deprives the book of historical context and perspective.

Prior to Robert Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus and its communicability, physicians thought that tuberculosis was hereditary and that an outdoor life promised recovery. The search for a cure induced missionaries and traders to journey to sparsely settled regions in North America. Their efforts to restore their own health led to the spread of tuberculosis among Native Americans. After Koch's discovery, public health officials enacted policies that focused on improving public and personal hygiene and segregating the sick. For those with tuberculosis (more often immigrants and Native Americans in the United States and the Inuit in Canada), the policies promoted a stay in a sanatorium.

Grygier located some fragmented, first-hand accounts of Inuit sanatorium patients and reports of health care professionals and clergy who cared for them. He skillfully uses these important documents to tell the reader about the long, hazardous journey from the Arctic Circle to the sanatorium and the way the Inuit suffered from a lack of interpreters and the strange regimen of diet and rest. After discharge, the ordeal continued. Inuit, who often spoke little English, relied for months on minimal rations as they waited for transport back home. Public health records indicate that some among them disappeared. Others died and were buried in unmarked graves.

Grygier maintains that, had Europeans not entered Inuit territory, the Inuit could have preserved their culture and avoided tuberculosis. This perspective blames the Europeans for introducing the disease, eroding the traditional way of life, and spoiling the ecosystem. Grygier sees similarities in the policies of the United Nations and donor nations that are insensitive to the ethnic and cultural diversity of minorities. But geography and climate cannot shield even remote communities from disease. Air travel and international migration patterns have increased vulnerability to new epidemics such as ebola, AIDS, and prion diseases. The challenge is to enact policies that acknowledge the fact and are alert to the special needs of vulnerable populations.

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LILLIAN PETROFF. *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940.* (Ethnic and Immigration History Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press and Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto. 1995. Pp. xviii, 217. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

This book by Lillian Petroff is another valuable addition to the growing number of studies of ethnicity and Canadian society. Over the past two decades, its sponsor, the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, has been a leading force in encouraging the study of how various ethnic groups have adjusted to life in Ontario and how they have contributed to the province's ever-changing cultural mosaic. Like most of the previous monographs in the series, this is an ethnic biography.

There are many advantages in studying the immigration experiences of one ethnic group. Above all, it provides an opportunity to investigate the old world background of a identifiable cohort of immigrants while at the same time providing a chronicle of how this group adjusted to the new North American environment. Petroff focuses on the relatively small Macedonian community of Toronto, which by 1940 numbered about 1,200 families, and the question of how this group "of poorly educated sojourners had become a permanent and visible presence" (p. 14). Particular emphasis is placed on the occupational orientation of the Macedonian newcomers, their residential patterns, the development of cultural and religious institutions,

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and how the community adjusted to periods of crisis associated with World War I and the Great Depression. Petroff utilizes a wide variety of manuscript sources and interviews to provide a detailed analysis of these themes.

Within the scope of her analytical framework, Petroff offers an informative and interesting account of how this small ethnic group, caught between the rival ambitions of the Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, was able to preserve its collective identity and establish the largest Macedonian community in North America. Her skillful use of interviews yields a rich collective profile of predominantly working-class immigrants who struggled to get ahead by taking the jobs native-born Canadians shunned in the city's meatpacking plants and metalworks. Yet another asset is Petroff's discussion of how Macedonians interacted with their ethnic counterparts in the United States, particularly through the activities of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization, which between 1921 and 1940 sought to achieve a national homeland in Europe. The campaign for a Macedonian homeland made the community vulnerable to charges of divided loyalties; it was the target of Canadian security agencies both during the Red Scare of the 1930s and at the outbreak of World War II.

Unfortunately, the book does not deal with the war years or the momentous changes that occurred in Canadian society after 1945, when over 160,000 displaced Europeans, including Macedonians, arrived in the country. Many of them eventually settled in Toronto. Nor does Petroff provide much in the way of comparison with the experiences of other southern European ethnic groups, notably Italians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, who came to the city in even greater numbers during these years. This approach would have allowed the author to emphasize what was particularly distinctive about Macedonian residential and occupational patterns and to examine whether the community's institutions were more or less successful than those of other European immigrant groups in resisting assimilation pressures from Toronto's Anglo-Protestant cultural "caretakers."

Petroff ends her account with the wry observation that members of Toronto's contemporary Macedonian community must now choose between a range of identities that "runs from a grecophone identity, in which Macedonia is simply a region of origin, through . . . dependence on what was until recently the Macedonian republic in Yugoslavia; to the old battle of whether Macedonians are simply the Slavic natives of Bulgaria's irredenta." Whatever the outcome, she takes solace in the important legacy of the "shared social history of three generations of Macedonians in Canada, and the rich and complex ethnoculture that they elaborated" (p. 175).

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

LOUISA SCHELL HOBERMAN and SUSAN MIGDEN SOCOLOW, editors. *The Countryside in Colonial Latin America*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 295. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

This volume is a counterpart to Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow's earlier *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America* (1986), in that it seeks to present state-of-the-art interpretations by colonial experts of the space in which more than three-quarters of the total population resided. As part of the University of New Mexico's Diálogos series, it is intended for "upper division undergraduates and beginning graduate students" (p. xi). Most of the essays feature a particular group of social actors, but the editors have included several chapters that examine broader structural and institutional features of the colonial countryside.

More than a decade ago, Eric Van Young ably evaluated the historiography of colonial Mexico that had evolved from predominantly qualitative study of haciendas and labor systems through careful quantitative analysis to a greater integration of the economic and social aspects of rural life ("Mexican Rural History since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda" *Latin American Research Review*, 18:3 [1983]). Hoberman and Socolow's volume goes further, illustrating subsequent shifts in approach that enhance our vision of the rural landscape. The book does address some long-standing debates over how to characterize the colonial economy (feudalistic, capitalistic, dependent, dual, patrimonial); the nature and forms of labor and land tenure; and the differences between Habsburg and Bourbon policies. It also highlights recently fashionable elaborations of ethnogenesis and identity; gender differences; negotiation; contestation; hybridity; agency and variation in subordinate responses; cultural mediators; deviation from prescribed behaviors; late colonial turmoil; and the disruption and complexity of ecosystems. In part, the shifting focus mirrors postmodern tendencies, especially the move away from overarching explanations for ordering diversity to more tentative analyses. Other trends come from an emerging cultural studies field and accent the perennial pitfalls of trying to interpret texts; of separating the economic/material from the cultural/spiritual; and of dividing the public from the private. Although colonial Latin Americanists have long been sensitive to these issues, cross-disciplinary methodologies and recent trends in anthropology, subaltern studies, literary criticism, and women's studies which promote self-conscious attention to difference and process have furnished new tools.

Writing on the colonial economy, Arnold Bauer considers how indigenous, Spanish, and hybrid practices clashed, mingled, and coexisted over the long term to influence production, labor arrangements, marketing, consumption, wages, prices, and capital

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accumulation. He points out how differences in Mesoamerican and Andean ecological and social systems produced wide variation, and his discussion of the ways in which ecclesiastical lending systems inhibited economic growth provocatively illustrates the tangle of material aspirations and moral values that influenced property owners.

Such contradictions are further explored in Van Young's essay on daily life, which relates material aspirations, possessiveness, and expenditures to spiritual beliefs among other factors. Opening with a story of violent crime in a hacienda kitchen, Van Young outlines visual images that he subsequently colors in with details of diet, clothing, housing, personal possessions, and consumer patterns. Although class distinctions are found in each category, the range of difference was mediated for all sectors by climate, income, available technology, distances from resources and markets, and attitudes toward public spaces.

Juan Carlos Garavaglia's article on agrarian technology and ecosystems acknowledges environmental degradation after conquest but concentrates on the agricultural economies (whether horticultural, cereal, or livestock) of two regions—the Río de la Plata and Puebla, Mexico—to illustrate a range of conflicting and compensatory relationships between humans and ecosystems.

The next five essays portray landed elites, the clergy, middle groups, blacks, and indigenous peoples. Stuart Schwartz examines the early relationship between *encomienda* and land, various means of acquiring landed property, and how productivity and profit motives were tempered by social and spiritual as well as economic, political, and ecological considerations. Traditional assumptions about the permanence and power of landowning elites are belied by Schwartz's focus on the remarkable flux in land tenure. Nor was the dominion of the omnipresent church so monolithic as John Frederick Schwaller attempts to show by describing the exertions and fortunes of various branches and levels of clergy in dealing with parishioners about issues of doctrine, morals, and finance. While recognizing that hierarchical distinctions, rivalries with other clerics and civil officials, and indigenous evasions of church impositions circumscribed the authority of individual clerics, Schwaller sides with those who argue that conversion was pervasive.

Middle groups (fluid, multiracial, and economically differentiated) discussed by Lowell Gudmundson include less-studied smallholders, petty traders, and officials. They bridged occupational and social gaps by negotiation, but walked a tightrope in competitive and collaborative relationships with their superiors and inferiors. According to Herbert Klein, less bargaining was possible for blacks although variation in occupational status and role afforded some the prospect of change, including manumission. Agency and cultural persistence get more attention in Cheryl Martin's examination of the effects of colonial impositions on indigenous peoples differentiated by gender and social status. Using many examples, she paints a mosaic of blends of compromise, resistance, and legal manipulation. The cultural balance tips in favor of greater hispanicization by the eighteenth century, although without the total eradication of Indian features.

Also drawing on the recent outpouring of ethnohistorical and resistance studies, Ward Stavig chronicles social conflict and structural violence. He delineates a progression from early armed resistance to conquest, through conflicts within and between social groups based in personal, gender, racial, and religious differences, to greater political dissension and questioning of Spanish authority in the eighteenth century.

In general these topical presentations, accompanied by quality illustrations and a glossary, are imaginative syntheses of complex themes, sometimes so nuanced that they might bewilder those undergraduates who are looking for black-and-white overviews. At the same time, graduate students may be frustrated by the paucity of footnotes and Spanish-language sources (mostly excluded from the comprehensive bibliography of works in English). Except in the area of local administration, what the discrete presentations lack by way of context, Socolow covers in a valuable introductory overview. Hoberman's conclusions tease out the book's common or conflicting interpretations and approaches, and explain her predilection for patrimonialism as a way to reconcile the particularities and contradictions of recent scholarship. Her discomfort with conditional explanatory frameworks that eschew general categorizations will resonate with many colonial historians, who will need to be skillful in discussing the richly detailed material of this book in the classroom.

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WILLIAM B. TAYLOR. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 868. $75.00.

This is a large and generous book. Weighing in at slightly under four pounds, it offers a wealth of new information and carefully measured judgments on a subject whose consequence matches the volume's physical size. William B. Taylor's goal is nothing less than to uncover the nature of the Spanish colonial regime at the grass roots: to portray the pivotal role assigned to the clergy in maintaining the regime's legitimacy and then to trace how changes in that role under the late Bourbon monarchy contributed to the collapse of colonial rule. The book's scope is large; it covers more, in the range of topics as well as time span and territory, than the deceptively modest subtitle and introduction promise. Politics and religion are the main themes, but many aspects of rural social and economic history are also included. Although concentrating in most detail on the dioceses of Mexico and Guadalajara in the eighteenth century, Taylor carries

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the story forward to 1821, with appendixes on the clergy in the wars for independence, and outward to the rest of central and southern Mexico, with much comparative material drawn from published sources and extensive archival research.

The book's scholarly largesse surpasses that of the text. In 265 closely printed pages of endnotes, Taylor packs citations from all but a few of the major manuscript collections in the United States, the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, the principal repositories in Guadalajara, and from twenty-six *ramos* of Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación (many a respectable monograph has been based on three or four *ramos*). Scarcely a topic of significance is raised in the text that does not elicit a miniature review essay on the pertinent recent scholarship, containing the broadly based and carefully balanced evaluations that we have come to expect from Taylor.

The cost of such a book, prohibitively high for many readers, and scarcely imaginable in terms of labor, raises the question of whether such amplitude is necessary. My answer would be: much of it is, but not all. This kind of project cannot be condensed into a slim volume. Aside from the large scope, much of the material presented is new, as in the whole of part two, which covers the origins, training, incomes, powers, and duties of the parish clergy. More than anything, Taylor's dominant theme of local variation, his vision of history as the multiplication of particular perspectives, and his pursuit of comprehensiveness all require a large canvas and a busy one. Each point is illustrated with a profusion of distinctive cases and individuals that form a Hieronymous Bosch assemblage of entertaining, and often unedifying, activities. If rogues and rascals inevitably predominate among the three chief groups of actors presented here—parish clergy, *pueblo* Indians, and local royal officials—that is because the sedate and circumspect rarely enter the historical record, and there is also much material with which to round out the stock cast of villains and victims that people the colonial stage.

Taylor's underlying message concerns the hazards of generalization, especially on the basis of centralizing directives from the hierarchies of church and state. Heterogeneity is too strong a force, deriving not only from variations in population density, economic base, and degree of geographical isolation, but also, if not mainly, from a kind of inherent and unconscious local recalcitrance. One of the more provocative ideas to emerge from the wealth of detailed case material presented here is that sociocultural forms display a Darwinian tendency to mutate and fission seemingly at random. Various *ad hoc* arrangements crystallize into a welter of customs that resist both structural-functional explanation and rationalizing reform from above.

Taylor does not dismiss directives from Mexico City and Madrid as irrelevant. If the centers (primary and secondary) could not impose templates, they nevertheless served as dynamic sources of change, with often unintended results. The Bourbon monarchy's challenge to the church's power and privilege played itself out locally in parishioners' successful defiance of the *cura*'s traditional authority, simultaneously eroded by attacks from royal officials. But inspiration as well as sanction emanated from above. The bishops' warnings to Charles IV that such attacks would lead to the monarchy's own downfall prefigure Taylor's conclusions that the attacks "desacralized" political power in general and undermined the loyalty of the crown's chief colonial support: the parish clergy. Although only about one in ten actually joined the insurgent forces and most remained on the sidelines, Taylor convincingly argues that, given their load-bearing role within the regime, even the neutrality of the parish clergy was a "form of defection" (p. 460).

Taylor's emphasis on local variation and the individual, on ambiguities, and on the multiplicity of meaning; the breadth of his learning; and the wealth of new information he has gleaned from largely untapped archival sources combine to provide a model of serious scholarship that is a welcome contrast to some of the provocative but glib productions that the quincentenary spawned. But his concern with representativeness has prompted a rhetorical strategy, based on aggregation, that often subverts clarity and even authority in the pursuit of exhaustiveness. Persuasion relies as much on how information is marshalled as on its quantity, and I would gladly trade some of the many cases Taylor supplies for more of his own cogent interpretations.

This book is impossible to summarize with justice. It is full of themes and topics not yet mentioned: confraternities and fiestas, parish fees and church fabric, catechism and confession. About all of them I knew something from my own work; about none of them did I fail to learn considerably more. In aim and style, the book follows the pattern set by Taylor's mentor, Charles Gibson, in his monumental study, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (1964). Packed with cases and lists, neither work is designed to be read from cover to cover. But like its model, Taylor's book will stand for a long time as the work that everyone in the field must consult, refer to, and reckon with.

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Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo. *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*. (The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, number 35.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 373. $45.00.

The study of world's fairs during their heyday from 1850 to 1940 has attracted many historians over the past twenty years. To this burgeoning field, Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo has contributed an ambitious and wide-ranging work notable in part because of its focus on Mexico. Much of the literature has examined the ways in which host countries, such as France, Great Britain,

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and the United States, used international expositions as stages from which to proclaim their economic, military, and racial supremacy. Simultaneously, colonized peoples and those defined as lesser breeds were displayed in ways that emphasized their inferiority and otherness. Tenorio-Trillo, by contrast, attempts to show how Mexico, a relatively poor nation, used participation in world's fairs both to demonstrate its modernity and to construct a national identity. According to Tenorio-Trillo, these goals were closely related: "through universal exhibitions and their assembled belief in universal truths, freedom, and ideas of great ends, nations were imbued simultaneously with a recognizable and acceptable national uniqueness and an approved cosmopolitanism and modernity" (p. 8). More concretely, a substantial Mexican presence at these expositions was deemed an essential part of efforts to encourage foreign investment and immigration.

Despite the book's title, the author deals mainly with Mexico's representation at the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris, giving only cursory attention to other nineteenth-century fairs in which it took part. He points out that Mexico spent more on its exhibits for this fair than on any of the others; he also underscores the Francophilia of Mexican elites, who idealized the Third Republic as a peaceful yet basically conservative exemplar of progress.

Using an impressive array of primary and secondary sources, including manuscripts from the Archivo General de la Nación and other Mexican collections, Tenorio-Trillo traces the origins and evolution of Mexico's exhibits at the 1889 fair, skillfully relating them to the cultural and intellectual concerns of Porfirian Mexico (1876–1911). The centerpiece of its display and of Tenorio-Trillo's discussion was the Aztec Palace, an interpretation of pre-Hispanic architecture whose façade was adorned by statues of Aztec deities and kings dressed in Greco-Roman garb. The building's architect, Antonio Peñafiel, combined history and archaeology to create a structure portraying Mexico as a nation with a great past. Yet Europeans were likely to view the exotic building as confirmation of the distance between themselves and Mexico. A subsequent chapter on Mexico's participation in the 1889 exposition discusses efforts to provide the statistics and maps needed to validate its claim to be included among the ranks of modern nations. Even paintings by José María Velasco that were shown depicted the intrusion of progress—in the form of railroads—into the Mexican landscape. Another chapter describes the satirical barbs that Mexican critics directed at their country's exhibits, which they found to be at odds with national realities. Unlike Henry Adams, however, none of the Mexican critics questioned the value of progress and science. Tenorio-Trillo also reviews Mexico's participation in two postrevolutionary expositions: Rio de Janeiro 1922 and Seville 1929. His account emphasizes the continuity with Porfirian displays, although a new inclusionist, populist rhetoric could also be discerned. Forty-three well-chosen black-and-white illustrations enhance the text.

In his preface, Tenorio-Trillo advises readers that his book "moves back and forth between general and abstract topics such as nationalism and modernity, and the concreteness of Porfirian Mexico as represented in late nineteenth-century world's fairs" (p. xi). It is in the handling of the general topics that the book falls short, especially in the epilogue. Here the author writes at a level of abstraction that appears divorced from the main body of the text and yields little even to the most attentive of readers. This weakness, however, does not seriously diminish Tenorio-Trillo's important contribution to the cultural and intellectual history of Porfirian Mexico and to the study of international expositions.

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EDUARDO POSADA-CARBÓ. *The Colombian Caribbean: A Regional History, 1870–1950*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 300. $72.00.

The study of regional history in Latin America has developed significantly in the past two decades; but for the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this growth has been significantly unbalanced, with the historiography of Brazil, Argentina, and, especially, Mexico moving faster than that for other countries. Complementing writings by such authors as Roger Brew (*El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la independencia hasta 1920* [1977]), Horacio Rodríguez Plata (*La immigración alemana al estado soberano de Santander en el siglo XIX* [1968]), and Bernardo Tovar (*Una historia del Huila* [1995]), this new work is a most welcome addition to the historiography, because it deals with a significant and distinctive region that in much of the Colombian historiography and social science literature is referred to obliquely if at all.

Drawing on miscellaneous archival materials, newspaper sources, and official documents, as well as on secondary data, Eduardo Posada-Carbó assembles a convincing picture of politics, society, and the economy of the Colombian region during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth centuries. He weaves narrative and analysis together to construct an effective whole. Posada-Carbó begins by considering diet, agriculture, and ranching, and he dispels effectively the potent myth that cattle-raising was a *latifundista* monopoly that inhibited development. He explores the evolution of the cities along the coast and their relationship with the northern lowlands. He examines patterns of transport and the career and significance of the U.S. entrepreneur, Karl C. Parrish, who, after building an effective network of connections, came to represent the interests of major U.S. firms in Colombia like Electric Bond & Share Co. and General Motors, and who played a

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major part in the development of public utilities and real estate in Barranquilla.

The book is highly persuasive for the period 1870–1929. It is less so for the 1930s and 1940s. Posada-Carbó is not entirely clear about how profound a crisis the world Depression represented in the region and how far it had recovered before World War II posed new challenges. Nor does he hint at why the circumstances for the upland violence of the late 1940s and early 1950s did not exist in most of the Caribbean region.

For many readers, the term "Caribbean" will suggest an island society; and, in some respects, the region came increasingly to resemble one during the period examined. As railway construction diverted a large part of coffee exports from the highland departments through the Pacific port of Buenaventura, so the Caribbean littoral lost some salience. *Costeño* interests continued, according to the author, to press for the modernization of river enterprises, when powerful upland decision-makers became convinced of the desirability of highway and railway construction. In other respects, the analogy to an island is inappropriate. Major institutions, like nationwide political parties, enjoyed a continuous and significant impact in the region. And the cattle trade between the northern lowlands and the city of Medellín consolidated links with the region of Antioquia.

Posada-Carbó effectively deploys comparative material, especially on Argentine ranching, to buttress his arguments. I would have welcomed further comparative extrapolation, especially with regard to themes that echo Caribbean islands, such as the development of ports, confused radical politics, U.S. involvement, and the evolution of the socio-ethnic structure. Some comparative analysis of the entrepôt of Barranquilla with its Mexican counterpart of Veracruz, whose relative significance may similarly have diminished as connections with the United States by road and rail improved, is also called for. The range of issues broached and sources explored is unusually satisfying. The theme of political lobbying in Bogotá, however, merits further exploration; and official documents from the labor ministry (and, before it, the work office) yield valuable data on labor issues, especially in the banana zone, on which the author is at times overreliant on the writings of Ignacio Torres Giraldo. Posada-Carbó writes eloquently of the role of the Caribbean coast in receiving migrants and refugees from other parts of Colombia, but says little of Venezuelans—entrepreneurs, migrant workers, and refugees—especially those settling in the region during the dictatorship of President Juan Vicente Gómez.

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LEIGH BINFORD. *The El Mozote Massacre: Anthropology and Human Rights*. (Hegemony and Experience: Critical Studies in Anthropology and History.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 263. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

In December 1981, the United States-trained Atlacatl Battalion of the Army of the Republic of El Salvador massacred more than a thousand inhabitants in six hamlets in the Department of Morazán, an area where Marxist guerrillas had shown some strength in the bloody civil war that ravaged this Central American state throughout the 1980s. As many as half of the victims—mostly poor children, women, and the elderly—lived in the village of El Mozote, where virtually everyone present died in the army's vicious sweep. The El Mozote massacre was but one of many atrocities in a bitter struggle, but it gained international notoriety for its magnitude, first as news of it leaked out of Central America despite Salvadoran and U.S. government efforts to deny it and again a decade later when, after the Central American peace accords, investigation of the incident by the United Nations Truth Commission and by a team of Argentine forensic archaeologists and U.S. scientists revealed just how brutal and extensive the killing had been. Many residents had already fled the area or were away when the episode occurred. As they have returned, El Mozote has been revitalized into a new community, but one where the memory and history of the war is close to everyone.

Calculated terror and repression by the state have a long history in Central America. Repression of the Salvadoran rural working class, begun by Spanish conquistadors in 1524, has been institutionalized in varied forms over the past five centuries. In this sense, the El Mozote massacre and the many other atrocities inflicted on the Salvadoran people during the recent civil war are consistent with Central American history. The size of this incident attracted fleeting media attention and accompanying international outrage. A reasonably well-documented *New Yorker* article (December 6, 1993) and subsequent book, *The Massacre at El Mozote* (1994) by Mark Danner described the event in its grisly horror, attributing blame not only to the Salvadoran army but also to the Salvadoran government, the oligarchy that it served, and its U.S. advisers. Anthropologist Leigh Binford argues that a more thorough, more scholarly, and more historically sensitive study, not only of the massacre but of the people of El Mozote and of the conditions that permitted such atrocities, is needed to ensure that the episode is not forgotten in the postwar emphasis on amnesty and reconciliation, and to memorialize the event as a vital part of the modern history of the region. He succeeds admirably in meeting this goal.

Binford's narrative of the massacre itself rests on a broader base of sources than Danner's account and does a better job of placing it in the context of recent Salvadoran history. But the real value of this anthropological approach to the episode is the painstaking research Binford did to tell us who the victims were and what kind of a community El Mozote was before

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and after the massacre. By sorting out conflicting myths and rumors regarding the neutrality or activism of the residents of El Mozote, he demonstrates the complexity of human existence in an area that has often been subject to easy stereotypes and statistical generalizations. In the process, Binford imparts a sense of the nature of the conflict in El Salvador and how the powerful oligarchy, in alliance with U.S. interests, has ruthlessly acquiesced in and attempted to cover up such atrocities.

Having described and analyzed what went on at El Mozote, Binford broadens his study to offer an analysis of the Salvadoran military and other elites in the country, suggesting that the decline in human rights violations after El Mozote was no more than a strategic maneuver encouraged by the U.S. advisers. He emphasizes that the inherent disregard for the human rights of its inhabitants remains a strong characteristic of the Salvadoran military. He closes the work with a strong argument for greater anthropological study of human rights issues and a commitment by anthropologists to the human rights of the subjects of their anthropological study.

Although the book does not follow the form of most historical works, it is of great relevance to understanding the history of modern Central America. Although very well documented, the anthropological form of parenthetical citation of sources mars the flow of its otherwise stimulating and literate prose.

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JOÃO JOSÉ REIS and FLÁVIO DOS SANTOS GOMES, editors. *Liberdade por um fio: História dos quilombos no Brasil.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras. 1996. Pp. 509.

The study of runaway slave communities in Brazil (known locally as *quilombos*) has been dominated by the history of Palmares. This great seventeenth-century runaway community, estimated by contemporaries as having as many as 20,000 people, fought Portuguese settlers to a standstill for the best part of a century before succumbing to internal dissension and external attack in 1694. But, in fact, Brazil had many *quilombos*, hundreds perhaps, over the course of its history. Most were small and poor, and most were short-lived as individual settlements.

As João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes point out in their introduction, the study of all such runaway communities has been dominated by the ideology of race and slavery: a Marxist perspective that focuses on the runaways as disgruntled workers making an alternate world, and a cultural perspective that sees in the *quilombos* an attempt to recreate an African world in America. In one way or another, the authors of the earliest studies on runaway communities, such as Nina Rodrigues or Edison Carneiro were anxious to use the runaway community to denounce the historiography of the "happy slave" and the sort of Brazilian exceptionalism advocated best by Gilberto Freyre. Born into a polemical world, these early studies could not help but be polemical, but they were nonetheless important and well documented.

This collection of essays represents a sharp and largely successful break with the fairly simple image of runaways presented in the pioneering work. Reis and Gomes have gathered contributions from a large group of well-known Brazilianists as well as some younger and less well-known scholars. Some of these contributions are overviews or general statements; most, however, are carefully documented local studies that make substantial use of unpublished archival materials. Although they do not, in the end, make an elaborate new general statement about runaway communities, the essays break new ground in many different ways. Careful research has shown that some of the more romantic notions of the earlier studies must give way to the more complex reality of inter-ethnic bargaining, freedom, revolt, banditry, and accommodation. They show how the presence of the runaway communities shaped the thought of settlers and colonists in surprising ways.

Although much of the book is devoted to *quilombos* other than Palmares, a number of contributions focus on that venerable community. Ronaldo Vainfas and Luiz Mott present some interesting work on the role of Palmares in shaping the ideas of settlers in Brazil. Most essays involve *quilombos* that were smaller and much shorter lived than Palmares. Carlos Magno Guimarães argues that although Palmares may have been spectacular, the *quilombos* of Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century were so numerous, albeit short lived, that we must rethink the model for runaways in Brazil.

Archaeology and oral tradition have recently been brought into the study of the runaway phenomenon with considerable success, although more work can surely be done. Pedro Paulo de Abreu Funari provides an important overview of recent archaeological work at the site of Palmares, which shows both that the site can be located and also that it had much greater interaction with the Native American community than has been assumed heretofore. Richard Price, whose work on the Saramaka in Surinam is a model of the joint use of documents and oral tradition, reflects on parallels between the Palmares *quilombo* and the runaway communities of Surinam with their living memories of the past. This theme is carefully investigated for the Amazon region by Eurípedes Funes.

The role of Native American relations in the formation and survival of runaway communities is something of a new theme, revealed not only in Funari's archaeology but also in studies of *quilombos* elsewhere through documentary accounts that included Native Americans among their members, as Luiza Rios Ricci Volpato shows in her study of Mato Grosso. Native American relations also figure in work by Mário Maestri and Laura de Mello e Souza.

Perhaps the most interesting new development in the study of Brazilian runaway communities is the

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work that shows how much *quilombos* continued to be a part of the society of the slave-holding regions, even if they were free and relatively remote. Reis places *quilombos* in Oitizeiro within the larger society, while Gomes's study of *quilombos* in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro also focuses on interactions among *quilombos*, the urban market, and rural producers. Marcos Joaquim M. de Carvalho puts the same emphasis in his work on the *quilombo* of Malunguinho in Pernambuco.

These observations about *quilombos* are especially applicable to the special circumstances of the gold-producing epoch in Minas Gerais. Donald Ramos's study of that province moves away from the idea of the *quilombo* as a general rejection of slavery to a more complex form of negotiation with the masters and other residents in the area, a concept backed up by Mary Karasch's research on another gold-producing region in which working gold was an important part of the *quilombos*' success.

In addition to seeing the relations of *quilombos* in the context of the slave-holding society, some contributors place them in a regional and even global context. Stuart Schwartz studies Bahia slave rebellions in the early nineteenth century in the context of the Atlantic (and especially the Haitian) Revolutions, runaway communities, ethnicity, and the African past. The role of *quilombos* in popular movements is also taken up in Matthias Röhrig Assunção's work on the runaway communities in Maranhão.

Perhaps the dimension that is least explored in this collection is the African side of the runaways. Many of the authors note the persistence of African ethnicity among the residents of *quilombos* (note especially Schwartz's contribution), but the systematic tracing of *quilombo* traditions back to Africa is still weak. The work that Reis and Schwartz have done, both here and elsewhere, takes a first step toward linking the early nineteenth-century revolts of the "Males" and other Muslim slaves in Bahia to the great Islamic reform movement of modern Nigeria and its aftermath, but this has not yet been followed by further work at the level of sophistication brought to bear on the Brazilian end. This is true despite of the fact that the classic early studies viewed the runaways as champions of African culture or as preservers of residual African purity. While it is clear from these studies that much of that purity was substantially modified, as they show how creoles and Native Americans played a big role in *quilombo* formation and survival, the fact that so many of the runaways were African-born suggests that further research might turn up interesting elaborations on themes developed here. Perhaps that could be a next step.

As in any collection of essays, the readability and quality of the individual contributions varies. This collection is generally distinguished by work of a very high quality. The quantity of primary documentation brought to bear is impressive, and several documents and pictures are published for the first time. This is an important contribution to the literature on Brazilian slavery and runaways that can be fruitfully read by scholars interested in similar themes in other areas.

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Film Reviews

THE PILLOW BOOK. Produced by Kees Kasander; written and directed by Peter Greenaway. 1995; black & white and color; 126 minutes. Distributor: Cinépix Film Properties, 3600 Thiemens Blvd., St-Laurent, Quebec H4R 1V6, phone (514) 336–9696, fax 514–336–0607.

The flourishing of feminine vernacular literature that occurred during the Heian period (794–1185 CE) produced two Japanese "classics": Murasaki Shikibu's epic *The Tale of Gengi* and the *Makura no Shōshi* ("pillow book") of Sei Shōnagon. It is from the latter that Peter Greenaway's latest film derives both its title and its structuring premise. Like its tenth-century model—a diary-like miscellany covering the years Shōnagon spent as lady-in-waiting to Empress Sadako—Greenaway's film *The Pillow Book* chronicles the experiences of its female narrator and "author" Nagiko (Vivian Wu) in an elite world of letters.

The powers and pleasures of writing are imprinted on Nagiko from birth; each year, her father (Ken Ogata) recites a myth of creation while writing a birthday blessing on her face. As an adult, Nagiko escapes a boorish husband by fleeing to Hong Kong. Once there, she obsessively seeks out calligrapher-lovers to write on her body until a British translator, Jerome (Ewan McGregor), persuades her to try writing on him. By the film's end, Nagiko authors her own text: a series of thirteen books artfully penned on the bodies of men. Thus, at one level, *The Pillow Book* traces Nagiko's development from artistic object to subject, text to writer.

Like Greenaway's previous works, however, *The Pillow Book* resists reduction to a single narrative. For this reason, the disjunctive and occasional nature of Shōnagon's *Pillow Book*—which includes character sketches, musings on nature, and 164 lists (for instance, "Elegant Things," "Poetic Subjects," and "Things That Make the Heart Beat Faster")—lends itself well to Greenaway's style of filmmaking. Voice-over readings from the text occur throughout the film, accompanied by color-saturated scenes depicting Heian court life and exquisite visual compositions illustrating several lists. Repeated citations of Shōnagon's text invite comparison between the author and Nagiko, between tenth-century Japan and the present.

The dual time frame, itself an unstable structure, enables an exploration of subjectivity—in particular, the forces exerted on it by familial structures and cultural legacies. On Nagiko's fourth birthday (we learn in a flashback), her aunt (Hideko Yoshida) gives her a copy of Shōnagon's *Pillow Book* and begins reading aloud from it; on her sixth, she begins her own pillow book. The private nature of the pillow book combines with the figure of Shōnagon (whom Greenaway portrays less as a courtier than as a woman dedicated to the twinned pleasures of writing and sex) to offer a model for the negotiation of female authorship and agency within the highly ritualized and male-dominated spheres of the Heian court and Nagiko's family. Because Shōnagon's authorship both parallels and enables Nagiko's own, it undermines the sense that Nagiko is simply the product of her father's influence.

Emerging from the doubled background of family and culture—her father and Shōnagon—Nagiko becomes both the written-on page and the marking hand, a hybrid subject who manifests the pleasures of the text. An item from Nagiko's own list of "Things That Make the Heart Beat Faster" provides a telling example of Greenaway's textual erotics. As a voice-over pronounces, "love in the afternoon, in imitation of history," an image of Jerome and Nagiko appears; it is glossed by an inset Edo *shunga* print mirroring their sex act. The intrusion of the aesthetic makes clear that, although *The Pillow Book* vexes the distinction between subject and object, dominance and submission, its slippages never wholly transcend the privileged world of arts and letters.

Finally, geographical movement complicates the film's temporal divisions. *The Pillow Book* shifts from Japan to Hong Kong and back to Japan. Yet scenes of tenth-century Japan and contemporary Hong Kong are shot in brilliant color, while those depicting Nagiko's life in Japan are often rendered in black and white, deliberately echoing the work of Yasujiro Ozu and Kenji Mizoguchi ("A Cinematic Melting Pot," *American Cinematographer* [December 1996]: 99–105). In this way, contemporary Japan appears curiously outdated, almost quaint in comparison to the dense multiculturalism and blinding pace of Hong Kong—itself a spatial analogue to the figure of Nagiko.

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Just as Nagiko embodies a modern counterpart to Shōnagon, Hong Kong—at least the pre-July 1997 Hong Kong that Greenaway celebrates—finds its complement in the Heian court. A certain formalism characterizes Greenaway's representation of imperial Japan, but Hong Kong—with its blur of languages and cultures—seems, like Nagiko, to move beyond simple categorization and epitomize the postmodern thrills of excess and in-betweenness. Although some may take issue with Greenaway's elision of the British imperial presence in Hong Kong, viewing it as nostalgia for empire, this strategy ultimately foregrounds the differences among various Asian cultures. In doing so, *The Pillow Book* actively contests still-pervasive notions of a culturally and ethnically uniform "Orient," while its kaleidoscopic brilliance makes the heart beat faster.

JACQUI SADASHIGE
University of Pennsylvania

L.A. CONFIDENTIAL. Produced by Arnon Milchan and Curtis Hanson; directed by Curtis Hanson; screenplay by Brian Helgeland and Curtis Hanson (adapted from the novel by James Ellroy). 1997; color; 137 minutes. Distributor: Warner Bros.

"The city I come from is a place of manufactured illusions," says film director Curtis Hanson of his native Los Angeles. Novelist James Ellroy, who grew up near Hanson in the Wiltern area, near Wilshire and Western, remembers Los Angeles as "a collision of forces, where everything was starting to percolate." Together, in a book and now a movie, the two men have returned to their boyhood haunts to make *L.A. Confidential*, a tale that locates within the camera's viewfinder the uneasy tensions between myth and memory, fiction and fact, storytelling and reportage.

L.A. Confidential takes us back to 1953, to those postwar years when Los Angeles had one foot lightly planted in the fairyland of Hollywood movies and booming urban optimism and the other mired in personal and public depravity. As the booming city shed its small-town skin, rampant corruption eroded the ranks of the police force, gossip tabloids exposed the sleazy underbelly of the film colony, and urban development scarred the area with a new freeway system. The film even features a prostitution ring with women transformed by cosmetic surgery into the simulacra of Hollywood glamour queens like Veronica Lake and Marilyn Monroe.

Striding through this New Arabian Nights, blended into a factual background brimming with references to real-life figures such as Mickey Cohen, Robert Mitchum, and Johnny Stompanato, are a gallery of colorful fictional characters, including three L.A. policemen investigating a string of unsolved murders. Ed Exley (Guy Pearce) is a straight-arrow cop who does things by the book, Bud White (Russell Crowe) a one-man vigilante force pursuing his own sense of justice, and Jack Vincennes (Kevin Spacey) a smooth-talking celebrity hound bound up in an unholy alliance with tabloid gossipmonger Sid Hudgeons (Danny DeVito). While we watch them sift through the facts and fictions of the case, we discover that they, too, conceal secrets and hidden selves. They, no less than the city—and certainly history itself—have a lot to hide.

L.A. Confidential, like other recent "city history" films, notably Robert Altman's *Kansas City* (1996), breezily overturns the time-honored taboo in Western historiography against mixing fact with fiction. It joins the larger postmodernist category of films and novels that have been labeled, variously, virtual history, parahistorical representation, docudrama, historical metafiction, and (rather dubiously), transgressive history. As Hayden White puts it, this sort of tale "places in abeyance . . . the distinction between the real and the imaginary," and thus "everything is presented as if it were . . . both real and imaginary—realistically imaginary or imaginarily real" ("The Modernist Event," in Vivian Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History* [1996], 19). Hanson and Ellroy's story is less about "facts" and the truth of history than it is about their search for them.

Ellroy's search was motivated by an unsolved mystery from his own youth. "I was ten years old in June of 1958, living in Los Angeles, when my mother was murdered," he explained to me in a recent interview (September 7, 1997). "Her death engendered in me a tremendous curiosity for all things criminal—police work, psychosexual behavior, L.A.'s criminal and social history. Everything I have written since shows that. In my novel, *L.A. Confidential*, and now in the film, you can see it in the characters, who have also lost parents as the result of violent acts that went unsolved. Recently I went back to L.A. to reinvestigate my mother's murder. But after fifteen months, I gave it up. It's still a mystery. I wrote about it in my memoir, *My Dark Places*, which is non-fiction, but it reads like a novel. Later it became an episode on the television series *Unsolved Mysteries*, where they turned it into a kind of movie, with Robert Stack, arc lights, and reenactments."

Curtis Hanson's search for his lost L.A. yields, at the least, more concrete results. He is proud of the title credit that reads, "Shot on location in Los Angeles, California." He boasts that, except for two computer-enhanced shots, the entire movie cleaves to the physical evidence that remains of 1953. "It's true that L.A. has no respect for its own past," he admitted in a recent interview with me (September 7, 1997). "It's famous for tearing things down, like the freeways that bulldozed much of it into oblivion; and there are neighborhoods I once knew that now look like they're in another country. But L.A.'s still there. You can see what you want to see. It's like looking at one of your favorite movies when it comes to television: If you look past all the commercials and distractions, you can still recognize it. L.A. is that way. There are 45 locations in the movie, and all of them are real. The only time we're actually on a set is when we're using a soundstage for the *Badge of Honor* television show [an

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obvious "stand-in" for the *Dragnet* series]. And, hey—a soundstage is like any other soundstage, isn't it? True, there are historical sites that no longer exist, like the Hollywood police station, where the cops riot early in the picture; but we were able to use the Venice station, which was built one year later and is exactly the same. Other locations needed relatively little set decoration or reconstruction. We just knew not to shift the camera position a few degrees this way or that way, lest we reveal in the shot a modern high-rise or new shop-front."

Indeed, "realism," "truth," and "fiction" all become conditions that exist within a few degrees of each other, a few scant feet inside or outside history's viewfinder, as it were. Consider the scene where the characters do their own photography: gossip columnist Hudgeons and celebrity cop Vincennes set up a drug bust of a young starlet and her lover. Sid and Jack calculate the camera angles and set up banks of lights outside the house of their victims. "Keep that theater marquee in the shot," Sid orders his photographer, as Vincennes bursts in the door and hustles his victims outside. Is it a real police action or just a photo-op?

The theater marquee, by the way, is truly an apt backdrop for this confluence of fact and fiction. It proclaims the title of a new movie—*When Worlds Collide*. But then, that movie is only science fiction. And science fiction is another genre entirely—or is it?

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

JENNIFER HAM and MATTHEW SENIOR, editors. *Animal Acts: Configuring the Human in Western History*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. xi, 258. Cloth $69.95, paper $17.95.

JOYCE E. SALISBURY, Human Beasts and Bestial Humans in the Middle Ages. GREGORY B. STONE, The Philosophical Beast: On Boccaccio's Tale of Cimone. TOM CONLEY, Pantagruel-Animal. MATTHEW SENIOR, "When the Beasts Spoke": Animal Speech and Classical Reason in Descartes and La Fontaine. MARIE HÉLÈNE HUET, Revolutionary Monsters. JAMES W. ARMSTRONG, Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* and the Question of "Other Minds." MARIAN SCHOLTMEIJER, What is "Human"? Metaphysics and Zoontology in Flaubert and Kafka. JENNIFER HAM, Taming the Beast: Animality in Wedekind and Nietzsche. DAVID CLARK, On Being "The Last Kantian in Nazi Germany": Dwelling with Animals after Levinas. PAUL H. FRY, Animal Speech, Active Verbs, and Material Being in E. B. White. KARLA ARMBRUSTER, "Surely, God, These Are My Kin": The Dynamics of Identity and Advocacy in the Life and Works of Dian Fossey. CHARLES D. MINAHEN, Humanimals and Anihumans in Gary Larson's Gallery of the Absurd.

DIETER R. BAUER and WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, editors. *Fliegen und Schweben: Annäherung an eine menschliche Sensation*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1997. Pp. 406. DM 29.90.

DIETER BAUER and WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, Annäherung an eine menschliche Sensation: Fliegen und Schweben. Zur Einführung. WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, Ars volandi: Gedankenspiele im Umfeld einer europäischen Debatte der Neuzeit. IRIS GAREIS, Schamanen- und Hexenflug im präkolumbischen und kolonialen Peru. HANNES BUCHBERGER, "Als Reiher ist der König zum Himmel gestürmt": Fliegen und Schweben und das Alte Ägypten. CONSTANCE OTT-KOPTSCHALIJSKI, Fahren im Luftmeer: Überlegungen zu mittelalterlichen Luftschiffergeschichten bei Agobard von Lyon, Gervasius von Tilbury und Nicole Oresme. PETER DINZELBACHER, Ekstatischer Flug und visionäre Weltschau im Mittelalter. ÉVA PÓCS, Feeflug und Hexenflug in Mittel-Südosteuropa: Ritus und Mythos, Erlebnis und Bericht. GUSTAV HENNINGSEN, Der Hexenflug und die spanischen Inquisitoren—oder: Wie man das Unerklärliche (weg-)erklärt. MANFRED KREMSER, Nächtliche Flüge afrikanischer Hexer und ihre Bewertung bei den Azande. ANDREW JOHN MARTIN, Das Bild von Fliegen, dokumentierte Flugversuche und das Aufkommen von Ansichten aus der Vogelschau zu Beginn der frühen Neuzeit. JUSTIN STAGL, Die Entdeckung des Fliegens und Schwebens im Rahmen der ramistischen Wissenschaftskonzeption des 16. Jahrhunderts. CLIVE HART, Erotische Implikationen in der Flugdarstellung von der Hochrenaissance bis zum Rokoko. RICHMOD BOLLINGER, Fliegen und Fließen, Schwimmen und Schweben: Beobachtungen zur Bedeutung der Flugmetapher in der Kultur Japans. HELMUT REINICKE, Zeppelin, Karl May und die deutschen Auffahrten nach Dschinnistan. HELMUTH TRISCHLER, Utopie und Realität: Flugvisionen in der Ära der technischen Verwirklichung des Fliegens. HANS-LIUDGER DIENEL, Ende des Traums vom individuellen Fliegen: Der Weg zum Luftbus. IRMGARD KATHARINA THÜNNIHSEN, Der Preis des Fortschritts: Flugangst—eine "moderne Phobie."

ROGER COOTER and BILL LUCKIN, editors. *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities and Social Relations*. (Proceedings of the Conference on Accidents in History, 1991; Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine; Clio Medica, number 41.) Atlanta: Rodopi. 1997. Pp. x, 273. $25.00.

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LILIAN R. FURST, editor. *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. vii, 274. $34.95.

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DEBRA L. STOUDT, Medieval German Women and the Power of Healing. NANCY P. NENNO, Between Magic and Medicine: Medieval Images of the Woman Healer. ESTHER ZAGO, Women, Medicine, and the Law in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. MICHAEL SOLOMON, Women Healers and the Power to Disease in Late Medieval Spain. WILLIAM KERWIN, Where Have You Gone, Margaret Kennix? Seeking the Tradition of Healing Women in English Renaissance Drama. GUNILLA T. KESTER, The Blues, Healing, and Cultural Representation in Contemporary African-American Women's Literature. HOLT T. PARKER, Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire. PAULETTE MEYER, They Met in Zurich: Nineteenth-Century German and Russian Women Physicians. REGINA MORANTZ-SANCHEZ, The Making of a Woman Surgeon: How Mary Dixon Jones Made a Name for Herself in Nineteenth-Century Gynecology. ALISON BASHFORD, Separatist Health: Changing Meanings of Women's Hospitals in Australia and England, c. 1870–1920. LILIAN R. FURST, Halfway Up the Hill: Doctresses in Late Nineteenth-Century American Fiction. ELSA NETTELS, "Leaving the Private House": Women Doctors in Virginia Woolf's Life and Art.

CHRISTIAN DESPLAT, editor. *Foires et marchés dans les Campagnes de l'Europe médiévale et moderne*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail. 1996. Pp. 252. 135 fr.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I must take exception to J. Victor Koschmann's review essay in the June 1997 issue of Seymour Martin Lipset's *American Exceptionalism* [*AHR* 102: 758–68]. I don't know the Japanese words for "piling on" and "overkill," but—especially in the context of the two other highly negative review essays—Koschmann's surely qualifies.

A doughty survivor of the American celebration of the 1950s, Lipset has been championing his exceptionalism thesis for thirty years against the predispositions of my generation of graying academics. One need not agree with Lipset to defend him against a rabid critic who, it seems to me, not content to deploy his own expertise as a Japanologist, slanders Lipset as a racist. Koschmann's crude sleight of hand equating Lipset's ideological nationalism with Enoch Powell's natalist exclusivism is a disgrace. If you don't believe me, just ask Powell's real soul brothers in America—John O'Sullivan of the *National Review* and Peter Brimelow, author of *Alien Nation*—who detest Lipset precisely because he refuses to define American nationality in racial terms or share with them Pat Buchanan's fear of an inundation by a million "immigrant Zulus."

According to Koschmann, Lipset's "America for-itself does not necessarily include all who can vote in American elections, or who are drafted to fight American wars, or who might have other reasons for considering themselves to be Americans in good standing" (p. 765). There is nothing in Lipset's book to support the apparent libel that he wants to exclude African Americans from participation in the national identity; indeed, apparently still a social democrat, he even supports class-based affirmative action. Lipset is, however, disdainful of mandarin academics radically camouflaging their bourgeois roots; underneath the charges of xenophobia and racism, this is Koschmann's real animus against him. Koschmann would most likely hve no objections to an ideologically valenced Americanism, provided that it were self-flagellating rather than flag-waving, and—nor "for itself"—but for members like himself of the entrenched left professoriate.

We have thirty years of NORC polling data showing that, however astonishing it may be to Koschmann, African Americans do broadly accept Lipset's American Creed of equal opportunity. Of course, they are more liberal on economic issues than are whites—putting more emphasis on the equalitarian dimension of the formula that justifies affirmative action remedies—but they are also more conservative on a whole range of so-called "social issues." Koschmann may wish that this remarkable degree of ideological conformity and overlap across race lines did not exist, and that the polarization around the O. J. Simpson verdict was the rule rather than the exception. But he should not allow his wishes to gull him into believing that Louis Farrakhan's sermons reflect racial reality. Certainly, Koschmann's distaste for American values, and his thinly veiled disdain for the "meritocratic" Jews whom Lipset unapologetically pictures as their personification, is more congruent with Farrakhan's world view than is Lipset's with that of Enoch Powell.

There was a time when one could easily tell the difference between a professional historical journal and a journal of left opinion. Apparently, the *AHR* is doing all it can to put that time far behind us.

HAROLD BRACKMAN
San Diego, California

J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN REPLIES:

Whether Harold Brackman's letter usefully addresses my criticisms of *American Exceptionalism* is best left to

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readers. Perhaps the emotional heat of his reaction testifies to the importance of the issues involved.

J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN
Cornell University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of T. Christopher Jespersen's *American Images of China, 1931–1949* [*AHR* 102 (June 1997): 919–20], Arthur Power Dudden repeats Jespersen's assertion that the novelist Pearl S. Buck was, like Time-Life-Fortune's Henry Luce (the main subject of Jespersen's book), a strong backer of the Kuomintang government in China during the 1940s.

As Peter Conn has shown in *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* (1996), and as research for my dissertation-in-progress on Buck indicates, Buck was hardly an uncritical backer of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. Thus a full discussion of her role does not corroborate Jespersen's thesis, as Dudden implies that it does, that the American missionary community in China spoke with one voice on behalf of Chiang. Buck made waves precisely because of her strong criticisms of Chiang before, during, and after World War II. While during the war Buck advocated increased U.S. military aid to China, and in some of her articles and activities portrayed Chiang favorably, it is only by a very selective reading that Jespersen can maintain that Buck's views on the whole were similar to Luce's.

Numerous novels and articles by Buck in the 1930s criticized Chiang and the KMT government, including *A House Divided* (1935); "Friends and Enemies of China," *Asia* (April 1936); "An Open Letter to the Chinese People," *Asia* (February 1938); and "Arms for China's Democracy," *Asia* (September 1938). Some wartime novels and essays were more favorable to Chiang, including *The Patriot* (1939), *The Promise* (1943), and "Our Last Chance in China," *Common Sense* (August 1944). But it is stretching the evidence to suggest, as Jespersen does, that Buck's celebrated article in *Life*, "Warning about China" (May 10, 1943), one of the most important critiques in the United States of the growing oppressiveness of the KMT government, was really a defense of the Nationalist government. While Jespersen is most concerned with the impact on public opinion, it is worth noting that in 1943 Buck wrote a lengthy letter to Eleanor Roosevelt that strongly criticized Madame Chiang's behavior during her visit to the United States, and that castigated Chiang's repression of Chinese students in the 1920s, which Buck had witnessed firsthand.

With the end of World War II, Buck, in total disagreement with Luce, argued strenuously and consistently against continued U.S. military aid to repressive regimes in general and to Chiang's in particular, in the *New York Times* (April 28, 1946), the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (December 1, 1946), *United Nations World* (September 1948), *Look* (August 28, 1951), and elsewhere. Indeed, in contrast to Luce's call for the United States to be the new guiding force in the world under the rubric of "The American Century," Buck in 1945 decried "American Imperialism in the Making." Buck lashed out against postwar KMT repression of Chinese students in *Kinfolk* (1949) and satirized Luce in *God's Men* (1951). It is no wonder that, as James Michener revealed in *The World Is My Home* (1992), a *Life* editor told him in the early 1950s that "Henry Luce has given us strict orders. We must never say anything favorable about Pearl Buck."

Jespersen's book and Dudden's brief review thus distort the position of this important author and activist, and also ignore the wide variety of viewpoints on Chinese politics that American missionaries and children of missionaries brought home. To give one additional example, Jespersen cites YWCA official Maud Russell as contributing to the image of Chinese society as democratic, implying again that her views paralleled Luce's. But upon her return to the United States, Russell became the head of the virulently anti-Chiang Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

I have no quarrel with Jespersen's argument that the images of China that Luce propagated helped produce the debacle of American support for the Nationalists during the Chinese civil war, or with Dudden's acceptance of that argument. But I am disappointed that your reviewer did not challenge Jespersen's assertions that Luce exercised ideological hegemony over Pearl Buck and other independent voices.

ROBERT SHAFFER
Rutgers University

ARTHUR POWER DUDDEN REPLIES:

A single reference to Pearl S. Buck, in my review of T. Christopher Jespersen's excellent book, states that Buck "spoke for activists," upholding the Nationalist cause. Most prominent among those activists were Time, Inc.'s Henry Luce and United China Relief, a cluster of agencies in which Luce himself played a sponsoring role. Many of them, I added, though not all, were, like Buck herself, missionary children or former missionaries. Others came to include Wendell Willkie, John D. Rockefeller III, Thomas W. Lamont, William C. Bullitt, Paul Hoffman, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Buck, the acclaimed author of the novel *The Good Earth* (1931) and its resulting film (1937), did indeed influence favorably the American public's conceptions of Chiang Kai-shek's China and the Chinese people themselves during the five or six years before Pearl Harbor.

Meanwhile, Luce's popular *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines trumpeted his assertions that Nationalist China was growing more and more like the United

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States, and the Chinese people more and more like Americans, that is, friendly, democratic, progressive, and increasingly Christian. With Jespersen, I agreed that Luce's China policy, rooted as it was in Open Door internationalism and Christian evangelism, heightened his editorial appeal to his countrymen, especially so against the horrifying tidings of Japanese ravages in China from Manchuria to Nanking. *The Good Earth*, hugely successful both as novel and film, contributed likewise toward improving China's image in the United States. It abstained from stereotypes and portrayed hardworking Chinese peasants as human beings with recognizable, all-too-human problems.

However, contrary to what readers might have been led to believe from reading Robert Shaffer's letter, Jespersen's book and my review are not very much about Pearl Buck. Shaffer rues my failure to explore in detail Buck's growing detachment from Luce's wholehearted support of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist government. But, it is essential to emphasize, she never wavered during the Great Pacific War in advocating increased military assistance to the Republic of China. The non-viable alternative for the United States would have been to ignore the Nationalist government altogether and to attempt to fight the war inside China alone against the Japanese. The outcome for American public opinion, realistic like Buck's, was a growing disenchantment with Chiang's corrupt and ineffectual war machine, as measured by his reluctance seriously to fight either the Japanese or the Communists, who did seriously fight the Japanese.

Until the Communist victory over the Nationalists in 1949, both Luce and Buck had greatly contributed toward the making of positive American images about China. That they had succeeded helped, in 1945, to explain why the beleaguered Republic of China gained at American insistence a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. It is true that Buck's dissents from Luce's positions intensified after 1945 throughout Nationalist China's losing civil war against Mao's Communists. Yet the more significant truth, within the context of Jespersen's book and my review of it, is that Americans doggedly adhered to the images of China that Buck and Luce, together and separately, had fed them. That adherence illuminates the anguished hue and cry ensuing, after 1949, over the so-called "loss of China," to which Dean Acheson's "White Paper" endeavored to respond. It explains also for many of us why Chinese history for 1949 and since has proved so hard to take.

Neither Jespersen nor I asserted the impossibility that Luce, as Shaffer has charged us with writing and implying, "exercised ideological hegemony over Pearl Buck and other independent voices." Shaffer's closing rebuke, expressed as it is, unfortunately for his argument, is an oxymoron. Pearl Buck's importance stands intact, unchallenged and undiminished.

ARTHUR POWER DUDDEN
EMERITUS
Bryn Mawr College

ERRATUM

In the article by Angela Woollacott, "'All This Is the Empire, I Told Myself': Australian Women's Voyages 'Home' and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness" (*AHR* 102 [October 1997]), the caption on page 1010 misidentifies the place the picture was taken as "Port Said." The picture is actually from Sydney, Australia. The editors regret the error.

THE EDITORS

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1. **Title of Publication:**
 American Historical Review
2. **Publication No.:** ISSN 0002-8762
3. **Date of Filing:** October 1, 1997
4. **Frequency of Issue:** Five times per year—February, April, June, October, December
5. **Number of Issues Published Annually:** Five
6. **Annual Subscription Price:** Class I U.S. $85.00
7. **Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication:** American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
 (202) 544-2422
 Contact Person: Randy Norell
8. **Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher:** American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
9. **Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:**
 Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889
 Editor: Michael Grossberg, American Historical Review, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405
 Managing Editor: N/A
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 American Historical Review
14. **Issue Date for Circulation Data Below:** 06/97
15. **Extent and Nature of Circulation:**

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B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION		
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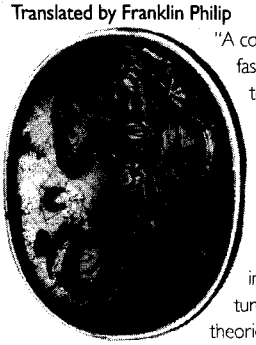
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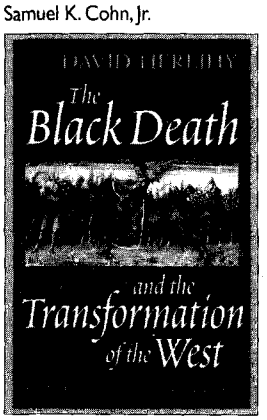
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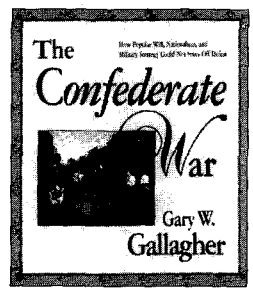
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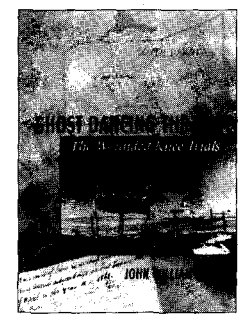
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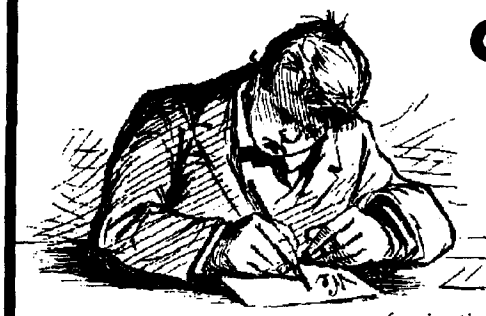
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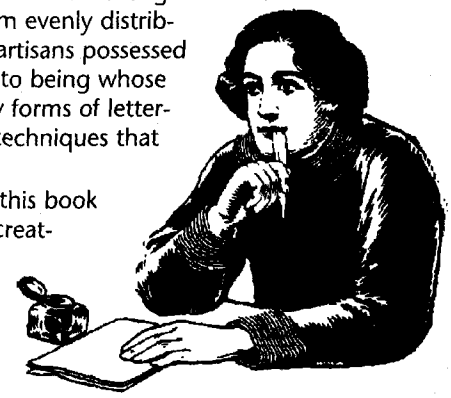
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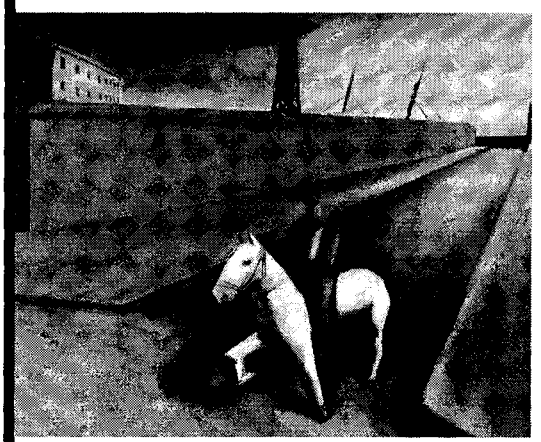
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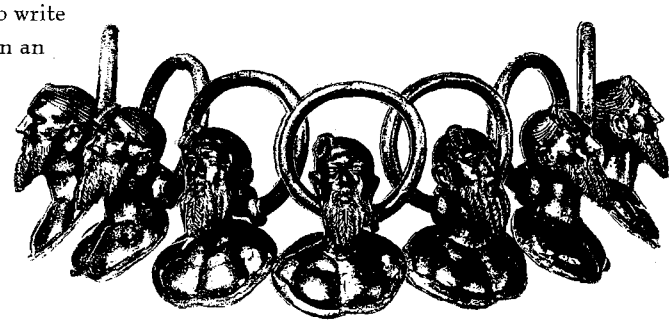
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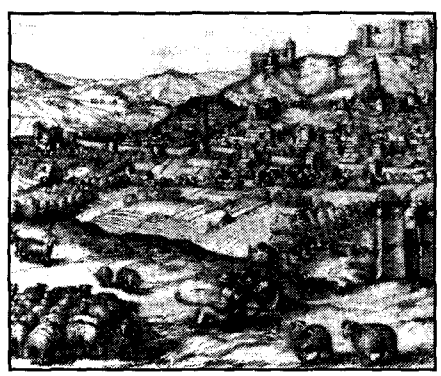
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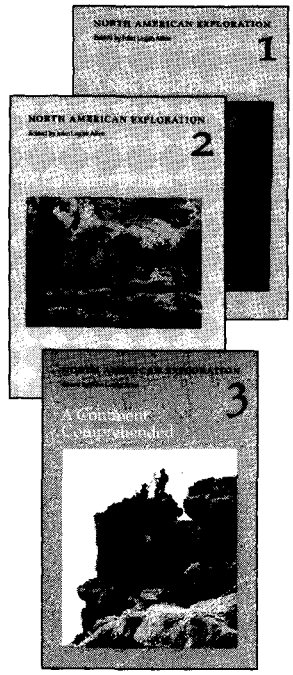
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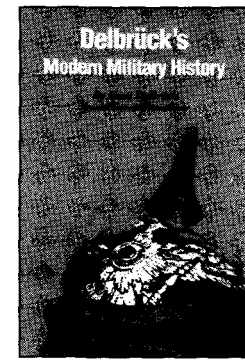
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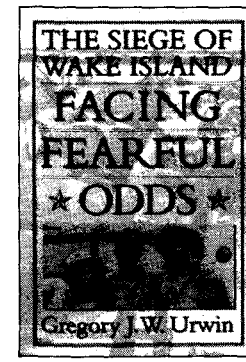


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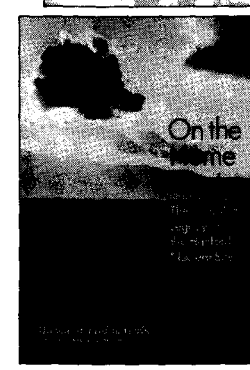
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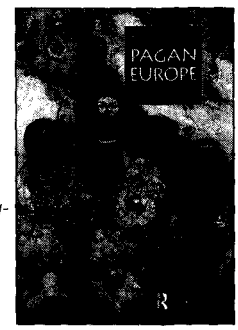
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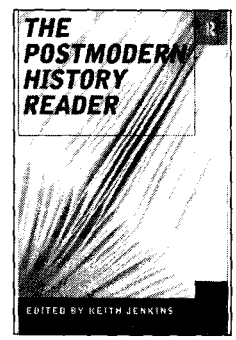


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Because the four Gospels are contradictory and use classical rhetorical techniques to apologize (methodology that encouraged lying and mythicizing) for Jesus, their presentation of him cannot be trusted. The true personality hidden by layers of authorial and editorial inventiveness is undiscernible. The problem resides in four canonical Gospels which have interdependency and contrivance of anecdotes. As a sole source they only result in fantastical rediscoveries of the historical Jesus.

A source, a document, independent of the canonical Gospels, is needed. Jack Hannah argues that we have it in a collection of 113 sayings of Jesus unearthed in the Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945. Hannah demonstrates that sayings numbered 2 through 71 and 114 correspond *topically and sequentially* with events depicted in the canonical *Gospel of Mark* from 1:1 through 14:9, and the correspondence significantly increases by inserting into the Markan narrative the even more recently discovered *Secret Gospel of Mark*. Furthermore, sayings numbered 72 through 113 make sense as chronologically ordered pieces of oral teaching appropriate to Jesus' bringing to a close his work with disciples, as one might expect occurred during the two days he spent with them at Bethany (between Mk 13:1,2 and 14:3-9).

This collection of sayings had appended the title *Gospel of Thomas*. Its relationship to Markan chronology leads Hannah to hypothesize that it is exactly what its incipit claims: notes of enigmatic sayings jotted down by Thomas while following Jesus as a disciple. This accounts for the sayings being in chronological order. Without disturbing the chronological order of either the Markan or Thomist materials, Hannah intercalates them, thereby giving the sayings context that renders them more intelligible. Sayings that many scholars thought were borrowed from the canonical Gospels prove to be independent and more primitive in form (hence more likely authentic). This correspondence from an independent source also gives confidence that a first-hand reminiscence underlies the *Gospel of Mark*, though fleshed out with numerous fabrications.

The 113 sayings never allude to messiahship, or to God (except one metaphorically), or to demons or a devil. According to them Jesus rejects circumcision, almsgiving, fasting, and the efficacy of prayer. He states that what the disciples regard as spirit is really something produced from bodily flesh. He teaches prudence, self-sufficiency, and continual investigation of life as the basis for virtues. Thus his principles are nearer to Epicureanism than to Judaism, Cynicism, or Stoicism. Yet, Epicureanism was the philosophy most disdained by Jewish and, later, Christian teachers because of its rejection of Providence and human immortality. Jesus seems to differ from Epicureanism in but one way: he borrowed its theory of how a human being mentally constructs a truly living god (as described for example in Philodemus' *On Piety*) to devise his *sui generis* theory that a person constructs a heavenly twin which continues the person's consciousness as an immortal, sexless being. So, while Epicureans tried to give comfort by saying "Death is nothing to us," Jesus favored the expression "You will not taste death."

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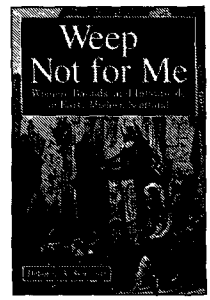
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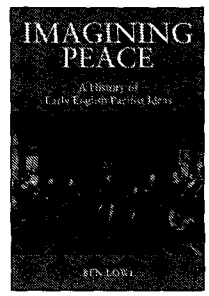
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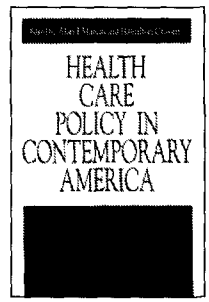


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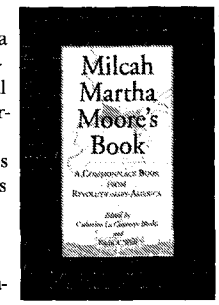
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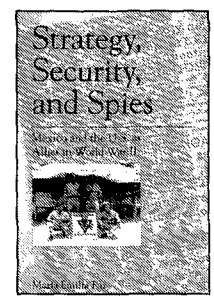
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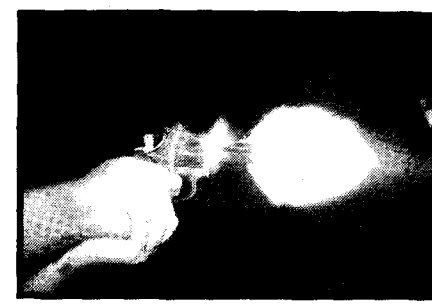
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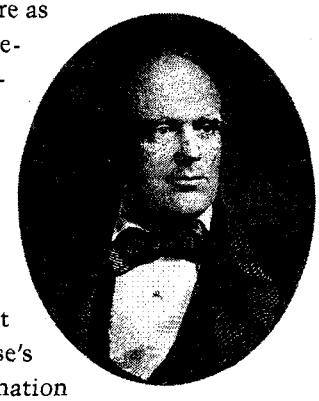
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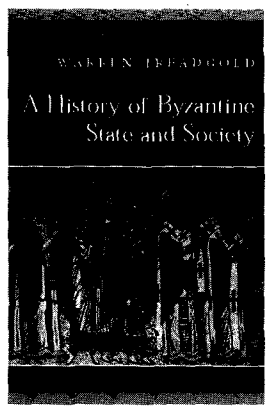
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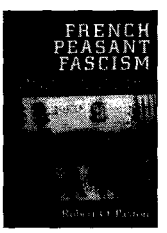
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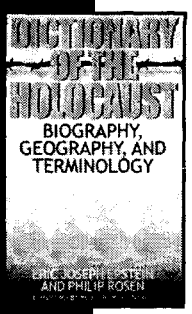
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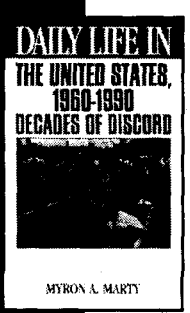
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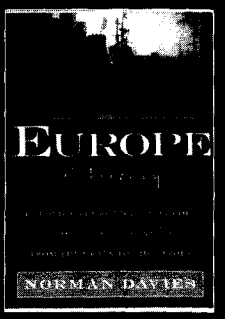
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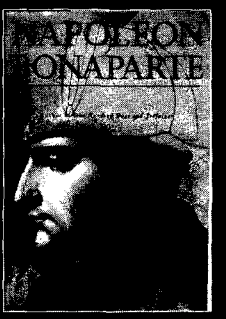
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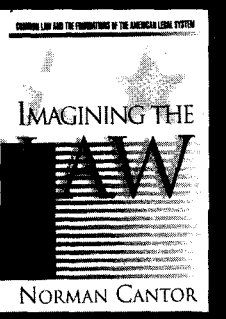
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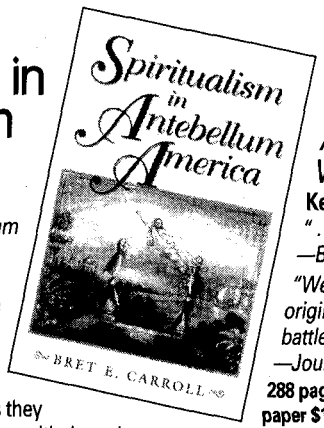
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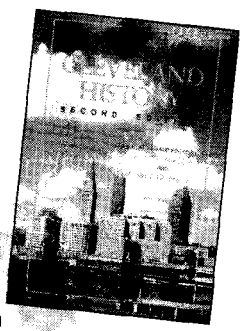
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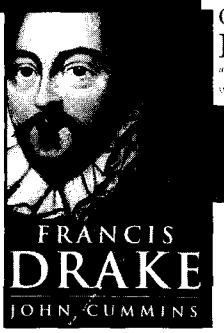
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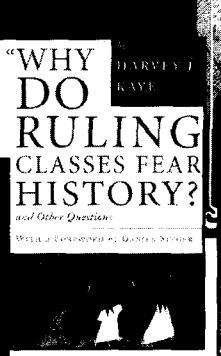
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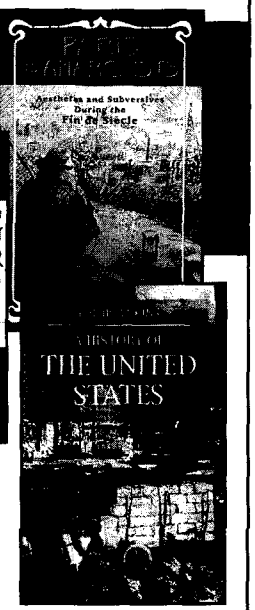
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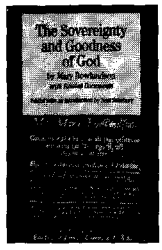
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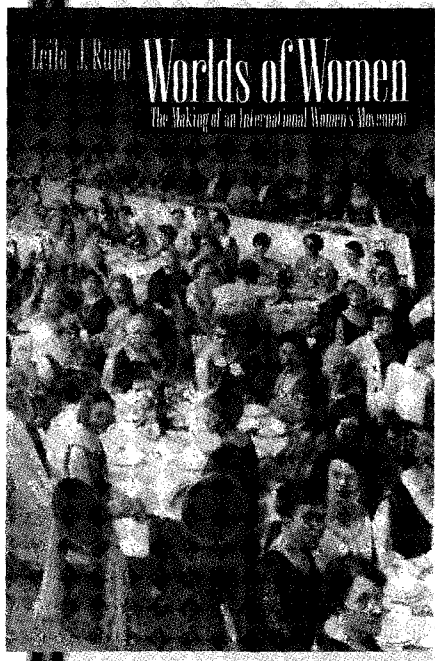
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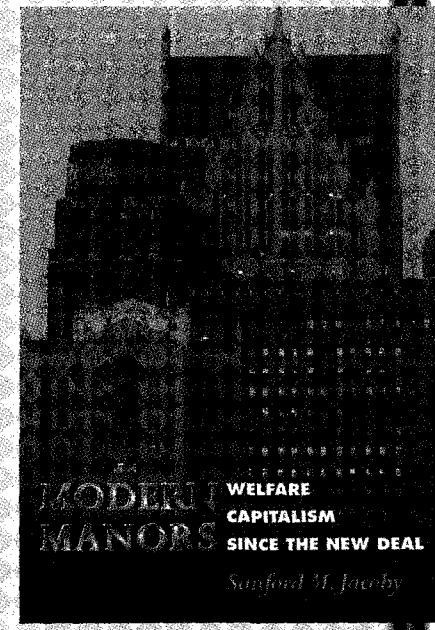
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